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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

A Make-Believe Election

THERE are 136 elective judges—and 77 appointive ones—in New York City and 30 of the former came up for election last November.

Twenty-four of the 30, however, received their flowers and congratulations months before when the Republican and Democratic party leaders announced their joint selections. For on May 19 a certain citizen, Frank J. Sampson, "announced" that "the organization" would support certain persons for these offices. The next day another citizen, Thomas J. Curran, corresponding spokesman for the other principal party, announced concurrence in 24 of the choices.

So, constitution and laws notwithstanding, local judges in New York City are, in simple fact, appointive now! Appointive by a coterie of private citizens!

Thenceforth those 24 candidates were practically assured of perfunctory ratification in the party primaries—there were in fact no contests—and thereafter, enjoying both Democratic and Republican nominations, they needed to do nothing more to be overwhelmingly "elected." Most of the 24 were renewals of tenure for sitting judges. In six cases the Republicans and Democrats offered competing candidates.

This amiable system provides judges who have taken pains to stand well with the party machines, a severely limited choice. It gives New York a mediocre, precedent-bound, honest, well intentioned judiciary; it is a wonder that it is no worse.

But it is mainly and in reality an appointive judiciary, as these simple facts disclose. In some districts the voters faced a list of candidates all of whom had support of both principal parties. Who made these appointments? The appointing officers did not meet in public; they did not report where they met or who was present or what other candidates were considered or why these joint nominees were preferred. Nor what the nominees did to secure consideration. Yet their decisions were conclusive!

A local group in the bar associations is organized to push the Missouri plan, increasingly well liked in that state, whereby judges are appointed for a short term on trial and then submitted to popular vote for confirmation for a long term. It would require a constitutional amendment to do this in New York and other states, but the experience with the present practice in this off-year election, when no major offices were being elected, conspicuously points up the hazards of the situation.

And Then There Were Twelve!

THE November elections transferred to the council-manager list three cities (Worcester, Massachusetts; Richmond, Virginia; and Keene, New Hampshire) in which bicameral councils had until then survived.

The race to be the tailender in municipal progress in this matter is now narrowed down to twelve cities (out of 2,042 of over 5,000 population) all in New England: Augusta, Bath and Waterville, Maine; Everett, Malden, Northampton and Springfield, Massachusetts; Central Falls, Newport, Pawtucket and Woonsocket, Rhode Island; and Danbury, Connecticut. Two others, Atlanta and New York City, require concurrence of two elective bodies on certain items of business.

It is to be hoped that one of these cities will always retain its tangle-footed obsolete contraption as a museum piece to prove to antiquarians that such follies of municipal structure did once widely exist.

The Red Menace

IN THE November elections New York and suburban Long Beach, New York, voted to drop the proportional representation method of electing their city councils. So did Boulder, Colorado.

Opponents of P. R. ostensibly rested their case on the fact that two Communists had been elected to the New York City council. Proponents charged that the real motive was to return the nation's largest city to the "bad old days" when Tammany and its allies had almost complete control of the council. They pointed out that the Communists were quite unable to do anything for "Mother Russia" in the council, anyway.

Boulder, after using P. R. 30 years, abandoned it apparently because of general apathy.

Meanwhile, however, Cincinnati, where the quality of the city council had obviously vastly improved during the 22 years P. R. was used, voted to retain it.

Five cities in Massachusetts—Worcester, Medford, Revere, Quincy and Saugus—as well as Hopkins, Minnesota, adopted P. R. with the council-manager plan by overwhelming majorities in 1947.

They didn't seem worried about the "red menace." Indeed, the few Communists in Worcester vigorously opposed P. R. and the manager plan.

It's a bit curious that the several New York newspapers which threw in their lot with the anti-P. R. forces found the three abandonments matters of big news but seemed quite unable, through their press services or correspondents, to discover the six adoptions.

Perhaps that's just the way of crusades. After the "red menace" has been cut down to size and subsides as all great perils to our way of life have done in the past, we'll be more clear in our thinking as to whether freedom of the voter or regimentation by political machines provides self-government.

The Self-Reliant City

Former mayor cites five short-range considerations and three long-range objectives for efficient government.

By WILSON W. WYATT*

LOCAL government is the keystone in the arch of democracy. You cannot chip away from that keystone without weakening the entire arch. But that means that local government must do its job well. It will be respected as the keystone just as long as it deserves to be.

To the extent that local government fails, the people will transfer responsibility to the federal government and look to it. Non-performance or poor performance by our cities creates a political vacuum into which centralized power rushes. Improper additions to the authority and extent of the federal government are more likely to stem from lethargy in our cities than from any supposed grasping by Congress or Washington bureaucracy.

Local government will succeed in proportion to our efforts to do something about it. It will lose by default and atrophy, if we merely wait, complainingly, for the end of the rainbow when it will have full home rule, completely fair representation and an entirely equitable tax division with other units of government. After all, waiting on "Great Expectations" is likely to lead to vagrancy. We can get to where we want to go only by starting from where we are—and doing the very best we can with what we have. Those things—home rule, reapportionment and an equitable revenue base—it must have; but in its day-to-day living there are important things that a self-reliant city can do—and must do—if it really hopes to achieve these three.

Here are five important considerations for the short-range, day-to-day life of a self-reliant city:

1. *Citizen participation.*

We need constantly to remind ourselves that democracy is not merely government "*for* the people" but that it must be "*by* the people" as well. We need to develop new techniques for bringing government closer to the people—the people whose government it is. Citizens who are willing to participate in Community Chest and Red Cross drives must also be willing to take an active hand in their city government and in the political processes by which our governing representatives are democratically selected. The person who looks down his nose at politics is actually, through ignorance, looking down his nose at American democracy.

Democracy has neither a self-starter nor a nuclear gadget for perpetual motion. It depends on people —*all* the people. Each time any person abstains from taking his full, active, responsible part in our system of government, he weakens democracy; he indicates a lack of belief in it; he makes our country a more fertile field for foreign "isms."

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*Mr. Wyatt, an attorney, was formerly mayor of Louisville, Kentucky, and national housing expediter. This article is a summary of his address before the National Municipal League's National Conference on Government, Nashville, November 13, 1947.

Now that democracy is under attack throughout such a large part of the world, citizen participation becomes more important than ever. And it is in our cities that we can best start to do something about it.

The theory of democracy is that it taps the freely expressed wisdom of the entire people. Each person who fails to do his part is an unpatriotic shirker. It is fine to enjoy the benefits of the American high standard of living which our democracy has made possible, but a person has not earned the right to these pleasures unless he is participating actively in the discharge of his duties as a citizen. We have grown so accustomed to *rights* in our democracy that too many have forgotten there are concomitant duties.

Task for the Citizen

If I seem to stress citizen participation as the *sine qua non* of democracy, it is because I believe it to be true—vitally true. There are no easy answers, no panaceas, no millenia. Every citizen has a job to do. Democracy which places such a high value on the dignity of the individual places an equally high premium on his individual responsibility. It is not enough that his wife, or his friends, or his employees participate—he must do his personal share.

Since our local government is the hearthstone of democracy, it is in our cities and towns that we can really do something about citizen participation, towards making our government really "*by* the people." And in doing so we will make our greatest contribution to our own well-being, to municipal independence, to democracy itself.

The cure for the ills of democracy is more democracy, not less.

2. *Streamlining.*

The pigeon-hole system of government, with diffused responsibility, must be brought up to date, responsibility must be more clearly fixed and overlapping must be eliminated. Of course, these changes could probably be better done with revised statutes, or even with constitutional changes. But much can be done within the framework of the existing statutes and constitutions.

Without abandoning for a moment the desired changes in the fundamental law, we should see how much can be done with what we have. In most cases we will have our hands more than full. And in government, human responses occur just as in the rest of life. Having demonstrated what we can do with what we have, it is probable that the other changes will be made more readily. But if we wait for the perfect set of conditions before we start we may never begin.

3. *Financial self-help.*

This requires courage. It is much easier to complain that the federal government or the state government is not sharing its revenues equitably. It is always easier to blame the other person. But again, if we examine carefully what we already have the authority to do, we will almost always find that the typical city has several sources of additional revenue already available to it—if we are willing to take the political responsibility.

4. *Better teamwork with the county and the state.*

We will deserve better, and we will fare better, at the hands of the state government, for example, as we improve the character of the representation we send to the state legislature. All too frequently we complain that the "rural" legislature is refusing to cooperate with "the city," without bothering to do our part by sending to the state capitol, as our representatives, people who can obtain cooperation and respect. In our private businesses we are careful about the selection of our executives, our lawyers, our salesmen. What we sometimes forget is that people are still human when it comes to government, and that they respond as human beings.

Furthermore, if we stop *demanding* and start working as teammates we will inevitably do better. By and large, people react to decent manners in government just as in private affairs or in business. That doesn't mean we should be less firm or insistent. But instead of hitting them over the head with a public demand, we are much more likely to get results if we work with the other units of government and, while doing so, show them our problems and what we think would cure them.

5. *Best possible service with the means at hand.*

This is axiomatic. And yet it can be overlooked. An administration may well be regarded as outstanding just as much because of its excellent service as because of the improvements and changes which it brings about.

If the job is well done, the people will see that local government is given the necessary means to continue doing a good job, that local government remains the keystone in the arch of democracy.

Long-Range Objectives

And all the time the self-reliant city is applying these five principles, it will be working for three long-range objectives, and because of what it is doing in its day-to-day work, it will be more likely to achieve these objectives:

1. *Home rule.*

This is essential to full realization of the opportunities of local democracy.

2. *Rightful representation—reapportionment.*

This is as basically American as the Boston Tea Party but we cannot expect it to fall in our laps just because it is good and right. It requires work, patience and more work.

3. *Equitable tax structure.*

Cities are entitled to share in many state-collected taxes, such as the gasoline tax.

But there are no quick solutions in a democracy. While at times we seem to pay a heavy price in work and patience, we get the ample reward of ultimate soundness without loss of liberty. Self-reliant local government can give the necessary strength at the base of democracy to enable the American system to withstand all the manifestos and all the "isms" that can be thrown against it.

The Cities Cannot Act Alone

Long-range fiscal planning requires action by all levels of government if cities are to meet the approaching crisis.

By **JOSEPH D. McGOLDRICK**[*]

IF WE look back over the last 30 years or, roughly, the period since the end of World War I, we find that the finances of our cities have been subject to constant pressure from the price level.

Prices rose sharply during World War I and even more sharply in the two years following the Armistice. By the time they finally reached some degree of stability it was at a level approximately twice that of the prewar period.

Municipal employees were hard hit by this change. It was not easy for cities to increase their revenues. Dependent as they were on ad valorem real estate taxes for two-thirds to three-quarters of their income, it was difficult to expand income.

The war had also interrupted the construction of schools, hospitals and other public facilities. It took years to catch up. New York City had adopted a pay-as-you-go plan of financing public improvements. It gave way under the pressure of meeting accumulated needs.

It was not until 1925 that our cities had adjusted to the new price level. They were then promptly caught up in a boom which lasted until 1929. Real estate values rose sharply. There was a prodigious rash of construction activity. Skyscraper office buildings, large apartment houses and suburban developments were built at a frenzied pace. Real estate tax rolls rose so rapidly that municipal budget-making became an easy affair, altogether too easy. In New York City, for example, the tax rolls expanded by over a billion dollars in each of the years from 1925 to 1929. At the then current tax rate of $25 a thousand, this meant at least $25,000,000 in additional revenue each year.

Then came the crash. City budgets were over-extended but it was not easy to cut them back. Tax collections on the excessively high valuations of the late 20's fell badly into arrears. New burdens in the form of public relief and increased demands on public hospitals and other services appeared. Some cities went into bankruptcy; others came close to it. Many had the greatest difficulty meeting pay rolls and maturities on debt. Public works were abruptly curtailed, contributing to the general recession.

It was not until 1936 that some degree of stability was achieved for our cities through the WPA, which provided made work for the unemployed, and the PWA, which enabled cities to resume public construction programs. To some extent these programs were a snare and a delusion. They encouraged cities to expand activities and physical plant without insuring the means to continue them. A 50 per cent grant toward construction was very tempting, but there was no such grant toward maintenance and upkeep. There are a lot of us who could not afford a yacht or a Fifth Avenue mansion, even if we got one for nothing. Some of our cities were just beginning to realize this when World War II again changed the picture.

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[*] Dr. McGoldrick, former comptroller of New York City, has recently been appointed chairman of the Federal Rent Advisory Board for New York City. This article is his address before the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, Nashville, Tennessee, November 13, 1947.

Wartime Prosperity

The war period, whatever its other implications, was a favorable one for our cities. The problem of unemployment relief all but vanished. Large numbers of municipal employees were drawn into military service and there was no possibility of replacing them. The acute shortage of man power and materials was recognized by the public, which was quite willing to put up with a substantial reduction in the extent and quality of municipal service. Public construction was completely halted. Tax collections reached an all-time high. For the first time in 25 years our cities achieved a substantial reduction in their debt.

There were, however, a number of unfavorable factors rather less obvious. The war caused considerable undermaintenance of public plant. It added five years' obsolescence to this plant. By the end of the war, municipal rolling stock — fire engines, police prowl cars, sanitation trucks and the like—needed virtually complete replacement. Prices, however, were anywhere from 50 to 100 per cent above prewar levels.

Living costs for public employees had risen sharply during the war and they have risen even more sharply in the two years since V-J Day. Public employees are considerably more vocal today than they were in 1919 and 1920. A substantial number are unionized. There have been strikes and threats of strike even among school teachers.

Our cities today are virtually as dependent on ad valorem real estate taxes as they were 30 years ago. A five-year interruption of building has had a stimulating effect on the market price of real estate of virtually all types. This is gradually being reflected in assessment rolls and property tax yields. But federal rent control tends to hold the market values of multiple dwellings in check and assessors have not found it too easy to reflect the artificially high prices of one-family dwellings.

There is an even more serious threat to our larger and older cities implicit in the present acute housing shortage. The dire need for present dwellings, the difficulties and restraints upon eviction, and the unusually high prices being asked for them, have stimulated the tendency to move out and create new subdivisions. This is no new tendency. It has been going on for 30 or 40 years. But it has been accelerated in the present postwar period.

Where this new development is still within the municipality's political limits, it will bring a demand for police and fire protection, streetlighting and sewage connection, and particularly for schools. But much of this new construction will be beyond the city boundaries. As it continues it will drain off population.

Nor is it confined to housing. Factories and industrial plants are joining the exodus.

If this outward drift continues for the next three to five years, and there is every indication that it will, it will hasten the crisis of which many observers have been warning. Our cities will awaken to discover that they have lost the bulk of their middle class, self-supporting, taxpaying populations, and that they have been left with vast slum areas and even vaster areas of obsolescence and stagnation, which it will be virtually impossible, either practically or financially, to reclaim. In the next depression they can have these areas for unpaid taxes. But by the time they get them it will be too late to do anything with them.

In the light of this brief summary of the ups and downs of municipal finance, what can our cities do to meet the problems which confront them? Our cities need help. The kind of fundamental long-range financial planning which they need is beyond their own power and resources. They need financial planning at the state and federal level. They cannot get it from such well intentioned but hastily contrived and poorly thought out schemes as the WPA and PWA programs of the 30's.

There is a great and growing demand for a reduction in federal taxes. Much of it ignores the implications for our national economy in a period when inflation is a major threat. I shall not undertake here to step into that controversy. But I have yet to hear any one suggest that in any revision of the federal tax program thought should be given to the problems of other levels of government. What has become of the very excellent suggestions contained in the Gulick report[1] of several years ago? The war necessarily created great national burdens and required great expansion of federal taxation.

What we need today is a re-examination of the responsibilities of government at all levels and an appraisal of the resources available to meet those responsibilities. Our cities cannot undertake this task. No amount of long-range fiscal planning will solve the problems which they are squarely up against. They do need, of course, to pursue prudent policies as to the term of the debts which they create and the provisions which they make for retiring them. They need an orderly method of capital budgeting based on a sound appraisal of immediate and longer range needs. They need a machinery of city planning that will concern itself with a lot of things more fundamental than arterial highways and the locale of public buildings. They need sound current budgetary practice, particularly at a time when they are bursting the budgetary buttons and the temptation to fudge a budget is very great. But none of these, nor all of them together, will meet the crisis at hand and the greater crisis which lies ahead.

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[1] Report of the United States Treasury's Committee on Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations, composed of Luther Gulick, president of the Institute of Public Administration; Harold M. Groves, University of Wisconsin; and Mabel Newcomer, of Vassar College. For a digest of the report see the REVIEW, June 1943, page 297; July 1943, page 380; and September 1943, page 437.

Making Every Dollar Count

Insure full day's work for full day's pay, says expert in local affairs; padded pay rolls greatest city waste.

By **THOMAS H. REED***

THERE is no question but that American cities are going through a period of great financial strain. Their cost of living, like that of the individual, has shot up with frightening velocity. This is due in part to public demand for more and better municipal services and in part to the general fall in the purchasing power of the dollar which is characteristic of this as of previous postwar inflations. At the same time, normal sources of municipal income have failed to yield the additional revenue necessary to meet rising costs.

The great reliance of city government has been on the general property tax—in most states, in fact, the tax on real estate. Assessed valuations have increased slowly and falteringly—not that we should blame the assessors for clinging to prewar standards of value in the midst of skyrocketing prices which they cannot believe will be maintained permanently.

With the earnings of rental property frozen it is hard to raise the valuation on such property and consequently on all kinds of property. On the other hand, public opinion and constitutional and charter restrictions have prevented in many instances any substantial increase in real property tax rates. Property taxpayers are very conscious of the burdens they bear and generally they resist anything being added to them.

The result has been a widespread demand on the part of city governments for new sources of income. Sometimes this takes the form of a demand for a larger share in those state taxes on personal and corporate incomes, on alcoholic beverages, gasoline and other commodities, which have recently filled the coffers of the states to overflowing. Sometimes it calls for the right to levy new taxes on earned income, after the fashion of Philadelphia and Toledo, on retail sales, on public utility bills, on admissions to amusements, on the right to engage in certain trades, businesses and callings.

One cannot but sympathize with the desire of city officials to broaden the base of municipal taxation and assure their cities of a fairer share of the general tax dollar. It is not right that cities should be hobbled by restrictive tax legislation enacted by legislatures dominated by members from the country districts. The cities produce most of the tax receipts and should not be discriminated against in their distribution.

Nevertheless it would be throwing

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*Dr. Reed, municipal consultant, was advisor to the commissions drafting recently adopted charters in Hartford, Connecticut; Augusta, Georgia; and Richmond, Virginia; as well as the city-county consolidation charter for Baton Rouge and East Baton Rouge, Louisiana. This article is a summary of his address before the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, Nashville, Tennessee, November 13, 1947.

caution to the winds to assume that either shared taxes or the new "permissive" taxes for which so many cities are reaching out can be counted on to fill the gap between increased costs of city government and present revenues unless a full dollar's worth of service is wrung from every dollar of municipal revenue.

Too heavy a reliance on state-collected, locally-shared taxes spells an end to local self-government. "He who pays the piper calls the tune." Moreover, some of the most opulent sources of state revenue in times of prosperity dry up like mountain streams in July when depression hits. And the "permissive" taxes, whether on income, sales, amusements or occupations, are essentially only new methods of tapping old sources of supply. Putting a new spigot or two on the old barrel does not increase the barrel's liquid content. You may get a few more dollars out of a householder by requiring the gas company to collect a tax on the use of gas, or the movie theater proprietor to collect a tax based on the price of the tickets he sells, but it comes relentlessly from the householder's income from which directly or indirectly even the property tax is paid.

In other words, whatever is done about new sources of revenue—and the tax system calls for revision—there will always remain the obligation to keep the cost of government, including city government, down to the necessary minimum. This does not mean that desirable municipal services should be curtailed, but it does mean that all waste should be eliminated from municipal operations. There are two great sources of municipal waste: (1) reckless expenditure of borrowed money on capital "improvements" and (2) padded pay rolls.

The first of these leaks can be controlled by long-term planning of improvements so that money is not frittered away on unrelated projects or on those offering only minor advantage to the community; by holding up as far as possible public works in times of high prosperity and high cost, and building up reserves in cash or credit with which they may be undertaken in times of depression and low cost; by businesslike methods of contract letting and contract supervision.

Save with Efficient Workers

The second great source of waste is harder to manage, partly because it is not a matter of a few big leaks but of many little trickles. In their aggregate, however, these little trickles may become a mighty stream. Something like 80 per cent of all city expenditures, omitting debt service, is for salaries and wages. The savings to be accomplished by better purchasing methods are not to be ignored but they are a drop in the bucket compared to the vast sums which pour out of the city treasury into the pockets of employees. Really big savings in current expenditures, if made at all, must be made in the item of personal service.

This is not a suggestion that the wages of municipal employees should be cut. On the contrary, it is essential that employees be paid not merely a living wage but one commensurate with the wages paid for similar work in private employment.

It is neither honorable nor safe for a city to underpay its help. This is a plea, however, for getting a full day's work for a full day's pay and one that is as efficient as sound organization, modern procedures and mechanized equipment can make it.

It has been the habit of government in general and city government in particular to get results by the sheer numbers employed. A political boss bent on strengthening his machine likes a multitude of small jobs to distribute much better than a few big jobs. Little men and women are more docile and more conscious of the favor done them than larger men would be. City pay rolls are often overloaded with old, decrepit, untrained and incompetent people, whose supposed work is really done by someone else. It is easy to see the disastrous results of applying the new style of city pay scales to such people.

Cities can afford to pay current wages only to able-bodied, able-minded and well trained men and women. "Fewer and better" is the policy which intelligent city management must apply to its personnel problem. This means, among other things, that there must be better methods of personnel selection, higher standards for admission, and more and better in-service training.

The efforts of good employees are often thwarted by bad organization. Unwieldy boards and commissions, divided responsibility, the absence of trained and experienced supervision at the right spots, are costly errors to be found over and over again in city governments.

Progressive private industry has been meeting the problem of higher wage scales by increasing the productivity of the individual employee. It has given him a better machine or installed streamlined procedures which multiply the results of his effort. Cities can do the same thing—and must if the public's demand for service is to be met without crushing every one under a mountain of taxation.

This comment applies, of course, to all levels of government. In most instances it is easier to get something done about it at home on the local level. If we do it there it will be possible to move forward more hopefully into the complexities of state and national government.

In Good Times Plan for Bad

Long range programming and protected reserves will help carry cities through depressions as well as boom periods.

By WILLIAM STANLEY PARKER*

AN important technique in municipal government, which is of vital importance to the future stability of our cities and towns and which can also be an important aid to the stabilization of our national income, is the procedure for developing long range financial programs. It is sometimes referred to as a "capital outlay program," but that is only one part of the end result. No capital outlay program can be intelligently prepared until after a program of operating expenses has been developed on top of which any program of capital outlays must be superimposed.

Municipal operations comprise a category of expenditures of major importance. During depressions and wars federal spending becomes the dominant factor. During periods of relative normalcy—both past and future — municipal expenditures probably constitute the largest segment of public works. This being so, the way in which local public works are financed and their fluctuations in magnitude are matters of great importance in the national economy.

Heretofore municipal expenditures have been budgeted on a year-to-year basis, and expenditures for local public works have followed closely the boom and depression experience of private industry. On this account they constituted a serious handicap to the national recovery efforts of the 1930's.

During President Hoover's term of office unemployment developed rapidly. In an attempt to stem the tide Hoover doubled annual expenditures on federal public works from $300,000,000 to $600,000,000. During the same period states and municipalities reduced their annual expenditures for public works by two billion dollars. For every dollar the federal government added, local governments pulled about seven dollars out.

The counter-cyclical theory of spending involves increased public spending to offset decreased private spending. During the 1930's the federal government embarked on a spending program of that nature, but it took five years for this increased federal program of public works to offset the decrease in local spending on public works. This prevented the federal counter-cyclical construction program from functioning as an offset to the drastic drop in private construction. Its whole force was taken up in offsetting a decrease in another category of public construction.

Thus, in the past, local public works have tended to increase both the height of the boom and the depth of the depression, although for the past 25 years and more municipal officials have been told to do just the opposite. Report after report has argued in behalf of the counter-cyclical theory for public spending and has applied it to all levels of government. While this holds true for federal spending, it is wholly unfeasible for municipal spending. An individual town meeting or city council is incapable of thinking in terms of a counter-cyclical policy because of budgetary procedure, sources of funds and statutory debt limits.

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*Mr. Parker, a consultant on public works programming, is chairman of Boston's City Planning Board. This article is his address before the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, Nashville, Tennessee, November 13, 1947.

Stabilization Policy

It is therefore a waste of time to recommend it, yet authoritative reports are still doing so. There is, however, an alternative policy that can be understood by local officials and can form a sound basis on which to program municipal operations. It might be called a "policy of stabilization." The counter-cyclical policy involves conscious instability, planned fluctuations counter to those of private enterprise. A policy of stabilization means the leveling out of annual expenditures over a period of years. It would be exemplified by a six-year program in which approximately one-sixth of the total outlays would be planned for each year.

The advantage of this policy is that each municipality can apply it to its own affairs without any dictation from the state or federal government. It will be based upon local need, within the limits of local ability to pay. It will omit any consideration of outside grants other than those of a normal character that are related to permanent federal and state policies, such as welfare grants and certain education and highway grants.

Perhaps the most important feature of such a policy will be its inevitable tendency to prevent undue spending in a boom. This is a form of preventive medicine that is of great importance. To consider merely ways to stimulate spending in a depression without considering how to control spending in a boom is futile. Both are needed, but in the past the principal accent has been on relief programs. I urge the need of greater concentration on how to apply the preventive medicine that will tend to reduce the peak of the boom and as a result reduce the depth of the depression.

The counter-cyclical policy is desirable and feasible for federal operations, but if it is to function effectively to counterbalance fluctuations in private enterprise, it is essential to secure a substantial degree of stability in municipal expenditures, otherwise the history of the 1930's will be repeated. To accomplish this, it is of first importance to promulgate an understandable policy and educate municipal officials in the application of its procedure.

Two elements are involved: long range programming and protected reserves. The Massachusetts State Planning Board in 1938 recommended that municipalities be permitted to build up protected long-term reserves. At that time no state permitted them. Now 26 states have statutes permitting municipal reserves, in most cases limited to use for capital outlays. This permission should be extended throughout the other states, but education in the need of such reserves and how they should be accumulated and used will be necessary if this new legislation is to be put to use.

Long range programming procedure for municipalities was developed by the Committee on Public Works of the National Resources Planning Board, starting in January 1939. At that time investigation discovered no instance of its prior use. Since then some progress has been made. New York and some other large cities are applying programming. In New England at least 34 cities and towns have initiated programming. Not all have continued to carry it out consistently but a start has been made.

So far as I am aware, little has been done to develop this procedure in the smaller communities of other states. Two years ago a start was made in Indiana and the Indiana Economic Council issued a bulletin of information, which has had a statewide distribution. A somewhat similar but simpler bulletin on programming has been issued by the New Hampshire State Planning and Development Commission. Perhaps there are others, but action of this sort by state governments is not in proportion to the importance of the subject.

The federal government properly took responsibility for the original research and the development of the procedure for municipal programming. The states should carry on with publicity to stimulate its adoption in their own interest, as the stability of a state is a reflection of the aggregate stability of its cities and towns.

Probably no agency is as well equipped to take the lead in fostering this idea as is the National Municipal League. It has had long experience in initiating and securing adoption of improved procedures in municipal government. Good budgetary procedure is of great importance but it is not wholly satisfying if its end product has to be recorded in red ink. The basic financial weakness of our municipalities is a serious national weakness, as clearly indicated during the 1930's. It can absorb so large a part of federal compensatory spending in a depression as to nullify its effect as an offset to reduced private spending. It is important, then, to put our municipalities on a sounder basis and make possible some substantial degree of stabilization of their operations over the cycle of good and bad times.

Spending in Public Interest

Public spending should be administered in the public interest. It is not enough for public officials to spend freely when taxes come easy and curtail spending when taxes come hard. If they are to be in a position to carry on normal spending in periods of depression they must make it possible by the financial policies they adopt in times of prosperity. In this regard a municipal corporation is just like a private corporation. Financial resilience capable of meeting the demands of hard times can come only as a result of prudent policies in good times. If that large category of spending represented by our municipalities is to cease being a disturbing factor and become a con-

(Continued on page 68)

Tax Rates of American Cities

During past year adjusted rates have remained stationary but assessments have been boosted by more than 15 per cent.

By BUREAU OF GOVERNMENTAL RESEARCH, DETROIT, AND THE NATIONAL TRAINING SCHOOL FOR PUBLIC SERVICE*

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THE high spot of the 1947 property tax survey of 321 cities is the unprecedented 15.7 per cent increase in per capita assessed valuation over last year's equivalent figure. Unadjusted tax rates decreased an average of $.71 and rates adjusted to a 100 per cent assessment base decreased $.05, hardly a match for the increase in assessed valuation. School rates did show a small increase of $.54 or 3.7 per cent.

Adjusted, Unadjusted Rates

Table I shows that the $.05 decrease in the adjusted rates is the smallest change since 1942. It is also the first decrease since 1943. The last three years have shown a gradual climb in both adjusted rates and assessed valuations. Prior to that, as Table I indicates, when assessments were raised rates decreased or vice versa.

The sharp increase in assessed valuation this year with its consequent increased yield would lead one to expect rates to tumble noticeably. However, this assumption has held only for the almost imperceptible decrease of five cents. Cities evidently clung to all of the extra revenue from higher assessments to meet steadily advancing operating costs and deferred capital improvement programs.

The familiar pattern of higher rates, but only a slight upward revision in valuations, will probably occur again in another year.

Table II indicates that unadjusted and adjusted rates dropped most severely in those cities comprising the first population group. It was also this group, comprising the five largest American cities, that had the sharpest increase in per capita assessed valuation.

Cities in Group V report an average increase in unadjusted rates ($1.08) but a decrease in adjusted rates ($.69), primarily because of lowered ratios of assessed to true valuation. Group VI, or the cities under 50,000 population, evidenced just the opposite trend—dropping in the unadjusted rates and increasing in the adjusted rates.

There were 138 cities that indicated no change in their adjusted rates; 77 that indicated an increase; and 86 a decrease. Eighteen cities are excluded in this instance as comparability with last year was doubtful.

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*The following Volker Fellows of the Training School compiled and tabulated the data as part of their field training with the Bureau of Governmental Research under the supervision of Richard A. Ware of the bureau staff: David R. Baldwin, University of Connecticut; Alan K. Campbell, Whitman College; Henry S. Ernst, Jr., Heidelberg College; W. Robert Erickson, Brown University; William R. Michener, University of Kansas; Alvin K. Peterjohn, Western Reserve University; Joseph E. Slupecke, Pennsylvania State College; Richard C. Spaulding, Amherst College; Clarence J. Ziegler, Lehigh University.

School Rates

Because of the nation-wide interest in the public school "crisis," unadjusted school rates were tabulated separately and compared with those of 1946. To some extent cities have dug a little deeper into their own tax resources to provide the additional revenue sought for schools. This increase in school rates amounted to $.54 or 3.7 per cent. This is in contrast to a decrease in the total unadjusted rates, including the school rates, of 1.6 per cent. It should be borne in mind that the school rate increase comes on top of the increase in assessed valuation.

Assessed Valuations

In part responsible for the tremendous increase in per capita assessed valuation, indicated in Table I, is the Walker-Butler Act. This is a recent Illinois statute that requires property to be assessed at 100 per cent of true or cash value. Operation of the act has boosted by 47 per cent the valuation of the twenty Illinois cities reported in this study. In Chicago alone the assessed valuation increased by $2,800,000,000.

The Walker-Butler Act, however, is not entirely responsible for the change nationally. Omitting the twenty Illinois cities from the calculation, the increase is 12.7 per cent, or 125 per cent greater than the previous four years' total. It is the greatest increase in assessments since a comparison was first made in 1932.

The average per capita assessed values show the greatest increase, 26 per cent, in cities of population Group I. Groups V and VI follow with respective increases of 10 per cent and 15 per cent. The remaining groups also show increases ranging from 4 per cent through 8 per cent.

A partial explanation may perhaps be found in a pressure to raise valuation in response to presently inflated real estate values. A second reason is the postwar spurt in both residential and commercial construction.

Increases in total assessed valuation as new property is added to tax rolls is a relatively more sound financial policy than increases to keep abreast of inflated real estate values. This latter course, usually politically expedient, can only lead to overly extended municipal credit, inflated revenue bases and eventual financial

TABLE I
Annual Change in Assessed Value and Average Adjusted Tax Rate of American Cities

Year	*Average Per Capita Assessed Value*	*Per Cent of Change in Assessment*	*Average Adjusted Tax Rate Amount of Change*[a]
1947	$1,691	+ 15.7%	— 0.05
1946	1,426	+ 5.3	+ .52
1945	1,354	+ 1.3	+ .22
1944	1,341	+ 1.1	+ .12
1943	1,323	+ .6	— .35
1942	1,387	+ 1.5	— .05
1941	1,373	— .1	+ .02

[a] Per $1,000 of assessed value.

distress. It is also a departure from scientific assessing practices of determining values and considering the tax rate, not the assessments, to be the variant sympathetic to revenue needs.

Tax Exemption

Many cities are faced with the problem of property exempt from taxation by virtue of ownership by government, religious, charitable and non-profit organizations; special privileges to industries; and homesteads.

To report some information on this problem cities were asked to indicate what percentage of the property carried on the tax rolls was exempt for the reasons mentioned. Of the 177 cities that replied to the question, the average amounts to 17.3 per cent.

It is not likely that all the cities answering the question included within the definition of tax-exempt property those parcels owned by themselves and by proprietary governmental enterprises, and the property in possession of the state and federal governments. Thus the percentage indicated as exempt is a minimum figure.

Even assuming the 17 per cent to be an adequate figure, it is obvious that the privilege of tax exemption is fostering a heavier burden on "paying" property, that the basic revenue source of local governments is being shrunk in the process, and that the entire problem requires some careful attention and extensive study.

Tax Collection

The current economic prosperity is reflected by a 96.88 per cent collection of the 1946-47 tax levy in 255 cities. This compares with 96.62 per cent for the year 1945-46. Both figures are many times removed from depression and recession figures of less than 75 per cent in many instances.

Tabulation Explained

Several comments and notes of caution are in order on the tabulation itself.

The figure reported as the assessed value is the total amount of assess-

TABLE II
Comparison of 1947 and 1946 Average Unadjusted and Adjusted Tax Rates of American Cities

Population Group[a]	*Average Unadjusted Rates Per $1000 Assessed Value*			*Average Adjusted Rates Per $1000 Assessed Value*		
	1947	*1946*	*Change*	*1947*	*1946*	*Change*
I	$34.28	$43.56	— $9.28	$29.13	$32.86	— $3.73
II	36.68	37.19	— .51	32.12	32.92	— .80
III	47.39	51.83	— 4.44	27.30	27.53	— .23
IV	41.85	41.04	+ .81	30.36	30.00	+ .36
V	41.27	40.19	+ 1.08	27.37	28.06	— .69
VI[b]	38.60	40.08	— 1.48	27.30	26.55	+ .75
	$40.52	$41.23	— .71	$28.04	$28.09	— .05

[a] Population groups defined by United States Bureau of Census as indicated in tabulation following article.

[b] Group VI is defined by the Bureau of Census to include cities between 25,000 and 50,000 population, but in this study cities under 30,000 are not included.

ment rolls certified for city taxes and includes both realty and personalty.

The tax rates reported are all based on $1,000 of assessed valuation. Many cities reported rates levied by special taxing units such as park, library, relief, sanitary and water supply districts. These rates have been included in the rates reported under the four general headings with footnotes to give the necessary breakdown and explanation. In this way the total tax borne by property in a given city is reflected.

The estimated ratio of assessed value to true value includes both the city and county ratios. Generally, the city and county ratios are identical because either one unit or the other does the assessing. In cases where the city and county ratios differ, the percentage reported is an average of the two ratios weighted in accordance with the applicable rates.

The figure listed as the adjusted tax rate shows what the tax rate would be if the ratio of assessed to true value were 100 per cent for all cities listed. Even though based on judgment and interpretation, this adjusted rate presents a better basis for comparing tax rates in different cities than the actual rates levied. The adjusted figure is derived by multiplying each component part of the total unadjusted rate by the reported city or county ratio and adding the products.

The reader must realize that the tax rates reported do not furnish either a quantitative or qualitative measure of municipal services. One city with a relatively low rate may provide more services in a more efficient manner than another city. Therefore, it is not possible to use the data reported in this survey for comparing the costs and services of various cities.

The reader is cautioned against multiplying the assessed value by the total tax rate to derive the total tax levy because of the varied ratios of assessment, the varied tax rates applying to real and personal property, and the fact that special district taxes may affect only part of a city.

Acknowledgment

This is the 26th annual tabulation of tax rates of cities over 30,000 population. It has been made possible by the continued cooperation of city and county officials, bureaus of municipal research, chambers of commerce and other organizations in the cities to which questionnaires were sent.

(See following pages for tabulation.)

COMPARATIVE TAX RATES OF 321 AMERICAN CITIES FOR 1947

Compiled by the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research from Data Furnished by City Officials and Members of the Governmental Research Association

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
	Group I											
	Population 1,000,000 or over											
1	New York, N. Y.[1]	7,454,995	16,938,467,453	N	—	—	—	—	30.10	100	30.10	1
2	Chicago, Ill.[2]	3,396,808	7,549,887,569	23	14.90	9.60	3.00	N	27.50	100	27.50	2
3	Philadelphia, Pa.[3]	1,931,334	3,411,326,450	21	17.00	11.75	N	N	28.75	100	28.75	3
4	Detroit, Mich.[4]	1,623,452	3,462,146,922	29	19.13	9.45	5.33	N	33.91	100	33.91	4
5	Los Angeles, Calif.[5]	1,504,277	2,140,499,412	22	15.75	16.06	19.66	N	51.47	50	25.74	5
	Group II											
	Population 500,000 to 1,000,000											
6	Cleveland, Ohio	878,336	1,491,604,480	21	15.80	9.80	4.10	N	29.70	75	22.28	6
7	Baltimore, Md.[6]	859,100	1,963,729,194	37	29.60	—	N	1.00	30.60	100	30.60	7
8	St. Louis, Mo.[7]	816,048	1,155,147,990	9	17.70	9.00	N	.70	27.40	100	27.40	8
9	Boston, Mass.	770,816	1,558,610,900	10	33.25	9.76	2.27	1.22	46.50	100	46.50	9
10	Pittsburgh, Pa.[8]	671,659	961,462,404	N	20.13	11.75	8.38	N	40.26	100	40.26	10
11	Washington, D. C.	663,091	1,816,012,527	13	20.00	—	N	N	20.00	100	20.00	11
12	San Francisco, Calif.[9]	634,536	913,618,182	20	42.53	13.67	—	N	56.20	50	28.10	12
13	Milwaukee, Wis.	587,472	913,521,765	17	14.75	12.46	11.73	.24	39.18	84	33.41	13
14	Buffalo, N. Y.[10]	575,901	955,697,968	N	22.01	7.50	10.81	—	40.32	100	40.32	14

See also general notes at end of tabulation.

N = None.

— = Figures or breakdown not available

* = Rate indicated is for past fiscal year.

† = These cities reported different assessment ratios for the city and county, or for land and buildings. The figure shown is the weighted average (to the nearest integer) of the several ratios.

[1] **New York City.** Rate shown is for borough of Manhattan. Total rate for Bronx is $29.80; Brooklyn $30.10; Queens $30.60; Richmond $29.80. Totals include levy for reassessments of special assessments which are borough-wide in character. Assessment ratio shown is figure reported by State Tax Commission. Recent court decisions seem to indicate continued overassessing. The City Budget Department is studying the efficiency and equity of the assessing procedure. See footnote h.

[2] **Chicago.** City rate includes $2.80 Park District and $2.10 Sanitary District levies. County rate includes $.40 Forest Preserve tax. See footnote d.

[3] **Philadelphia.** City and county are consolidated. Rate for intangible personalty is $4.00 per $1,000. See footnote k.

[4] **Detroit.** City rate includes library $.65, and library debt service $.04. Statutory ratio given in table; a spot check, made by the auditor-general, of sales of homes indicates that the ratio of assessed valuation to sale price is 48 per cent.

[5] **Los Angeles.** County rate includes flood control $1.98; metropolitan water district estimated adjustment for total assessment roll is $2.75, the rate as levied on land and improvements is $3.50.

[6] **Baltimore.** Assessed valuation includes $67,700,000 shares of bank and trust companies, $370,000,000 deposits in savings banks, $87,360,900 railroad securities, taxed at one per cent, $1.875, and $3 respectively. Schools, included in city rate, approximately 20 per cent of funds raised by levy. There is no county government in Baltimore.

[7] **St. Louis.** St. Louis is a city and county within itself. City rates include county rate.

[8] **Pittsburgh.** City rate represents a weighted average of $28 on land and $14 on buildings for an estimated rate of $20.13. See footnote k.

[9] **San Francisco.** Assessed valuation does not include solvent credits of $368,193,847. City and county governments are combined.

[10] **Buffalo.** County rate includes $.82 Buffalo Sewer Authority. See footnote h.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
	Group III											
	Population 250,000 to 500,000											
15	New Orleans, La.[11]	494,537	542,612,884	27	23.78	7.00	—	5.75	36.53	100	36.53	15
16	Minneapolis, Minn.[g]	492,370	250,538,676	24	69.07	25.88	20.35	7.70	123.00	34	41.91	16
17	Cincinnati, Ohio	455,610	908,176,030	15	9.72	9.37	3.29	N	22.38	80	17.90	17
18	Newark, N. J.	429,760	725,528,400	29	32.20	19.70	7.90	N	59.80	65	38.87	18
19	Kansas City, Mo.	399,178	556,010,320	25	13.90	16.00	7.20	.70	37.80	76†	28.85	19
20	Indianapolis, Ind.[12]	386,972	555,550,040	30	20.35	13.05	5.90	1.30	40.60	100	40.60	20
21	Houston, Tex.[13]	384,514	404,528,700	30	19.75	12.50	9.20	3.70	45.15*	47†	21.29	21
22	Seattle, Wash.[14]	368,302	318,889,182	27	20.70	13.00	13.40	2.20	49.30	30	14.79	22
23	Rochester, N. Y.[15]	324,975	540,466,495	N	19.02	11.06	9.43	—	39.51	100	39.51	23
24	Denver, Colo.[16]	322,412	429,511,420	33	21.66	19.00	—	3.42	44.08	80	35.26	24
25	Louisville, Ky.	319,077	370,979,113	16	15.75	9.05	5.00	.50	30.30	80	24.24	25
26	Columbus, Ohio	306,087	459,693,820	10	6.46	7.94	2.40	N	16.80	67	11.26	26
27	Portland, Ore.[17]	305,394	414,994,230	22	19.40	15.90	17.10	N	52.40	58	30.39	27
28	Atlanta, Ga.[18]	302,288	452,726,098	40	16.00	—	24.00	5.00	45.00	56†	24.98	28
29	Oakland, Calif.[19]	302,163	337,516,600	9	27.10	22.80	22.40	N	72.30	30	21.69	29
30	Jersey City, N. J.[20]	301,173	381,450,517	15	33.98	24.67	18.62	N	77.27	70	54.09	30
31	Dallas, Tex.[m]	294,734	493,036,491	33	18.50	10.00	8.30	7.20	44.00	62†	27.05	31
32	Memphis, Tenn.	292,942	364,904,927	10	11.50	6.50	9.10	.80	27.90	52	14.51	32
33	St. Paul, Minn.[21]	287,736	144,963,890	24	39.70	23.30	28.10	7.70	98.80	33	32.60	33
34	Toledo, Ohio	282,349	482,096,240	16	8.35	8.62	2.83	N	19.80	74†	14.71	34
35	Birmingham, Ala.[22]	267,583	236,193,318	23	18.00	—	11.50	6.50	36.00	40	14.40	35
36	San Antonio, Tex.[m]	253,854	241,169,750	24	19.30	11.80	8.00	7.20	46.30	49†	22.46	36
37	Providence, R. I.[1]	253,504	515,663,260	23	—	—	—	—	25.00	80	20.00	37

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[11] **New Orleans.** City rate includes city, parish and $5.50 levee and flood reparations rate.

[12] **Indianapolis.** County rate includes $1.20 Indianapolis Center Township. See footnote e.

[13] **Houston.** City rate includes $2.50 library rate. See footnote m.

[14] **Seattle.** County rate includes $1.50, Port of Seattle rate. See footnote n.

[15] **Rochester.** County rate includes $2.11 county charge backs against the city of Rochester. See footnote h.

[16] **Denver.** Consolidated city-county rate because of city-county governmental organization.

[17] **Portland.** City rate includes $1.66 Dock Commission levy. County rate includes $.70 Port of Portland tax.

[18] **Atlanta.** City rate includes schools and debt service. County rate includes $4 hospital rate. See footnote c.

[19] **Oakland.** County rate includes utility district $2.60 and regional park $.50.

[20] **Jersey City.** City and school rates are assessed by the city and are certified by the County Board of Taxation before being levied.

[21] **St. Paul.** Total rate shown is for non-homestead property. Rate on homesteads is $92.55. See footnote g.

[22] **Birmingham.** City rate includes schools. See footnote a.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
	Group IV											
	Population 100,000 to 250,000											
38	Akron, Ohio	244,791	370,000,000	22	13.71	9.31	3.98	N	27.00	64	17.28	38
39	Omaha, Nebr.[23]	233,844	272,728,340	31	14.20	15.00	5.09	4.68	38.97	79	30.90	39
40	Dayton, Ohio[24]	210,718	350,850,960	20	8.50	11.61	3.49	N	23.60	55	12.98	40
41	Syracuse, N. Y.[h]	205,967	346,001,878	N	22.99	8.83	13.54	.07	45.43	100	45.43	41
42	Oklahoma City, Okla.[j]	204,424	128,052,714	20	18.15	24.21	11.89	—	54.25	40	21.70	42
43	San Diego, Calif.[25]	203,341	258,610,290	22	19.00	18.70	20.60	N	58.30	50	29.15	43
44	Worcester, Mass.	193,694	277,469,750	7	28.87	9.25	1.31	.57	40.00	100	40.00	44
45	Richmond, Va.[26]	193,042	383,207,056	15	14.50	7.50	N	N	22.00	90	19.80	45
46	Honolulu, T. H.[27]	179,358	281,480,289	37	—	—	—	—	28.33	33	9.35	46
47	Fort Worth, Tex.[28]	177,662	192,718,450	27	20.20	11.60	9.70	3.70	45.20*	62†	28.01	47
48	Jacksonville, Fla.[29]	173,065	163,376,580	20	15.50	14.27	10.73	N	40.50*	100	40.50	48
49	Miami, Fla.[30]	172,172	311,042,560	21	30.60	12.15	6.00	N	48.75	100	48.75	49
50	Youngstown, Ohio[31]	167,720	288,458,160	14	7.34	9.86	3.60	N	20.80	80	16.64	50
51	Nashville, Tenn.	167,402	206,315,407	21	17.50	5.50	—	—	23.00	70	16.10	51
52	Hartford, Conn.[32]	166,267	386,435,685	19	25.98	12.76	.51	—	39.25	100	39.25	52
53	Grand Rapids, Mich.[33]	164,292	244,351,500	27	7.61	6.43	3.79	N	17.83	80	14.26	53
54	Long Beach, Calif.[34]	164,271	308,231,965	18	12.57	22.60	21.79	N	56.96	50	28.48	54
55	New Haven, Conn.[35]	160,605	325,862,501	23	18.77	11.54	.44	—	30.75	100	30.75	55
56	Des Moines, Iowa	159,819	142,696,729	14	23.07	31.65	10.69	N	65.41	60	39.25	56
57	Flint, Mich.	151,543	280,846,620	22	7.91	7.00	3.00	N	17.91	94	16.84	57
58	Salt Lake City, Utah[36]	149,934	145,730,471	27	20.05	27.95	7.60	N	55.60	30	16.68	58
59	Springfield, Mass.	149,554	264,547,025	9	20.01	14.34	1.80	.85	37.00	100	37.00	59
60	Bridgeport, Conn.[37]	147,121	289,529,175	29	23.08	8.35	.21	.56	32.20	100	32.20	60

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[23] **Omaha.** Estimated ratio based on statutory requirement that real property be assessed at 70 per cent of true value, and personal property at 100 per cent.

[24] **Dayton.** City rate includes $.46 Miami Conservancy District, and county rate includes $.02 Miami Conservancy District.

[25] **San Diego.** County rate includes water authority $1.40.

[26] **Richmond.** Estimated ratio reported by the State Department of Taxation. Total rate does not include $6 machinery tax.

[27] **Honolulu.** Rates are consolidated for city and county purposes including schools. Homestead exemption: first $1,500 assessed value plus one half of value between $1,500 and $5,000. Tax rate given in table is weighted average of real property rate at $32.52 and personal property rate at $21.34.

[28] **Fort Worth.** City rate includes $3.20 water control rate. See footnote m.

[29] **Jacksonville.** County rate includes $.20 navigation district rate and $.34 air base authority levy. See footnote b.

[30] **Miami.** Assessed valuation includes $86,873,060 homestead exempt property liable only for debt service levy. City rate represents an average of six tax districts. See footnote b.

[31] **Youngstown.** City rate includes sanitary district rate of $1.28 and $.12 township.

[32] **Hartford.** Adjusted figures by the City Board of Relief were used for assessed valuation. City rate includes $.90 Metropolitan District.

[33] **Grand Rapids.** City rate includes debt service of $1.04; school rate includes debt service of $.08. The estimated ratio is the county equalization figure supplied by the State Tax Commission.

[34] **Long Beach.** County rate includes metropolitan water district $3.50, county flood control $1.98, and sanitation district $1.38.

[35] **New Haven.** Tax rate for Ward 32 is $15.88.

[36] **Salt Lake City.** City rate includes mosquito abatement rate of $.30 and metropolitan water district rate of $1. School rate includes state school equalization rate of $8.50.

[37] **Bridgeport.** City rate includes all debt service including school debt of $4.27 and welfare $1.85.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
61	Norfolk, Va.[38]	144,332	185,988,240	16	27.00	—	N	N	27.00	100	27.00	61
62	Yonkers, N. Y.[39]	142,598	288,853,065	N	19.96	10.11	6.65	.09	36.81	100	36.81	62
63	Tulsa, Okla.[j]	142,157	118,916,718	17	15.72	24.47	9.86	N	50.05	50	25.03	63
64	Scranton, Pa.[40]	140,404	96,398,222	N	21.11	22.50	8.20	N	51.81	75	38.86	64
65	Paterson, N. J.	139,656	160,967,576	10	17.04	18.45	8.54	N	44.03	100	44.03	65
66	Albany, N. Y.[41]	130,577	241,709,445	N	28.80	—	10.87	.78	40.45	100	40.45	66
67	Chattanooga, Tenn.	128,163	133,244,300	11	25.00	—	—	—	25.00	65	16.25	67
68	Trenton, N. J.	124,697	155,743,364	18	21.58	23.50	9.32	N	54.40	77†	42.12	68
69	Spokane, Wash.[n]	122,001	86,760,631	25	18.00	13.00	9.60	2.20	42.80	50	21.40	69
70	Kansas City, Kans.	121,458	84,626,835*	19	28.94	27.47	16.65	1.58	74.64	35	26.12	70
71	Fort Wayne, Ind.[e]	118,410	205,000,000	27	9.15	11.75	6.80	1.50	29.20	65	18.98	71
72	Camden, N. J.	117,536	136,132,615	16	21.87	18.35	13.78	N	54.00	100	54.00	72
73	Erie, Pa.[k]	116,955	125,310,580	N	17.00	17.00	7.00	N	41.00	96†	39.25	73
74	Fall River, Mass.	115,428	115,057,800	15	—	—	—	—	42.80	100	42.80	74
75	Wichita, Kans.[42]	114,966	152,867,123	21	13.56	24.26	9.10	1.58	48.50	50	24.25	75
76	Wilmington, Del.	112,504	176,630,250	N	16.15	2.25	5.00	N	23.40	70	16.38	76
77	Gary, Ind.[43]	111,719	147,000,000	—	17.55	21.15	11.60	1.50	51.80	40	20.72	77
78	Knoxville, Tenn.[44]	111,580	164,067,225	22	19.18	7.22	18.80	—	45.20	72†	32.40	78
79	Cambridge, Mass.	110,879	190,927,150	7	24.53	7.86	1.09	2.02	35.50	100	35.50	79
80	Reading, Pa.[45]	110,568	138,713,175	N	12.00	19.00	6.50	N	37.50	87†	34.25	80
81	New Bedford, Mass.	110,341	110,110,450	13	33.35	10.81	1.60	.64	46.40	100	46.40	81
82	Elizabeth, N. J.	109,921	134,106,335	10	30.70	12.20	5.90	N	48.80	100	48.80	82
83	Tacoma, Wash.[46]	109,408	63,433,417	28	23.22	25.40	12.00	2.13	62.75	20	12.55	83
84	Canton, Ohio	108,401	177,612,490	19	5.20	9.20	2.40	N	16.80	80	13.44	84
85	Tampa, Fla.[47]	108,391	125,543,278	24	32.50	17.50	18.80	N	68.80	75	51.60	85
86	Sacramento, Calif.[48]	105,958	142,590,670	14	20.40	21.50	13.40	N	55.30	67†	36.87	86
87	Peoria, Ill.[49]	105,087	342,507,810	28	8.86	6.27	1.27	N	16.40	100	16.40	87

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[38] **Norfolk.** City rate includes school tax. Total rate does not include $2 machinery tax.

[39] **Yonkers.** City rate includes $6.67 debt service (other than water and schools) and $.69 reserve prior year items. See footnote h.

[40] **Scranton.** City rate represents weighted average of $29.82 on land and $14.91 on improvements for an estimated rate of $21.11. County rate includes $2.20 Lackawanna County Institution District and $.50 Scranton-Dunmore Poor District Liquidation Accounts. See footnote k.

[41] **Albany.** City rate includes schools. See footnote h.

[42] **Wichita.** School rate includes $2.49 University of Wichita.

[43] **Gary.** Rates furnished by city and are subject to approval by State Board of Tax Commissioners. See footnote e.

[44] **Knoxville.** City rate includes debt service $7.95 and library rate $.61.

[45] **Reading.** County rate does not include $4 personal property tax. See footnote k.

[46] **Tacoma.** City rate includes park rate of $2.50. County rate includes port rate of $2. See footnote n.

[47] **Tampa.** City rate represents levy on Territory A. Rate for Territory B $32.10, Territory C $30.70, Territory D $32.20. See footnote b.

[48] **Sacramento.** County rate includes flood control $.40.

[49] **Peoria.** City rate includes $1. Greater Peoria Sanitary District and $1.12 Pleasure Driveway and park district levies. See footnote d.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
88	Somerville, Mass.	102,177	133,975,950	7	26.78	12.29	1.76	3.07	43.90	100	43.90	88
89	Lowell, Mass.	101,389	97,367,200	9	31.79	11.86	2.15	—	45.80	100	45.80	89
90	South Bend, Ind.[e]	101,268	161,733,930	30	15.15	11.95	6.60	1.50	35.20	54†	19.06	90
91	Duluth, Minn.[50]	101,065	45,320,209	20	49.94	42.53	28.63	7.70	128.80	45†	58.95	91
92	Charlotte, N. C.[51]	100,899	140,853,270	31	12.50	4.50	—	N	17.00	67	11.39	92
93	Utica, N. Y.[h]	100,518	128,261,149	N	22.91	9.94	—	—	32.85	82	26.94	93
	Group V Population 50,000 to 100,000											
94	Waterbury, Conn.[52]	99,314	218,324,367	25	19.81	8.87	.35	.72	29.75	72	21.42	94
95	Shreveport, La.	98,167	130,307,800	30	20.00	12.00	2.00	5.75	39.75	60	23.85	95
96	Lynn, Mass.	98,123	Not reported									96
97	Evansville, Ind.[e]	97,062	144,781,380	27	12.10	12.90	12.90	1.30	39.20	75	29.40	97
98	Allentown, Pa.[k]	96,904	109,013,248	N	14.00	16.50	5.00	N	35.50	40	14.20	98
99	El Paso, Tex.[m]	96,810	106,601,040	24	13.50	13.50	7.60	3.70	38.30	75†	28.60	99
100	Savannah, Ga.[c]	95,996	67,889,670	25	23.00	15.00	12.50	5.00	55.50	25	13.88	100
101	Little Rock, Ark.	88,039	49,622,280	23	14.20	18.00	8.30	6.50	47.00	20	9.40	101
102	Austin, Tex.[m]	87,930	81,082,385	19	18.00	7.00	8.50	3.70	37.20	57	21.20	102
103	Schenectady, N. Y.[53]	87,549	160,707,320	N	18.54	13.39	9.29	—	41.22	85	35.04	103
104	Wilkes-Barre, Pa.[54]	86,236	79,231,713	7	17.00	18.50	8.70	N	44.20	100	44.20	104
105	Berkeley, Calif.[55]	85,547	108,785,690	14	18.20	20.20	18.40	N	56.80	46†	26.36	105
106	Rockford, Ill.[56]	84,637	264,571,948	22	7.10	7.20	1.20	N	15.50	100	15.50	106
107	Lawrence, Mass.	84,323	85,441,800	9	18.87	16.61	3.34	.98	39.80	100	39.80	107
108	Harrisburg, Pa.[k]	83,893	94,943,025	N	14.00	16.50	6.00	N	36.50	58†	21.30	108
109	Saginaw, Mich.[57]	82,794	135,450,681	20	7.35	5.70	3.80	N	16.85	66†	11.04	109
110	Glendale, Calif.[58]	82,582	108,831,535	15	9.80	21.79	16.91	N	48.50	50	24.25	110
111	Sioux City, Iowa	82,364	79,984,391	14	18.45	22.73	9.25	N	50.43	60	30.26	111
112	Lincoln, Nebr.[59]	81,894	106,715,062	27	13.15	22.59	3.50	7.10	46.34	77†	35.87	112
113	Pasadena, Calif.[60]	81,864	179,321,401	8	11.20	22.38	19.38	N	52.96	55†	29.28	113

[50] **Duluth.** Rate applies to non-homestead properties only. Homestead rate is $122.55. County rate includes $1.80 special county school levy. See footnote g.

[51] **Charlotte.** City rate includes debt service, $.20 park and recreation rate, and $.04 industrial home rate. See footnote i.

[52] **Waterbury.** Estimated ratio based on present fair market value. Last reassessment in 1945 showed 98 per cent.

[53] **Schenectady.** Assessed valuation includes $1,015,387 veterans' property liable only for school tax. See footnote h.

[54] **Wilkes-Barre.** County rate includes $1.70 institutional levy, but does not include $4 personal property levy. See footnote k.

[55] **Berkeley.** County rate includes sewer district $.40, water district $1.80, regional parks $.50, and mosquito abatement district $.20.

[56] **Rockford.** City rate includes $.20 town, $.20 airport, $1.10 sanitary district and $1 "all others." See footnote d.

[57] **Saginaw.** City rate includes debt service of $1.55; school rate includes debt service of $.30.

[58] **Glendale.** County rate includes flood control $1.98.

[59] **Lincoln.** City rate includes $2 sanitary district rate.

[60] **Pasadena.** County rate includes flood control $1.98 and sanitation $2.47.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
114	Altoona, Pa.[k]	80,214	82,676,160	N	12.00	18.00	6.00	N	36.00	61†	21.90	114
115	Winston-Salem, N. C.[l]	79,815	142,656,353	49	19.39	2.11	5.00	N	26.50	80	21.20	115
116	Bayonne, N. J.	79,198	125,224,555	17	13.70	27.81	15.48	N	56.99	100	56.99	116
117	Huntington, W. Va.[61]	78,836	147,201,990	39	4.40	9.18	4.20	.10	17.88	60	10.73	117
118	Lansing, Mich.	78,753	142,977,590	28	14.50	9.77	4.42	N	28.69	80	22.95	118
119	Mobile, Ala.	78,720	Not reported									119
120	Binghamton, N. Y.[62]	78,309	109,877,718	N	23.71	13.42	4.47	—	41.60	94	39.10	120
121	Montgomery, Ala.[a]	78,084	53,274,651	30	12.50	7.00	7.50	6.50	33.50	30	10.05	121
122	Niagara Falls, N. Y.[h]	78,029	160,594,985	N	20.74	16.47	—	6.37	43.58	85	37.04	122
123	Manchester, N. H.[63]	77,685	106,624,315	29	32.57	—	4.31	.12	37.00	100	37.00	123
124	Quincy, Mass.	75,810	Not reported									124
125	Pawtucket, R. I.[l]	75,797	151,645,160	24	—	—	—	—	21.00	80	16.80	125
126	St. Joseph, Mo.[64]	75,711	60,187,780	27	20.00	15.80	8.40	.70	44.90			126
127	East St. Louis, Ill.[65]	75,609	146,766,531	17	12.10	11.00	2.20	N	25.30*	100	25.30	127
128	Springfield, Ill.[66]	75,503	189,399,626	14	8.25	7.70	1.85	N	17.80	100	17.80	128
129	Portland, Me.[67]	73,643	85,920,200	27	32.82	14.92	1.33	5.73	54.80	70	38.36	129
130	Charleston, S. C.	71,275	19,901,985	36	62.00	35.00	16.00	—	113.00*	20	22.60	130
131	Springfield, Ohio[68]	70,662	111,634,968	22	5.92	9.25	2.63	N	17.80*	35	6.23	131
132	Troy, N. Y.[h]	70,304	70,779,851	N	29.08	11.77	13.99	—	54.84	86	47.16	132
133	Hammond, Ind.[69]	70,184	102,588,100	—	15.90	21.48	8.72	1.30	47.40	50	23.70	133
134	Newton, Mass.[f]	69,873	174,681,050	10	—	—	—	—	32.00	100	32.00	134
135	Roanoke, Va.[70]	69,287	85,936,483	15	25.00	—	N	N	25.00	60	15.00	135
136	Lakewood, Ohio	69,160	104,671,490	5	9.20	15.20	4.10	N	28.50*	75	21.38	136
137	East Orange, N. J.	68,945	106,865,000	9	20.14	18.14	8.12	N	46.40	100	46.40	137
138	New Britain, Conn.	68,685	117,208,018	20	—	—	—	—	34.00	100	34.00	138
139	San Jose, Calif.	68,457			16.29	24.69	17.23	N	58.21			139
140	Charleston, W. Va.[71]	67,914	133,365,140	37	5.26	9.83	3.31	.07	18.47	27	4.99	140

[61] **Huntington.** Rates shown are for Class IV property. State law divides property into three classes. Class I (intangible personal property) pays ¼ full rate; Class II (property occupied by the owner as a residence) pays ½ full rate; Class IV (all real and personal property not included in Class I or II) pays the full rate.

[62] **Binghamton.** City rate includes $.37 hospital, $3.52 welfare, $7.03 debt service. See footnote h.

[63] **Manchester.** City rate includes school rate.

[64] **St. Joseph.** 1946 figures for assessed value; $3.50 park maintenance included in city rate.

[65] **East St. Louis.** City rate includes $2.90 levee district, $1.60 park, and $.50 health district taxes. Included also is the $1.20 town rate. See footnote d.

[66] **Springfield.** City rate includes $.47 sanitary district, $.52 airport, and a $.63 park levies. Included also is the $1.32 town rate. See footnote d.

[67] **Portland.** Assessment ratio furnished by Maine Bureau of Taxation. City rate includes $4.20 debt rate.

[68] **Springfield.** County rate includes $.03 township rate.

[69] **Hammond.** City rate includes $2.80 Sanitary District. See footnote e.

[70] **Roanoke.** City rate includes school levy.

[71] **Charleston.** City rate shown is the weighted average of $1.875 per $1,000 on Class I property (intangible personal property) totaling $37,248,800, of $3.75 per $1,000 on Class II property (property occupied by the owner as a residence) totaling $23,908,700, and of $7.50 per $1,000 on Class IV property (all real and personal property not in Class I or Class II) totaling $72,207,640.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
141	Topeka, Kans.[72]	67,833	98,113,678	11	17.00	18.17	5.18	.65	41.00	60	24.60	141
142	Madison, Wis.[73]	67,447	158,895,731	16	8.67	12.98	8.13	.22	30.00	91	27.30	142
143	Mt. Vernon, N. Y.[74]	67,362	143,604,932	N	12.30	17.06	8.62	—	37.98	100	37.98	143
144	Racine, Wis.	67,195	113,831,790	17	8.37	13.82	7.11	.25	29.55	80	23.64	144
145	Johnstown, Pa.[k]	66,668	73,678,140	8	15.00	19.00	6.00	N	40.00	99†	39.40	145
146	Pontiac, Mich.	66,626	126,475,470	31	9.12	6.70	4.50	N	20.32	75	15.24	146
147	Davenport, Iowa	66,039	64,999,990	11	22.00	25.58	7.81	N	55.39	60	33.23	147
148	Oak Park, Ill.[75]	66,015	159,240,063	11	8.50	11.10	3.00	N	22.60	78	17.63	148
149	Augusta, Ga.[c]	65,919										149
150	Phoenix, Ariz.	65,414	110,079,877	26	16.80	36.40	11.00	10.00	74.20	27†	20.03	150
151	Evanston, Ill.[76]	65,389	192,057,144	14	8.30	26.00	3.60	2.10	40.00	100	40.00	151
152	Cicero, Ill.[77]	64,712	166,740,085	26	9.70	12.00	3.00	N	24.70	100	24.70	152
153	Atlantic City, N. J.	64,094	92,987,412	8	43.20	15.10	15.10	N	73.40	100	73.40	153
154	Dearborn, Mich.	63,584	286,801,740	44	5.22	11.39	5.45	N	22.06	50	11.03	154
155	Medford, Mass.	63,083	84,764,950	5	—	—	—	—	42.00	100	42.00	155
156	Terre Haute, Ind.[e]	62,693	63,013,600	28	19.83	20.70	10.97	1.50	53.00	65	34.45	156
157	Columbia, S. C.[78]	62,396	26,573,635	36	39.00	29.50	9.00	—	77.50	20	15.50	157
158	Brockton, Mass.	62,343	74,013,950	11	29.00	17.00	2.20	.80	49.00	100	49.00	158
159	Cedar Rapids, Iowa.[79]	62,120	70,548,244	27	17.23	26.16	6.93	N	50.32	60	30.19	159
160	Jackson, Miss.	62,107	77,697,885	22	19.75	12.25	13.35	2.00	47.35	62†	29.11	160
161	Covington, Ky.[80]	62,018	58,908,895	6	15.90	12.70	—	—	28.60	82	23.39	161
162	Passaic, N. J.	61,394	89,712,050	19	24.14	19.70	8.56	N	52.40	100	52.40	162
163	Lancaster, Pa.[k]	61,345	91,359,450	N	7.50	14.00	1.50	N	23.00	97†	22.25	163
164	Springfield, Mo.[81]	61,238	42,918,677	9	16.80	27.00	7.90	.70	52.40	43	22.53	164
165	Wheeling, W. Va.[82]	61,099	132,756,575	48	6.40	9.18	5.72	.10	21.40	75	16.05	165
166	Galveston, Tex.[m]	60,862	71,303,400	21	19.80	9.00	3.80	7.20	39.80	43†	17.15	166
167	St. Petersburg, Fla.[83]	60,812	132,534,536	9	22.50	—	23.50	—	46.00	60	27.60	167
168	Fresno, Calif.	60,685	86,665,605	21	18.80	26.50	11.50	N	56.80	50	28.40	168

[72] **Topeka.** Per cent personalty does not include $25,380,963 intangible which is assessed at $5 per thousand. City rate includes $2.35 municipal university and $.42 city library.

[73] **Madison.** City rate includes $.84 library, and $.15 sewerage district rate.

[74] **Mt. Vernon.** School rate includes $1.12 library rate. See footnote h.

[75] **Oak Park.** City rate includes $2.10 sanitation district, $.90 park district, $.20 mosquito abatement, $.20 driveway maintenance, and $.10 town taxes. County rate includes $.40 forest preserve tax. See footnote d.

[76] **Evanston.** City rate includes $2.80 for "other purposes." County rate includes $.40 forest preserve district tax. See footnote d.

[77] **Cicero.** City rate includes $2.10 sanitary district; school rate includes $5.60 high school district and county rate includes $.40 forest preserve district. See footnote d.

[78] **Columbia.** County rate includes county library bonds $.75, county library $1, auditorium bonds $.75, county $2.50, Columbia hospital bonds $.75, Columbia hospital $1.75, Columbia hospital bonds-425,-10 $1, and Columbia hospital bonds-200, $.50.

[79] **Cedar Rapids.** Assessed valuation does not include moneys and credits of $41,605,038.

[80] **Covington.** City rate includes $.30 debt service.

[81] **Springfield.** County rate includes $3.50 special road and bridge rate.

[82] **Wheeling.** See footnote 61.

[83] **St. Petersburg.** School rate includes county rate. See footnote b.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
169	Durham, N. C.[i]	60,195	109,598,237	41	12.60	2.90	5.50	N	21.00	40	8.40	169
170	Greensboro, N. C.[84]	59,319	114,582,033	30	16.20	4.30	8.70	N	29.20	85	24.82	170
171	Decatur, Ill.[85]	59,305	123,700,000	23	9.28	10.90	1.02	N	21.20	100	21.20	171
172	Chester, Pa.[k]	59,285	62,601,998	N	16.77	17.00	5.00	N	38.77	85†	33.09	172
173	Beaumont, Tex.[86]	59,061	90,361,720	22	16.70	11.30	17.60	7.20	52.80	64†	33.72	173
174	Bethlehem, Pa.[87]	58,490	72,856,739	8	14.00	16.00	8.50	N	38.50	50	19.25	174
175	New Rochelle, N. Y.[h]	58,408	142,700,620	N	21.20	15.40	7.20	—	43.80	100	43.80	175
176	Malden, Mass.	57,865	72,954,750	9	—	—	—	—	44.60	100	44.60	176
177	Macon, Ga.[88]	57,865	47,271,492	22	13.00	—	26.00	5.00	44.00	60	26.40	177
178	Corpus Christi, Tex.[m]	57,301	88,429,075	21	20.00	17.00	13.00	7.20	57.20	55†	31.29	178
179	York, Pa.[k]	56,712	51,513,210	N	13.50	23.00	7.50	N	44.00	32†	14.08	179
180	Union City, N. J.[89]	56,173	62,120,450	8	37.62	12.66	15.28	N	65.56	100	65.56	180
181	Waco, Tex.[m]	55,982	73,137,240	28	15.40	9.60	6.90	7.20	39.10	70†	27.21	181
182	McKeesport, Pa.[k]	55,355	57,678,900	N	13.50	17.00	8.38	N	38.88	72†	28.05	182
183	Irvington, N. J.	55,328	74,614,400	15	25.40	21.60	8.10	N	55.10	100	55.10	183
184	Cleveland Heights, Ohio	54,996	113,041,960	6	6.00	15.00	4.10	N	25.10	80	20.08	184
185	Stockton, Calif.	54,714	65,479,215	13	24.20	21.47	16.81	N	62.48	56†	35.06	185
186	East Chicago, Ind.[e]	54,637	104,453,775	33	11.29	15.31	5.70	1.30	33.60	30	10.08	186
187	Kalamazoo, Mich.	54,097	99,191,800	32	9.64	16.51	4.92	N	31.07	80	24.86	187
188	Holyoke, Mass.[f]	53,750	73,043,960	6	27.34	—	1.88	.78	30.00	81	24.30	188
189	Santa Monica, Calif.[90]	53,500	90,466,180	36	20.00	19.24	20.41	N	59.65	50	29.83	189
190	Columbus, Ga.[91]	53,280	48,300,894	24	15.00	13.00	14.00	5.00	47.00	45†	21.13	190
191	Pueblo, Col.[92]	52,162	33,408,459	57	31.65	27.85	11.50	4.53	75.53	35	26.44	191
192	Waterloo, Iowa	51,743	55,388,219	33	22.14	25.80	8.33	N	56.27	49†	27.57	192
193	Amarillo, Tex.[m]	51,686	87,116,400	30	13.00	14.60	8.00	7.20	42.80	33†	14.08	193
194	Asheville, N. C.	51,310	Not reported					N				194
195	Highland Park, Mich.	50,810	113,994,100	34	14.80	12.85	5.60	N	33.25	50	16.63	195
196	Portsmouth, Va.[93]	50,745	38,756,435	8	25.00	—	N	N	25.00	60	15.00	196

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[84] **Greensboro.** Rates reported are Old City rates which include debt service rate of $5.20. New City rates are same except for debt service rate of $3.20. See footnote i.

[85] **Decatur.** City rate includes $1.61 town, $1.16 road and bridge, $1.12 park district taxes, and $1.09 "all others." See footnote d.

[86] **Beaumont.** County rate includes $.10 navigation district, $2 Lamar College, and $4.60 drainage district. See footnote m.

[87] **Bethlehem.** County rate shown is for Northampton County only. The city lies in two counties and the rate for Lehigh County is $5. Estimated ratio furnished by the Department of Internal Affairs. See footnote k.

[88] **Macon.** School rate is included in county rate. See footnote c.

[89] **Union City.** County rate includes $.14 district court tax rate. Rates shown are for West Hoboken district which is 62 per cent of assessed value. Rates for town of Union are as follows: city $37.62, school $13.71, county $15.28, including $.14 district court tax rate, total $66.61.

[90] **Santa Monica.** County rate includes metropolitan water district $3.50 and flood control $1.98.

[91] **Columbus.** Library rate is included in school rate. See footnote c.

[92] **Pueblo.** Assessment ratio furnished by county. City estimated ratio 60 per cent.

[93] **Portsmouth.** City rate includes school district levy.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
197	Hamilton, Ohio[94]	50,592	78,062,360	22	7.82	10.69	2.30	N	20.81	60	12.49	197
198	Hoboken, N. J.	50,115	69,741,800	13	19.48	18.14	16.83	N	54.45	48	26.14	198
	Group VI **Population 30,000 to 50,000**											
199	Hamtramck, Mich.	49,839	89,533,800	42	20.00	12.44	6.27	N	38.71	100	38.71	199
200	Brookline, Mass.	49,786	140,452,500	10	22.76	6.67	1.07	1.50	32.00	100	32.00	200
201	Muncie, Ind.[e]	49,720	51,758,330	50	17.10	18.20	7.80	1.50	44.60			201
202	Pittsfield, Mass.[f]	49,684	63,388,130	9	38.61	—	3.20	1.59	43.40	100	43.40	202
203	Jackson, Mich.[95]	49,656	88,025,460	24	7.90	8.19	4.50	N	20.59	100	20.59	203
204	Lexington, Ky.	49,304	64,105,113	11	14.90	8.80	5.00	.50	29.20	70†	20.53	204
205	Woonsocket, R. I.[l]	49,303	79,382,050	27	—	—	—	—	25.00	100	25.00	205
206	Clifton, N. J.	48,827	60,171,021	9	14.40	23.20	8.60	N	46.20	75	34.65	206
207	Kenosha, Wis.[96]	48,765	76,644,920	13	6.71	16.84	9.18	.27	33.00	80	26.40	207
208	Berwyn, Ill.[97]	48,451	85,642,554	6	8.80	12.40	3.00	N	24.20*	100	24.20	208
209	Bay City, Mich.	47,956	61,010,390	25	14.50	11.89	6.03	N	32.42	64†	20.90	209
210	Stamford, Conn.[98]	47,938	115,583,341	20	36.80	—	—	—	36.80	100	36.80	210
211	Muskegon, Mich.	47,697	79,241,375	28	7.85	6.98	3.60	N	18.43	88†	16.23	211
212	New Castle Pa.[99]	47,638	52,535,810	6	13.00	20.00	5.00	N	38.00	74†	28.25	212
213	Aurora, Ill.[100]	47,170	124,292,711	16	7.62	8.12	1.08	N	16.82*	100	16.82	213
214	Cranston, R. I.[l]	47,085	83,034,800*	23*	—	—	N	N	25.00	100	25.00	214
215	Raleigh, N. C.	46,897	Not reported									215
216	Everett, Mass.	46,784	88,836,600	18	19.33	9.66	1.48	2.53	33.00	100	33.00	216
217	Haverhill, Mass.	46,752	52,676,500	11	37.95	9.73	1.80	.52	50.00	100	50.00	217
218	Green Bay, Wis.[101]	46,235	76,229,130	12	9.56	11.44	6.02	.22	27.24	87†	23.67	218
219	Port Arthur, Tex.[102]	46,140	45,572,640	19	17.00	10.00	20.80	—	47.80	78†	37.40	219
220	Wichita Falls, Tex.[103]	45,112	37,464,540	39	15.00	14.50	5.90	7.20	42.60	67	28.54	220
221	Elmira, N. Y.[h]	45,106	51,314,511	N	20.16	13.83	11.70	—	45.69	85	38.84	221
222	Lima, Ohio	44,711	66,319,350	26	8.40	11.90	2.60	N	22.90	80	18.32	222
223	Lynchburg, Va.	44,541	59,357,980	8	12.00	11.50	N	N	23.50	70	16.45	223

[94] **Hamilton.** City rate includes general fund $3.34, debt $3.84 and flood district $.64.

[95] **Jackson.** County rate includes collection fee of $.13.

[96] **Kenosha.**. City rate includes $1.03 library and $.29 museum rates.

[97] **Berwyn.** City rate includes $.60 for township and poor relief, $2.10 for sanitary district, $.50 for public health department, and $.40 Berwyn park district taxes. County rate includes $.40 forest preserve district tax. See footnote d.

[98] **Stamford.** Tax rate shown is for first taxing district; rate for third taxing district is $34.10.

[99] **New Castle.** City rate includes $.50 library tax. See footnote k.

[100] **Aurora.** City rate includes $1.06 sanitary district and $1.26 town levies. County rate includes $.09 forest preserve district tax. See footnote d.

[101] **Green Bay.** City rate includes $2 metropolitan sewerage district and $.50 sanitary sewer district rates.

[102] **Port Arthur.** County rate shown is combined county, state, and road district rates. See footnote m.

[103] **Wichita Falls.** School rate includes $2.00 college rate. County rate includes $.60 water improvement district rate. See footnote m.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
224	Williamsport, Pa.[104]	44,355	30,410,320	N	13.75	22.00	10.00	N	45.75	56†	25.45	224
225	Lorain, Ohio	44,125										225
226	Dubuque, Iowa	43,892	35,762,229	14	23.19	20.61	7.00	N	50.80	60	30.48	226
227	Ogden, Utah[105]	43,688	41,728,529	—	18.50	27.10	7.60	—	53.20	30	15.96	227
228	San Bernardino, Calif.[106]	43,646	44,505,630	13	13.85	29.00	20.30	N	63.15	50	31.58	228
229	Battle Creek, Mich.	43,453	87,742,000	30	6.36	10.36	3.78	N	20.50	80	16.40	229
230	Warren, Ohio[107]	42,837	73,225,270	13	5.60	11.00	2.60	N	19.20	50	9.60	230
231	Rock Island, Ill.[108]	42,775	91,217,495	21	8.40	9.10	2.10	N	19.60	100	19.60	231
232	La Crosse, Wis.[109]	42,707	61,381,790	17	10.99	14.63	10.11	.27	36.00	80	28.80	232
233	Jamestown, N. Y.[h]	42,638	57,743,004	N	13.57	21.02	6.57	—	41.16	90	37.04	233
234	Joliet, Ill.[110]	42,365	128,815,158	—	4.94	9.08	1.84	N	15.86	100	15.86	234
235	Fitchburg, Mass.	41,824	53,201,575	15	—	—	—	—	44.80	100	44.80	235
236	Chicopee, Mass.	41,664	42,045,910	7	—	—	—	—	37.00	100	37.00	236
237	Bloomfield, N. J.	41,623	59,577,163	17	17.80	21.20	8.10	N	47.10	100	47.10	237
238	Anderson, Ind.[e]	41,572	42,558,850	42	8.60	23.50	9.10	1.30	42.50	25	10.63	238
239	Council Bluffs, Iowa	41,439	30,884,962	8	23.45	27.12	11.43	N	62.00	60	37.20	239
240	Chelsea, Mass.	41,259	43,391,600	9	—	—	—	—	50.80	100	50.80	240
241	Perth Amboy, N. J.	41,242	48,003,440	16	26.03	21.47	15.70	N	63.20	50	31.60	241
242	Salem, Mass.[111]	41,213	55,847,150	12	24.96	14.44	3.15	.95	43.50	100	43.50	242
243	Sioux Falls, S. D.	40,832	53,897,100	24	16.32	18.23	4.25	N	38.80	70	27.16	243
244	Sheboygan, Wis.	40,638	54,832,735	14	14.66	16.76	6.65	.26	38.33	80	30.66	244
245	Poughkeepsie, N. Y.[h]	40,478	54,365,888	N	26.39	11.66	5.46	—	43.51	75	32.63	245
246	Quincy, Ill.[112]	40,469	96,252,197	43	8.19	9.82	2.63	N	20.64*	100	20.64	246
247	Portsmouth, Ohio	40,466	52,230,000	10	11.00	9.61	3.39	N	24.00	85	20.40	247
248	White Plains, N. Y.[h]	40,327	122,139,548	N	13.79	16.36	7.62	—	37.77	100	37.77	248
249	Waltham, Mass.	40,020	55,125,300	9	—	—	—	—	42.20	100	42.20	249
250	Arlington, Mass.[f]	40,013	57,619,550	6	—	—	—	—	42.80	100	42.80	250
251	Norwalk, Conn.[113]	39,849	88,453,152	15	30.96	—	—	—	30.96	80	24.76	251
252	Montclair, N. J.	39,807	Not reported									252
253	East Cleveland, Ohio	39,495	59,580,800	16	8.70	14.30	4.10	N	27.10	50	13.55	253

[104] **Williamsport.** City rate includes $.75 library tax. County rate includes $5 institutional levy. See footnote k.

[105] **Ogden.** School rate includes $8.50 state school equalization.

[106] **San Bernardino.** County rate includes flood control $1.80.

[107] **Warren.** Total assessed valuation is same as that reported last year. County rate includes $.10 township.

[108] **Rock Island.** City rate includes $.60 town and $.73 street and bridge taxes. See footnote d.

[109] **La Crosse.** City rate includes $2.48 debt service rate. Estimated ratio of 75 per cent given by State Equalization Board.

[110] **Joliet.** City rate includes $.68 park board, $.70 road and bridge, and $.60 town levies. County rate includes $.04 forest preserve district tax. See footnote d.

[111] **Salem.** City rate includes $.72 overlay, $.04 overlay deficit, and $1.10 South Essex Sewerage. See footnote f.

[112] **Quincy.** City rate includes $1.40 town, $.65 park district and $.47 public health district levies. See footnote d.

[113] **Norwalk.** City has six taxing districts. Figures shown represent the controller's estimate of the average tax rate in the inner districts. Tax rates in outer districts are estimated to run about $24.25.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
254	Meriden, Conn.[114]	39,494	65,797,505	21	16.51	14.17	.32	—	31.00	100	31.00	254
255	Cumberland, Md.	39,483	55,400,000	19	12.50	7.25	9.95	1.00	30.70	78	23.95	255
256	Kearney, N. J.	39,467	Not reported									256
257	West New York, N. J.[115]	39,439	37,284,410	11	17.92	25.28	17.87	N	61.07	60	36.64	257
258	Laredo, Tex.[116]	39,274	25,588,291	15	23.50	8.60	15.00	7.20	54.30	69†	37.40	258
259	Oshkosh, Wis.	39,089	48,628,050	19	11.01	20.38	5.50	.71	37.60	70	26.32	259
260	Alhambra, Calif.	38,935	53,663,835	14	11.79	16.57	16.91	N	45.27	50	22.64	260
261	Lewiston, Me.	38,598	35,584,531	22	—	—	—	—	44.00	60	26.40	261
262	High Point, N. C.[l]	38,495	57,339,604	33	13.95	7.97	4.44	N	26.36	85	22.41	262
263	Elgin, Ill.[117]	38,333	103,369,957	21	6.54	7.50	1.08	N	15.12	100	15.12	263
264	Norristown, Pa.[118]	38,181	22,946,030	N	14.50	30.50	1.50	N	46.50	50	23.25	264
265	Hazleton, Pa.[119]	38,009	28,500,082	7	17.50	27.00	8.07	N	52.57	58†	24.74	265
266	Steubenville, Ohio[120]	37,651	57,626,190	18	7.15	10.30	2.15	N	19.60	79†	15.57	266
267	Zanesville, Ohio	37,500	49,874,113	14	4.30	10.75	2.25	N	17.30	60	10.38	267
268	Plainfield, N. J.	37,469	60,057,600	11	16.86	23.16	7.38	N	47.40	95	45.03	268
269	Pensacola, Fla.	37,449	Not reported									269
270	Taunton, Mass.	37,395	Not reported									270
271	Mansfield, Ohio[121]	37,154	64,174,087	20	3.87	11.70	2.63	N	18.20	70	12.74	271
272	Joplin, Mo.[122]	37,144	23,390,928	28	20.50	28.20	7.00	.70	56.40	50	28.20	272
273	Butte, Mont.	37,081	49,938,645		27.50							273
274	Newport News, Va.	37,067	51,587,289	18	19.20	13.30	N	N	32.50	48	15.60	274
275	Gadsden, Ala.[a]	36,975	29,169,074	20	10.00	3.00	11.50	6.50	31.00	28	8.68	275
276	Danville, Ill.[123]	36,919	69,914,357	17	9.11	9.60	1.49	N	20.20	100	20.20	276
277	Tucson, Ariz.	36,818	Not reported									277
278	Colorado Springs, Colo.	36,789	33,735,410	—	14.00	32.08	9.10	4.53	59.71	59	35.23	278
279	Orlando, Fla.	36,736	Not reported									279
280	Fort Smith, Ark.	36,584	Not reported									280
281	West Allis, Wis.[124]	36,364	84,994,630	32	15.78	8.90	13.07	.29	38.04	70	26.63	281
282	Alameda, Calif.	36,256	37,469,090	17	15.88	1.32	40.80	N	58.00	50	29.00	282
283	Auburn, N. Y.[h]	35,753	51,824,768	N	17.30	11.21	5.32	—	33.83	100	33.83	283
284	Orange, N. J.	35,717	43,363,550	10	25.00	20.68	8.12	N	53.80	100	53.80	284
285	Meridian, Miss.	35,481	32,379,882	19	17.00	14.00	14.50	2.00	47.50	55†	26.55	285

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[114] **Meriden.** City rate includes $2.21 welfare.

[115] **West New York.** County rate includes $.17 district court tax rate.

[116] **Laredo.** School rate includes $2 junior college rate. See footnote m.

[117] **Elgin.** City rate includes $.91 town and $.60 sanitary district levies. See footnote d.

[118] **Norristown.** County rate includes a $1.50 institutional tax. See footnote k.

[119] **Hazleton.** County rate includes $1.07 institutional tax, but it does not include the $4 personal property tax. See footnote k.

[120] **Steubenville.** County rate includes $.10 township rate.

[121] **Mansfield.** County rate includes $.13 township rate.

[122] **Joplin.** County rate includes $3 special road rate.

[123] **Danville.** City rate includes $1.03 road and bridge, $.20 airport, $1.02 aid to the poor, $.46 town, and $.80 sanitary district levies. See footnote d.

[124] **West Allis.** City rate includes $2.68 metropolitan sewer system rate.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
286	Albuquerque, N. M.	35,449	30,124,843	15	12.29	5.37	10.83	5.85	34.34	60	20.60	286
287	Watertown, Mass.	35,427	56,954,675	7	—	—	—	—	39.10	100	39.10	287
288	Richmond, Ind.[e]	35,147	39,761,988	—	7.60	21.10	6.60	1.30	36.60	40	14.64	288
289	Superior, Wis.[125]	35,136	41,096,783	14	7.12	18.95	16.52	.22	42.81	100	42.81	289
290	Santa Barbara, Calif.	34,958	Not reported									290
291	Greenville, S. C.[126]	34,734	13,098,855	54	52.00	28.00	36.00	—	116.00	18	20.88	291
292	Baton Rouge, La.	34,719	50,790,419	33	11.25	8.60	1.92	5.75	27.52	50	13.76	292
293	Riverside, Calif.[127]	34,696	36,103,230	20	19.40	21.00	24.50	N	64.90	50	32.45	293
294	Moline, Ill.[128]	34,608	88,416,743	23	6.40	10.30	2.10	—	18.80	100	18.80	294
295	Revere, Mass.	34,405	40,810,550	7	—	—	—	—	51.80	100	51.80	295
296	Burbank, Calif.[129]	34,337	117,496,760	33	14.50	19.26	16.91	N	50.67	50	25.34	296
297	Waukegan, Ill.[130]	34,241	103,233,757	27	6.90	9.60	1.10	N	17.60	100	17.60	297
298	Rome, N. Y.[131]	34,214	32,658,259	N	20.91	17.99	12.58	—	51.48	80	41.18	298
299	Norwood, Ohio	34,010	Not reported									299
300	Kokomo, Ind.[e]	33,795	34,863,245	42	15.46	22.31	7.23	1.50	46.50	46†	21.26	300
301	West Hartford, Conn.[132]	33,776	106,473,639	15	13.59	8.41	—	—	22.00	68	14.96	301
302	Paducah, Ky.[133]	33,765	25,172,520	18	17.80	14.00	—	—	31.80	60	19.08	302
303	West Palm Beach, Fla.[134]	33,693	79,794,590	15	34.00	—	28.87	N	62.87	100	62.87	303
304	Easton, Pa.[k]	33,589	41,180,906	N	12.00	17.00	8.50	N	37.50	100	37.50	304
305	Alexandria, Va.[135]	33,523	62,215,642	15	25.00	—	N	N	25.00	50	12.50	305
306	Elkhart, Ind.[e]	33,434			13.80	18.70	5.30	1.50	39.30			306
307	Wilmington, N. C.[i]	33,407	55,494,687	20	18.00	4.03	3.47	N	25.50	60	15.30	307
308	Watertown, N. Y.[h]	33,385	47,125,878	N	16.50	13.50	9.80	—	39.80	100	39.80	308
309	Amsterdam, N. Y.[h]	33,329	26,659,182	2	18.47	29.42	14.94	—	62.83	65	40.84	309
310	New Brunswick, N. J.	33,180	43,685,117	13	22.63	21.00	15.27	N	58.90			310
311	University City, Mo.[136]	33,023	45,690,955	17	10.90	18.80	10.20	.70	40.60	50	20.30	311
312	Nashua, N. H.[137]	32,927	48,124,202	38	32.51	—	4.39	N	36.90	80	29.52	312
313	Bloomington, Ill.[138]	32,868	81,495,073	14	5.99	8.55	1.02	N	15.56	100	15.56	313

[125] **Superior.** School rate includes $1.55 school debt rate.

[126] **Greenville.** County rate includes interest and bonds $4 and water and sewer $9.

[127] **Riverside.** County rate includes flood control and water district $1.10.

[128] **Moline.** City rate includes $.60 town and $.70 street and bridge taxes. See footnote d.

[129] **Burbank.** County rate includes flood control $1.98.

[130] **Waukegan.** City rate includes $.80 park district, $.50 sanitary district, and $1.40 town levies. School rate includes $5.50 elementary and $4.10 high school levies. See footnote d.

[131] **Rome.** City rate includes $11.68 township rate. See footnote h.

[132] **West Hartford.** Rate on $33,351.08 appropriated for county by town included in city rate.

[133] **Paducah.** Assessed valuation includes $4,626,970 franchise assessment made by the State Department of Revenue. City rate includes $2.80 funding bond principal and interest. School rate includes $.50 Junior College.

[134] **West Palm Beach.** City rate is $11.20 on homesteads up to a valuation of $5,000. County rate includes schools. See footnote b.

[135] **Alexandria.** Rate for personal property is $28 per $1,000.

[136] **University City.** County rate includes $3.20 road, $.80 hospital, $2.30 road sinking fund, $.30 judgment funding, and $.10 court house rates.

[137] **Nashua.** City rate includes school rate. 80 per cent for estimated ratio of assessed value to true value is State Board of Equalization figure.

[138] **Bloomington.** City rate includes $.15 town and $.92 sanitary district taxes. See footnote d.

	City	Census 1940	Assessed Value	Per Cent Personalty	Actual Tax Rate as Levied per $1,000 Assessed Valuation					Estimated Ratio of Assessed Value to True Value (Per Cent)	Adjusted Tax Rate on 100% Basis of Assessment	
					City	School	County	State	Total			
314	Port Huron, Mich.	32,759	44,040,425	16	13.94	11.70	7.82	N	33.46	100	33.46	314
315	Danville, Va.[139]	32,749	34,020,236	12	22.50	—	N	N	22.50	60	13.50	315
316	Fargo, N. D.[140]	32,580	47,268,515	23	17.79	17.69	6.39	1.48	43.35	55†	23.65	316
317	Hagerstown, Md.[141]	32,491	51,000,000	—	5.00	—	15.00	1.00	21.00	100	21.00	317
318	Muskogee, Okla.	32,332	Not reported									318
319	Spartanburg, S. C.[142]	32,249	11,457,133	47	61.00	41.00	24.00	—	126.00	13	16.38	319
320	East Providence, R. I.[1]	32,165	58,556,605	20	24.00	—	—	—	24.00	80	19.20	320
321	Santa Ana, Calif.[143]	31,921	40,392,355	15	22.36	22.76	15.04	N	60.16	40	24.06	321
322	Newburgh, N. Y.[144]	31,883	39,257,311	N	19.50	16.40	3.99	—	39.89	87	34.70	322
323	Lubbock, Tex.[m]	31,853	54,604,645	20	12.50	13.00	7.00	7.20	39.70	56†	22.26	323
324	Ottumwa, Iowa	31,570	Not reported									324
325	Newark, Ohio[145]	31,487	39,575,340	14	5.30	10.75	3.25	N	19.30	75†	14.47	325
326	Alton, Ill.[146]	31,255	78,264,965	22	5.30	7.50	1.40	N	14.20	100	14.20	326
327	Middletown, Ohio[147]	31,220	66,550,390	30	4.95	7.84	2.30	N	15.09	80	12.07	327
328	Salem, Ore.	30,908	31,168,801	28	22.40	29.70	17.10	—	69.20	44	30.45	328
329	Marion, Ohio	30,817	Not reported									329
330	Eau Claire, Wis.[148]	30,745	40,146,605	17	7.61	18.76	11.31	.32	38.00	62	23.56	330
331	Newport, Ky.	30,631	23,556,405	5	19.20	14.20	6.00	5.00	44.40	66	29.19	331
332	Petersburg, Va.	30,631	30,771,000	14	22.50	—	N	N	22.50	75	16.88	332
333	Wyandote, Mich.	30,618	51,149,225	12	13.47	15.42	6.11	N	35.00	100	35.00	333
334	Clarksburg, W. Va.	30,579	Not reported									334
335	Newport, R. I.[1]	30,532	74,851,500	11	—	—	—	—	24.70	100	24.70	335
336	New London, Conn.	30,456	51,463,475	16	35.00	—	—	—	35.00	95	33.25	336
337	Owensboro, Ky.	30,245	Not reported									337
338	Everett, Wash.[149]	30,224	17,549,181	23	22.00	13.00	10.00	2.40	47.40	44	20.86	338
339	Bristol, Conn.	30,167	69,796,600	33	30.75	—	—	—	30.75	95	29.21	339
340	Inglewood, Calif.[150]	30,114	37,903,120	17	16.40	29.51	20.74	N	66.65	50	33.33	340
341	Parkersburg, W. Va.	30,103	Not reported									341
342	West Haven, Conn.[151]	30.021	57,850,900	—	25.31	2.50	—	—	27.81	100	27.81	342
343	Hutchinson, Kans.	30,013	Not reported									343

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[139] **Danville.** Rate for personal property is $25 per $1,000.

[140] **Fargo.** City rate includes $1.90 city parks rate.

[141] **Hagerstown.** County rate includes schools.

[142] **Spartanburg.** City rate includes $5 metropolitan sewer district and $1 library fund. School rate includes $4 bond fund and $2 building fund.

[143] **Santa Ana.** City rate includes harbor district $.36. County rate includes flood control $1.48, cemetery $.06, and metropolitan water district $3.50.

[144] **Newburgh.** Amount of assessment rolls certified for school tax is $39,801,301. See footnote h.

[145] **Newark.** County rate includes $.05 township rate.

[146] **Alton.** City rate includes $1.30 town and $.20 civic airport levies. See footnote d.

[147] **Middletown.** Estimated ratio ignores the present inflated market values.

[148] **Eau Claire.** 62 per cent for estimated ratio of assessed value to true value is a State Board of Equalization figure.

[149] **Everett.** City rate includes $3 port district and $1.50 public utility district rates. Estimated ratio of 44 per cent given by State Board of Equalization figure. See footnote n.

[150] **Inglewood.** County rate includes flood control $1.98, public library $.70, and sanitation district $3.13.

[151] **West Haven.** Estimated ratio is that reported to the State Tax Commissioner.

GENERAL NOTES

[a] **Alabama.** The legal basis of assessment is 60 per cent of true value. *Homestead Exemption:* first $2,000 of assessed value of homesteads exempt from state tax only.

[b] **Florida.** *Homestead Exemption:* the first $5,000 of the assessed value of homesteads is exempt from state and all local taxes except debt service on obligations incurred prior to the passage of the amendment.

[c] **Georgia.** $2,000 general homestead exemption on owner-occupied property.

[d] **Illinois.** The Walker-Butler act specifies that taxes are now extended upon a 100 per cent valuation. This is determined by raising the assessments made by the township or county assessor to 100 per cent by using an equalization factor certified to each county clerk by the State Department of Revenue. Therefore, there is little similarity between the tax rates and the assessed valuations listed for 1946-1947 and the ones reported for previous years.

[e] **Indiana.** County tax rate includes township rate. School tax rate includes library rate.

[f] **Massachusetts.** Statutory requirement is that valuation be a fair cash value.

[g] **Minnesota.** *Property Classification:* There are five classes of property assessed at varying percentages of true value: platted real estate at 40 per cent, except for first $4,000 of homesteads which is assessed at 25 per cent; unplatted real estate at 33 1/3 per cent, except first $4,000 of homesteads at 20 per cent; iron ore at 50 per cent; and personalty in three classes at 10 per cent, 25 per cent and 33 1/3 per cent. The first $4,000 true value of homesteads is exempt further from state levies except debt service on obligations issued prior to the enactment of the law.

[h] **New York.** Realty valuations include public utilities. Where state rate is not shown, it is included in county rate.

[i] **North Carolina.** Homestead exemption authorized in amount not to exceed $300 but enabling legislation not yet enacted.

[j] **Oklahoma.** *Homestead Exemption:* the first $1,000 of assessed value of homesteads is exempt from tax rates for all units. Debt service charges on obligations incurred prior to this act are specifically allowed.

[k] **Pennsylvania.** Tangible personal property is not subject to city rate except as noted.

[l] **Rhode Island.** There is no county government in Rhode Island. State does not tax real property. There is a $4 tax rate on intangible property which is not included in this survey because there seems to be little attempt either to assess or to collect this tax in most cities and towns outside of Providence.

[m] **Texas.** First $3,000 of assessed value of homesteads is exempt from state taxes only.

[n] **Washington.** State statutory ratio is 50 per cent.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . . Edited by *H. M. Olmsted*

Civil Service League Hits Political Commissions

Urges Nonpartisan Control of Governmental Personnel

IN ITS annual report for 1947 the National Civil Service League asserts that control of civil service commissions by political machines continues to be one of the most difficult obstacles to a real merit system. On this point the report states:

"We must no longer view with complacency indifferent or negative administration of public personnel agencies, often motivated by political expediency and unconcerned with impartial application of merit system laws.

"Because of this the merit system is retarded and brought into disrepute. Faulty practices and procedures designed to evade the application of merit and fitness in the selection, promotion and retention of public employees impairs public confidence. It sets a poor example for a career merit system when those appointed to administer the system are selected primarily for political considerations. It is of particularly grave concern when they are entrusted, as so many of them are, with direct administration of the civil service law.

"The selection of civil service commissioners on a bipartisan basis, an understandable compromise when civil service laws were first enacted, has failed to provide nonpartisan administration of the system. The requirement that members of multiple commissions be appointed on a bipartisan basis has misled the commissioners in assuming that their responsibility was primarily to their own political organizations. . . .

"As long as the heads of the personnel agencies deem themselves as representatives of the political party machines, or assume that to be their publicly accepted role, we cannot hope for completely impartial operation of civil service laws. We believe improvement of administration has resulted from placing responsibility in an experienced personnel manager. Nominally paid advisory boards appointed on a nonpartisan basis, as is now the practice in some jurisdictions, have been demonstrated to be preferable to the traditional full-time paid and generally politically selected bipartisan commission.

"We are concerned with the failure of state and municipal executives and fiscal agencies to make available to their personnel agencies adequate funds to enable them to function effectively. Experience has proved an effective merit system to be worth adequate financing. Properly administered, a sound personnel program is the surest road to economical and efficient government service. . . .

"Our public agencies will always be at a disadvantage in competing with private industry for executive and administrative talent; but if we are to attract able and competent personnel to the public service and encourage the ablest among them to continue to make government service their chosen career, we must raise substantially the salary ceiling for the higher posts."

The report emphasizes that there are still 28 states and thousands of municipalities operating without sound personnel procedures.

With regard to relations between

public employees and the governments employing them the league says:

"A year ago we deplored the spread of strikes against government by misguided unions of public employees and prophesied that such appeals to force would ultimately alienate public support from even reasonable demands of public employees. The federal government and ten states this year have passed laws penalizing employees striking against the government. As is usually the case, drastic action has encouraged drastic punitive measures. The laws adopted by some states—notably those of New York and Pennsylvania—are, we believe, too severe and inflexible and may prove to be impractical of application.

"It is unrealistic to expect public employees, however devoted and patriotic, to foreswear the practices so readily available to workers in private industry in the face of indifference or neglect of what they believe to be their just demands or grievances. There are basic distinctions between public and private employment, but public workers are not immune to most of the issues involving employees of industry. Adequate grievance machinery should be established in justice to those in the civil service and to protect the public which depends upon uninterrupted service for its essential needs."

Modernizing Federal Service

The league recommends that the committee appointed by the President, of which Ex-President Herbert Hoover is chairman, survey the organization of the executive branch of the government to seek to modernize and revamp our federal personnel machinery, "heretofore given only piecemeal overhauling from time to time, to meet the challenge of present day administrative complexities. . . . It behooves government, like any frugal business enterprise, to consider whether it is getting its money's worth" for the billions it is spending on public pay rolls.

The league approves the Cain-Rees bill restricting preference for disabled veterans in the federal service to cases of real disability and requiring all veterans to obtain passing marks; it recommends taking postmasterships out of politics, both presidential and senatorial. The period immediately ahead is called "a critical one for the administration of the merit system."

New Constitution Urged for Maine

Two speakers at a meeting of the Maine Conference of Social Scientists, on November 22, advocated the drafting of a new constitution for Maine. President Kenneth C. M. Sills of Bowdoin College called the existing constitution antiquated. He asserted that it imposes so many controls, including an executive council, that the chief executive is "only half a governor." He also charged that cumbersome amendments had made the broadening of the state tax base almost an impossible task.

Edward C. Moran, former congressman and assistant secretary of labor, endorsed the idea of a constitutional convention.

Constitutional Revision Set Back in Kentucky

On November 4 the people of Kentucky voted down the calling of a constitutional convention by 191,876 to 145,192. The vote was taken after a spirited campaign by proponents and opponents of a convention. Only 24 of the state's 120 counties and three of nine congressional districts cast majorities for a convention. Even so, pro-conventionists can take heart from the progress made since 1931 when the same question was voted down by 97,778 to 28,204.

The 24 counties with majorities for a convention were mainly those with sizeable cities, plus certain eastern Kentucky coal mining counties. Exceptions can largely be explained on the basis of political or civic leadership. Two factors seem to have been primarily responsible for the defeat: (1) the farm vote which the pro-conventionists did not get to soon enough with their educational campaign; and (2) the tactics of the anti-conventionists who linked the proposed convention call with communism, Negroes in white schools and other issues.

The movement for constitutional revision in Kentucky is not dead. Various ideas are being expressed as to how to proceed from here, one of which is establishment of an official constitutional revision commission to study and report on needed changes and how to bring them about.

J. E. Reeves

University of Kentucky

42 Legislatures Have Interim Research Groups

A recent study by the Council of State Governments discloses that 42 of the 44 state legislatures that met in regular session in 1947 created special interim committees and commissions to undertake research, or had permanent legislative councils or research committees in operation. In preparation for the 1948-49 sessions these groups are studying particular state problems ranging from agriculture and aviation through education and public works, to taxation, veterans, welfare and water resources.

Figures available from 23 states show that at least $3,280,000 is being spent during the current biennium by special research groups. Individual states reporting the highest totals are New York — $990,200; California — $725,200; Washington — $262,000; and Illinois — $254,500.

A decade ago only 29 state legislatures were using interim study groups. Only six states had permanent legislative councils. Twenty-three states now have legislative councils or equivalent groups, with budgets ranging up to $110,000 a year.

Currently 264 special study groups are at work in 33 states investigating legislative problems, while 126 other studies are under the direction of legislative councils. California has 51 different interim groups in operation; Massachusetts has 34, New York 21, Michigan sixteen, and Illinois and Oregon fourteen each.

Reapportionment Proposed for California Senate

Petitions have been in process of circulation in California to bring about a vote on an initiative proposal to reapportion the State Senate on a population basis. It has been endorsed by the State Federation of Labor. At present no county has more than one senator; the proposal would permit up to ten in a county, thus reducing the disproportionate power of the rural counties. Governor Warren indicated disapproval, stating his belief that "the rural counties are of more significance in the life of our state than the population those counties would represent."

Prizes for Efficiency Ideas in New York State

Employees of New York State are being awarded cash prizes ranging as high as $500 for suggesting new ways to increase government efficiency. This action is part of the employees' suggestion program set up in the Civil Service Department by the legislature last year. The three-man board which administers the program investigated 178 suggestions and made 31 awards in its first five months of operation. Nineteen awards were cash and twelve were certificates of merit. The board also is authorized to award limited salary increases for outstanding suggestions or accomplishments.

Ideas are mailed directly to the board, which considers them anonymously until final action.

Each suggestion is checked against a subject index for duplication after which departmental committees investigate its originality, practicability, cost of adoption, and estimate its value in savings to taxpayers or increased efficiency of administration.

One suggestion, which won its author a $100 prize, is expected to save taxpayers $10,000. The prize winner suggested a way of simplifying damage evaluation procedure in the Motor Vehicles Bureau, reducing the annual time needed for the task by 5,000 man-hours.

Michigan Civil Service Commission Upheld

Legislative refusal of a deficiency appropriation for the Michigan Civil Service Department has been overcome by drastic means, according to the National Civil Service League, which says in *Good Government* (December): "Having been informed that the deficit appropriation of $38,543 had been cut out of a legislative appropriation bill, they decided to close down the department and dismiss the employees—at least temporarily.

"As a result of this, the legislative enemies of the civil service system changed their minds and the appropriation was restored. The commission continues to operate and the merit system provision of the constitution of Michigan is being observed and obeyed even by the legislature, which in the past has displayed an unpleasant ability to ignore the constitution on reapportionment and a number of other important questions."

Council Manager Plan Developments

The communities listed below as having adopted the council-manager plan bring adoptions thus far reported for 1947 to 87. This figure includes Richmond, Virginia, new manager charter of which must still have approval of the state legislature, but excludes Brewton, Alabama, where a manager ordinance passed by the council early in 1947 was rescinded shortly thereafter, and Winston-Salem, North Carolina, whose new charter fails to give the manager adequate appointing powers. The 1947 figure exceeds by six the record number of adoptions for 1946, 81. Total (unofficial) number of cities and other local governments using the manager plan now stands at 808, of which 770 are in the United States, Alaska and Puerto Rico.

On December 2 the village of **Hopkins, Minnesota,** adopted a new charter by a vote of 1,148 to 555. It provides the council-manager plan with proportional representation as the method of electing the council. The plan will go into effect July 1, 1948.

A council-manager charter was adopted December 10 in **Dalton, Ga.,** (10,448) the vote on the manager section being 1,195 to 719. The total vote on the issue was about half of the registration, despite inclement weather. Dalton was the first municipality in Georgia to adopt a home rule charter under an act of the 1947 state legislature.

Calais, Maine, (5,161) adopted the manager plan by a popular vote of 465 to 141 on December 1.

The borough council of **Oakmont, Pennsylvania,** (6,260) adopted a manager ordinance on November 11.

DeSoto, Missouri, Carthage, Texas and **Rimouski, Quebec,** also adopted the manager plan during 1947.

The town of **Kennebunk, Maine,** has appointed a committee to report on the advisability of adopting the manager form of government.

The Municipal Affairs Committee of the **Boston** Chamber of Commerce on November 22 urged that the state legislature authorize a popular vote in that city at the 1948 state election on the question of adopting Plan E—city manager chosen by a council elected by proportional representation. The committee also asked the legislature to authorize an administrative survey of the entire municipal and county governmental structure by the Boston Finance Commission.

In **Springfield, Massachusetts,** a municipal survey report ordered by the city council recommended complete reorganization of the city government and adoption either of a strong mayor or a city manager form, with a small council elected at large instead of the present two-chamber council of 26. The Taxpayers Association and the City Manager League are considering a new drive for adoption of Plan E.

Howard Munroe, town treasurer of **Barrington, Rhode Island,** in his annual message to the taxpayers, urged study of the manager form of government. The matter is now before the town's planning board.

At a referendum in **Garfield, New Jersey,** on December 19 voters of the city turned down a proposal to adopt the manager plan by a vote of 3,538 to 2,788.

The League of Women Voters in **Atlanta, Georgia,** is urging the merits of the council-manager plan for that city and points out that in the 1946 election, whereby Fulton County achieved the manager plan, the vote in Atlanta was almost three to one in favor.

First returns from a questionnaire mailed to representative citizens of **Huntington, West Virginia,** by R. J. Wilkinson, Jr., councilman-at-large, indicated desire for the manager plan.

Bessemer, Alabama, voted 1,207 to 1,021 on November 14 to retain the council-manager plan that went into effect in February 1947.

In **Dayton, Ohio,** which has operated under a manager charter since 1914, a charter survey committee is expected to conduct a study with a view to recommending various modernizing amendments, possibly involving the make-up and remuneration of the city commission. In **Canton** there is active interest in the manager plan.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce and the Rotary Club of **Galion, Ohio,** are both conducting studies of the manager plan, which the "Jaycees" definitely favor. In **Kent,** the Chamber of Commerce is interested in promoting the manager plan. The plan is under consideration in **Middletown** particularly by the League of Women voters.

The citizens of **Clare, Michigan,** elected a charter commission by a vote of 173 to 111 on November 5 and by an advisory vote favored the council-manager plan.

In **Grand Rapids, Michigan,** the present council-manager charter, adopted in 1917, is under criticism as not giving the manager sufficient authority. A University of Michigan report for the Metropolitan Grand Rapids Planning Association also points out that, whether as a matter of statute or custom, the city manager lacks authority over functions of the city assessors, city treasurer and city clerk. Revamping of the present system to increase the manager's authority and diminish interference by the mayor and city commission is proposed in some quarters.

The city council of **New Baltimore, Michigan,** is studying the council-manager plan.

Popular votes on council-manager government are looked for in the spring in several Minnesota municipalities, including **Bemidji, Benson, Crookston, Houston** and **St. Louis Park.** In **Ely, Fergus Falls, Hastings** and **International Falls** charter commissions are at work, with emphasis on the manager plan. Active interest is also shown in **Chisholm, Winona** and **Marshall**; in the latter city the mayor has proposed consideration of the plan.

The manager plan is under serious consideration in **Council Bluffs, Iowa,** with the daily *Nonpareil* showing interest.

Waterloo, Iowa, voters rejected the council-manager plan on December 16 by a vote of 5,433 to 4,443.

In Missouri the Chambers of Commerce of **Kennett** and **Springfield** are much interested in the manager plan; in the latter city a committee of the chamber is making a study.

In Nebraska the Junior Chamber of Commerce of **Beatrice** is entering upon a campaign for the manager plan, with a popular vote expected next November. In **Scottsbluff** interest is shown on the part of the *Star Herald.* A citizens committee has been organized in **Omaha** to consider possible governmental changes with the manager plan as one possibility. **Gothenburg** votes on the manager plan this month.

A strong movement for a council-manager charter is reported in **Wewoka, Oklahoma.**

The three communities of **Baytown, Goose Creek and Pelly, Texas,** which recently consolidated as a single city to be known as **Baytown,** will vote January 24 on adoption of a council-manager charter drafted by a commission elected October 25, 1947.

Voters of **Waco, Texas,** will pass on sixteen proposed charter amendments at an election on January 31, including the re-establishment of the manager plan, which was voted out in 1946.

Athens, Texas, on November 20, defeated a proposal for the adoption of a council-manager home rule charter 304 to 119.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Denison, Texas,** where an unsuccessful campaign for the manager plan was conducted in 1946, is still showing interest. **Hillsboro** has the council-manager plan under consideration. In response to a petition on authorizing a commission to draft a manager charter, the council of **Brady** has set January 13 for an election on the question.

A group of citizens in **Salt Lake City, Utah,** plans a postcard poll on the subject of council-manager government for that city. If a majority of the returns favors the plan a campaign for its adoption will be instituted.

In **Great Falls, Montana,** the voters on December 1 rejected a council-manager proposal, made available under state law, by a vote of approximately 3,300 to 2,300. About 40 per cent of the registered voters participated. The proposal was initiated by the Junior Chamber of Commerce and urged by a general sponsoring committee, but was vigorously opposed by organized labor which claimed that the plan is "dictatorial."

The **Sidney, Montana,** Chamber of Commerce is making a study of the manager plan.

In **Phoenix, Arizona,** the city's manager charter, dating back to 1914, is being revised.

The manager plan was recently explained at a meeting of the Kiwanis Club of **Riverside, California,** by Manager F. A. Rhodes of San Diego. A citizens' committee in **Merced** has approved a proposal of the Chamber of Commerce that a council-manager charter be adopted.

The **Modesto, California,** city council, on recommendation of a citizens' committee, has named a board of fifteen freeholders to revise the city charter and provide for council-manager government.

Charter Revision Loses in Charleston, West Virginia

A proposal to elect a charter board in Charleston, West Virginia, was defeated on November 10 by a vote of nearly two to one. The total vote was relatively light. Charleston has a "strong mayor" charter, drafted in 1915. Complete revision was widely urged and was supported by the two newspapers, which gave much publicity to the subject including discussion of the council-manager plan.

Missouri Court Bars Union Bargaining

A recent decision of the Missouri Supreme Court bars municipal employees from using labor unions for the purpose of collective bargaining. The International City Managers' Association reports that the decision was on a test case involving several unions of city employees in Springfield. The court ruled that under applicable civil service laws all employees must be dealt with on exactly equal terms and that therefore unionized workers must have no advantage of collective bargaining over others.

The decision reversed a previous opinion on the case by a Greene County circuit court. The new ruling does not take away the right of public employees to organize.

Use of Voting Machines Increases

In the November elections large numbers of voters in various localities throughout the nation used voting machines for the first time. According to the International City Managers' Association, there are now more than 28,000 voting machines in use in the U. S., located in more than 3,780 communities in twenty states.

Philadelphia used no paper ballots anywhere in the city, depending entirely on voting machines for the first time. Recent purchase of 850 more machines made this possible.

In Boston, residents of the city's first four wards used nothing but voting machines, also for the first time. Decision to purchase 500 more machines for the municipality was pending.

Detroit, which has used voting machines before, purchased more than 200 additional machines and election commissioners authorized reduction of election personnel in machine-equipped precincts. The commission also cut the pay of election workers in these precincts because machines made their tasks much easier.

New York State is equipped completely with voting machines, using more than 12,000 in all precincts.

In Chicago, city and Cook County residents voted on proposed bond issues totaling $8,000,000 to finance purchase of some 5,650 voting machines for local precincts. Fifty machines were used in the election on a trial basis.

Other localities making initial use of voting machines were the Ohio counties of Clark (Springfield), Montgomery (Dayton), and Lake (Painesville); the Pennsylvania counties of

Northampton and Berks (Reading), and the municipalities of Yakima, Washington, and Stafford, Essex and Clinton, Connecticut.

Among major cities adding to their supply of voting machines were New York, Buffalo, Syracuse, Hartford, Harrisburg, Longview (Texas), Grand Rapids and Tacoma.

Smoke Control Meets Opposition in Pittsburgh

Postponement of effective enforcement of the Pittsburgh smoke-control ordinance[1] is reported as emanating from the retail coal merchants association, which asserts that not enough smokeless coal is available for cold weather needs, and that coal bootlegging is widespread. The city denies that there is extensive bootlegging, states that a survey shows a sufficient supply of low volatile ("smokeless") coal and insists that it will not relax its anti-smoke program.

AMA Broadens Constitution, Membership

At its 24th annual convention, in New Orleans in November, the American Municipal Association, heretofore a federation of state leagues of municipalities, broadened its constitution to make itself an association of cities and city officials. Direct membership of cities of 100,000 population or larger was provided for. Provision was also made for affiliation of other organizations of municipal officials of national scope and having similar objectives.

The American Association of Municipal Legislators was organized as a component part of AMA, to include members of city councils, commissions and other governing boards, regardless of title, as members. Its first president is Mayor Edwin C. Carty of Oxnard, California.

The American Municipal Service, for purposes of research and information, has also been established within the AMA framework.

Mayor Fletcher Bowron of Los Angeles, new president of AMA, emphasized in this connection the need of "a comprehensive program of effective cooperation between cities on a country-wide basis which, if properly exercised and carried forward, should raise municipal government in America to the really important place it deserves, both in fact and in the public estimation. Such a program calls for the solution of our more serious problems by joint effort, for uniform standards, practices and administration so far as practicable and, most important of all, the development of and adherence to a national municipal policy."

U. S. Conference of Mayors to Meet in New York

The United States Conference of Mayors will inaugurate its seventeenth year by an annual conference at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City, February 16-17-18. Besides discussion on housing, municipal finance and taxation, the relations between cities and states, and other local questions, a part of the sessions will be devoted to broader matters involving future national welfare and security.

States Spur Planning and Economic Development

Increased activity of state planning agencies, with emphasis on industrial and other economic development, is shown by a recent nation-wide survey by the Association of State Planning

(Continued on Page 55)

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[1] See the REVIEW, November 1947, page 558, and December 1947, page 635.

Rights and Rewards of Public Servants

Strikes, Bargaining, Pay Among Matters Reviewed

"THERE is no such thing as the 'right' to strike against government," concludes H. Eliot Kaplan in an article on "Labor Relations in the Public Service" in *Municipal Labor Problems*, issued by the Section of Municipal Law, Arnold Frye, chairman, of the **American Bar Association.** Mr. Kaplan also concludes that public employees may join any unions of their own choosing, with certain reasonable restrictions, and that collective bargaining as practiced in private employment is unenforceable in public employment.

Walter J. Mattison, in the other article in the pamphlet, "The Right of Municipal Employees to Organize and Join Unions," agrees with Mr. Kaplan in that "employees engaged in rendering services essential to the public health, safety and welfare . . . have yielded certain rights possessed by employees of industries in which the exercise of the right to strike does not affect the public interest." Both articles are thoroughly annotated.

Over 6,000 civic employees in the city of Toronto have recently been put on civil service. A bulletin of the **Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research,** Eric Hardy, director, describes the new setup in some detail.

A recent monthly letter from the Toronto bureau comments unfavorably on the proposed appointment of a director of services in Toronto, saying that it would be a halfway measure at best.

The **Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau of Milwaukee,** Norman N. Gill, director, has issued bulletins pointing out that when pension rights, overtime, sick leave and holidays are considered, unskilled laborers in city service are paid more than skilled and semi-skilled workers in Milwaukee's manufacturing industries. A study of the wage scale and overtime for city laborers is advocated.

The single-salary schedule for public school teachers is examined in a recent publication of the **Providence Governmental Research Bureau,** Robert E. Pickup, executive director. A table comparing actual and schedule salaries of teachers in five Rhode Island cities is included.

Two bulletins of the **Chicago Civic Federation,** Harland C. Stockwell, executive secretary, discuss salary rates in Chicago local government service. Six main recommendations are made, designed to improve the administration of civil service in general. The federation's 1947 study revealed that in many instances public employees receive higher annual salaries than non-public employees.

Personnel management in Utah state government is comprehensively summarized in a report from the **Utah Foundation,** Stanley J. Stephenson, managing director. At present only about one fourth of state employees are subject to merit or civil service systems; the report advocates adoption of a civil service system to cover all Utah employees.

Toward Larger Areas for Local Services

A recent issue of *Just a Moment*, bulletin of the **Buffalo Municipal Re-**

search Bureau, Sidney Detmers, managing director, describes the Erie County health department which, when in full operation, will consist of some fourteen divisions and bureaus calling for 529 employees and an annual appropriation of $2,277,560. The four October issues of *Just a Moment* were devoted to discussions of the questions and issues put before the voters in the November election.

The **Milwaukee Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau** reports in two releases on the proposed plan to turn over the public library and the public museum to the county, thus spreading the financial burden of library facilities more evenly over the whole population already served by the library.

The advantages and disadvantages of annexation of several suburbs which have requested inclusion in the city of Seattle are summarized objectively in a bulletin, *Annexation—Is it Good or Bad?*, prepared by the **Municipal League of Seattle,** C. A. Crosser, executive secretary, for the City Planning Committee.

The **Western Division of the Pennsylvania Economy League,** Leslie J. Reese, director, has released a *Newsletter* discussing an act passed by the 1947 legislature dealing with the reorganization of school districts. The act directs school boards in each county in the state to frame a county-wide plan for the merger of school districts; its other provisions are outlined in detail.

County Government Organization in California has been published in a revised edition by the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of California** (Berkeley), Samuel C. May, director. In the 44-page mimeographed report, its three authors, John C. Bollens, Patricia W. Langdell, and Robert W. Binkley, Jr., discuss the status of county government in California, types of county organization, government in non-charter counties, similarities and differences among home rule counties and the government of the city and county of San Francisco. There are also a number of tables and a reading list.

The Tax Review published by the **Tax Foundation** has devoted an issue to an article by Luther Gulick on " 'Authorities' and How to Use Them." Dr. Gulick outlines the structure of authorities, how they should be applied to governmental problems, and how they should be administered.

The Tax Outlook Coast to Coast

The **Division of Tax Research of the United States Treasury Department** has released a study entitled *Federal-State Tax Coordination.* One of a series being prepared by the division in connection with the postwar tax revision, the study covers income taxes, inheritance, estate and gift taxes, tobacco, liquor, gasoline, amusement, stock transfer and sales taxes. Fields in which federal and state taxes overlap heavily are pointed out, and proposals for better coordination are analyzed. There are nineteen detailed tables.

In the current biennium, Pennsylvania is "operating with only a small margin of safety" in its finances, according to *State-Local Government Topics,* put out by the **State Division, Pennsylvania Economy League.** The general financial outlook of the state is outlined. Another *Topics* analyzes Pennsylvania's new real estate tax sale law, concluding that it is not a radical departure from present laws and that it should accelerate the collection of delinquent real estate taxes.

The **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council,** Carter W. Atkins, executive director, has devoted an issue of its *News and Views* to an analysis of the proposed uniform treatment of family income for federal income tax. It concludes that adoption of this plan would be of substantial benefit to Connecticut taxpayers.

Revenue receipts in Philadelphia from January through October, 1947, are discussed in *Citizens' Business*, bulletin of the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research,** Robert K. Sawyer, director. Collections of city revenues during that period exceeded the similar collections during the same period of 1946 by 8.6 per cent.

The **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau** in three issues of its *Just a Moment* discusses the tax rates in school districts, county government costs, the comptroller's budget message and the 1948 Erie County budget.

The **Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau of Milwaukee** notes in a bulletin that if the 1948 budget requests of Milwaukee's five local governments are granted, and the revenues remain as now estimated, the total local property taxes billed Milwaukee property owners will be 78 per cent more than in 1945. This possibility is substantiated in a few paragraphs.

The **Bureau of Business Research of the University of Kentucky,** James W. Martin, director, has published a bulletin called *Southern Manufacturer's Tax Bill* comprising papers presented at a conference held under the joint sponsorship of this bureau, the **Bureau of Business Research** and the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama,** Roscoe C. Martin, director, and the **Southern Regional Committee of the Social Science Research Council.** There are general articles on taxation of manufacturing in the south and on a comparative analysis of European methods, and specific articles on taxation of manufacturing in Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia and West Virginia.

A recent issue of the *Colorado Taxpayer,* published by the **Colorado Public Expenditure Council,** Fred Bennion, executive director, summarizes property tax laws in Colorado; extensive tables are included.

The *Tax Digest,* published by the **California Taxpayers Association,** Jessie Grant, editor, compares California's per capita state tax collections with those of other states, showing that California's $73 per capita tax collection for fiscal 1947 was exceeded only by the $84 per capita collection in the state of Washington. The same issue has a table showing California county tax rates.

Another *Tax Digest* includes a table summarizing the actual and adjusted tax rates of California cities in 1946-47 and 1947-48. Frank H. Thill reviews the budget and special bills passed by California's 1947 legislature in the same issue.

Two articles in a third *Tax Digest* also deal with California fiscal subjects. Charles W. Flanagan describes how "Taxable Valuations Skyrocket." The assessed value of California counties reached a total for 1947-48 which is 21 per cent higher than the 1946-47 valuation. Using several tables, Vincent T. Cooper discusses the increasing highway revenues in California, outlining receipts and expenditures.

How the Money Goes—Some Possible Controls

Four recent issues of *Research Brevities,* bulletin of the **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research,** George L. Nichols, managing director, deal with fiscal problems in Schenectady. One comprises a speech by W. Howard Wright at the semi-annual meeting of the bureau, which suggests annexation of suburbs, so as to spread the base of taxation. Another is a discussion of the manager's budget for 1948. A table comparing the cost of city government in Schenectady from 1940 to 1947 is included. A third concludes that a pay-as-you-go plan for financing public improvements would be superior to bonding. The fourth advocates the creation of a planning body to review all factors affecting a capital improvement program.

School for Officials

The **University of Connecticut Institute of Public Service** has released reprints of four papers presented at its Third Annual School for Connecticut Town and City Finance Personnel, held last June. Charles J. Fox, city auditor of Boston, discusses new sources of revenue for local government; Stephen B. Story, comptroller of New Hampshire, analyzes the place of the budget in fiscal planning and as a tool of administrative management; and Russell D. Rammette, C. P. A., of a Hartford firm, sets forth in two papers the need for uniform municipal accounting procedures and terminology.

Comments published by the **Lackawanna (New York) Tax Research Bureau** analyzes 1947 city revenues and the new school budget.

The monthly bulletin of the **Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research,** W. Earl Weller, director, notes that rises in current expenses have added over $500,000 to the cost of education in county school districts outside the city.

The lead article in the *Wisconsin Tax News,* Glen W. McGrath, editor, published by the **Wisconsin Citizens Public Expenditure Survey,** notes that Wisconsin's counties, excluding Milwaukee, spent in 1946 about 21 per cent more for operation and capital outlay than in 1945.

The fact that Providence 1947 property tax valuations are the highest since 1940 "should not be considered a reason to embark on expenditure programs involving long term commitments," says a bulletin of the **Providence Governmental Research Bureau.** The same issue also comments on public assistance costs in Providence, with tables.

The **Bureau of Municipal Research of Newark,** Henry W. Connor, director, has issued two bulletins explaining the effects of possible adoption of the state retirement system for Newark city employees. The Newark debt policy is the subject of a well arranged pamphlet containing several graphs and tables which has also been issued by the bureau.

General fund revenues and expenditures and the 1947-48 state budget of Michigan are outlined comprehensively in a 38-page mimeographed report issued by the **Genesee County Taxpayers Association,** G. Keyes Page, executive vice president. Seven main conclusions are listed, and seven recommendations made.

A recent issue of *The Iowa Taxpayer,* published by the **Iowa Taxpayers Association,** Joe L. Long, executive secretary, contains three detailed tables on the total and per person cost of administrative salaries, police departments and fire departments of the 44 cities of over 5,000 population in Iowa for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1947, with the per person cost for the previous year.

Pittsburgh's school system finances for 1948 are analyzed in a *Newsletter* of the **Pennsylvania Economy League's Western Division.**

Estimates by San Francisco departments of their immediate requirements for bond issues for capital improvements in addition to the amount recently authorized by the voters would, if also authorized, exceed the city's legal bonding limit by $24,000,000, according to a bulletin of the **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research,** Alfred F. Smith, director. The bulletin lists briefly the requirements of individual departments.

The **Citizens' Research Institute of Canada** has issued a brief analysis of the cost of provincial government in Canada. Toronto's city budget for 1947 is examined in a bulletin from the **Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research.**

Annual Reports and Plans

Wyoming Taxpayers Association, Percy F. Jowett, executive director: report for 1947 and outline of future plans.

Chicago Civic Federation, Harland C. Stockwell, executive secretary: review of year ended September 30, 1947.

Boston Municipal Research Bureau, Richard A. Atkins, secretary: report for 1947.

Committee on Governmental Affairs, Trenton Chamber of Commerce, Robert H. Blundred, executive director: report for year ended November 15, 1947.

A research bureau for state, county and local governments has been in contemplation at the **University of Idaho,** Professor Boyd A. Martin of that university said at the annual conference of the **Idaho Municipal League.** He added that he thought the university and the municipal league could work such a bureau out jointly. The league therefore adopted a resolution requesting the University of Idaho to consider establishing a research bureau.

Researchers throughout eleven western states convened in San Diego from October 30 to November 1 to consider the theme, "Workshop in Governmental Research," under the auspices of the **Western Governmental Research Association.** Samuel C. May, director of the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of California** (Berkeley), was elected president of the association, and John C. Bollens, administrative analyst with the bureau, was named executive secretary.

Edwin A. Cottrell, consultant on local government of the **Haynes Foundation** of Los Angeles, is directing a study of the units of government in the Los Angeles metropolitan area. This study, part of a three-fold examination of the economic, social and governmental structure of the area, is one of the first steps toward a solution of the problem of overlapping and duplicating governmental services in Los Angeles.

A recent issue of the *Kansas Government Journal,* John G. Stutz, editor, published by the **League of Kansas Municipalities,** contains an article outlining the program for maintenance of Kansas local government information and research services, including the *Journal,* during the year 1948. The different information and research services are enumerated, and the proposed 1948 budget of the league is presented.

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Strictly Personal

The Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research and the Citizens' Research Institute of Canada announce that **Dr. Horace L. Brittain** has retired as director of the two bureaus. He has been succeeded by **Eric Hardy,** a graduate of the University of Toronto who has had experience in governmental work in both provincial and federal fields.

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

States Organize for Community Development

Hold Conferences on Aid to Local Groups

FORMATION of statewide citizen organizations to aid in the development of local community councils and assist in their program planning, has now been accomplished in four states—Georgia, New York, New Jersey and Kentucky. In addition the National Conference on the Community as a result of its recent discussions at West Point, New York, is laying plans for developing new or expanded services of national scope to state and local groups.

Because Kentucky found itself next to the lowest of the states in industrial payrolls, literacy, etc., a group of merchants decided something must be done about the state's situation. They invited leaders of some 25 of the most important groups in the state—farm, labor, education, etc.—for a conference. The upshot of the matter was organization of the **Committee for Kentucky,** which has a threefold objective: (1) to raise the level of education, health, welfare and of economic opportunity for Kentucky people; (2) to give a stronger hand to the unfortunate and (3) to help make democracy a vital and living force.

A plan has been developed which has resulted in the study of ten major problems — agriculture, education, health, the constitution, welfare, housing, industry, labor, natural resources and taxation—by experts in their fields. To implement each study a qualified person was selected to develop a program of action. The reports finally evolved are readable and attractive and have made a strong impression on Kentuckians. Through 88 member organizations, mostly statewide, with a total membership of some 450,000, the committee is spreading its findings.

The committee's Community Service joined with the **Committee for City and County of Henderson** last spring in sponsoring Kentucky's first community conference. Seven states, the District of Columbia and eleven Kentucky communities were represented. Several thousands of Henderson's citizens attended one or more sessions, one of which drew some 1,200 persons. The *Proceedings of Henderson Community Conference* were issued as the June 1947 issue of *Your Community Reporter,* a publication of the Committee for Kentucky. The committee, of which James W. Armstrong is director and Harry W. Schacter is president, has also issued *Kentucky's Communities on the March—a Manual for Community Organization.*

The recently organized **New Jersey Citizens' Conference,** Mrs. Frederick Beggs, chairman, and Mrs. Frederick A. Kuser, secretary, held an Institute on the Community, September 11-14, at Johnsonburg. Some two hundred leaders in community organization from New Jersey and elsewhere attended the sessions. Opening speaker was Dr. John Herring, who discussed "The Community We Want." Workshops and round tables dealt with such matters as "The Community We Have and Organizing to Build the Community We Want" and "Community Problem Areas—How Can the Community Deal with Them." Under the latter category planning, intergroup relations, family and youth, constitutional revision, education, municipal government, etc., were considered.

On the last day of the session it was voted unanimously that it was the consensus of the persons attending that the New Jersey Citizens' Conference should be organized on a permanent basis. The officers of the conference were requested to appoint a committee on organization and policy and a nominating committee with instructions to call an organization meeting.

One of the current projects of the conference is a study of "the practical problems and potentialities of ten selected New Jersey towns and cities," by some 40 of its members under the direction of James E. Downes of Newark State Teachers College.

General purpose of the conference is to maintain a state clearing house and service in aid of local, general-purpose community organizations and councils.

New York Council

As already reported in this department (September), the **New York Citizens Council,** Rhea M. Eckel, executive secretary, held its Third Annual Institute of Community Leadership, titled "Town of Tomorrow," at Manlius, New York, during the summer. The Bureau of Adult Education of the New York State Education Department was joint sponsor. Overlapping the conference was the council's four-week Cooperative Workshop in Community Education and Development.

Activities of several community councils in the state were reviewed during the Town of Tomorrow sessions, among them Lyons Falls, Waterville, Rome, Wright Park, Fayetteville, Liverpool, Lyndon, Buffalo and Schenectady. Members gave brief case histories of the projects in their communities.

The council is an organization of individuals and community groups dedicated to "rallying forces to strengthen democratic community living." It seeks to accomplish its objective through its field service to communities, research in community development and statewide educational programs on problems of public concern as well as its leadership training program.

Georgia's Plans

The **Georgia Citizens Council,** W. Elliott Dunwody, Jr., president, was established in 1945 by an act of the Georgia legislature, to coordinate and mobilize efforts of civic, business, labor and fraternal organizations and individual citizens to improve the human resources of the state. It is divided into four divisions: youth, recreation, social protection and safety. Thus far emphasis has been on the first two.

Among accomplishments of the council are the formation of nearly a hundred teen-age centers, the holding of statewide youth workshop institutes, a survey of the juvenile court situation, development of a youth guidance plan for communities unable to afford juvenile courts—now in operation in two communities, recreational institutes for training of leaders, etc. Many local community councils have aided in these as well as other accomplishments. The Fourth Annual Citizens Conference of the Georgia Council met in Atlanta, November 17-19. It provided an opportunity for civic, professional and religious leaders to discuss problems among themselves and with outstanding state and national authorities.

Using hundreds of suggestions sent in by more than 500 persons from 78 Georgia communities the program was built around the theme: "What can I do as an individual citizen and through my own organizations to help improve our human resources more effectively." Two workshops on "Organizing the Community for Action," one on small communities, the other on large, were led by Dr. Howard Beers, professor of rural sociology at the University of Kentucky, and Dr. Gordon Blackwell, director of the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina.

National Group Plans

The **National Conference on the Community,** John W. Herring, secretary, was organized by the **National Planning Association,** E. J. Coil, executive director, "to develop more power behind intelligent action on the community front." Meeting at West Point, New York, October 7-11, the conference brought together local and national leaders in the fields of local planning, social welfare, adult education, economic development, municipal research, etc., as well as those of community groups whose purpose is more generalized

Early sessions were devoted to panel discussions or reports on general problems of community organization. Programs under way and techniques of certain community and state organizations, as well as those of national scope, were described.

General sessions considered proposals for strengthening national services to general-purpose community groups. Discussion was based on the report of a Findings Committee and revealed that most were of the opinion that there is a need for the "pooling of ideas and experiences on the over-all approach to community development."

The result was adoption of a resolution providing for a committee to take steps to achieve the general objectives set forth in the Special Conference Committee reports. This organization committee "should be free to act in securing funds and organizing to achieve" these objectives:

(1) Exchange and pooling of information among persons and agencies working in the field;

(2) Stimulation and distribution of research in this field;

(3) Training of volunteer and professional leaders for community organization;

(4) Help and advice to state and local community organizations.

The committee on organization, with Mr. Coil as chairman and Mr. Herring as secretary, has already held several meetings.

Previous to the West Point sessions the conference issued its 34-page *Community Building in America,* "a broad brush sketch of 5,000 organized community programs in America." The report is based in part on questionnaires and reports from 212 community organizations in 35 states. These groups fall into two categories: (1) community councils with broad or "general" principles; (2) community groups dealing with specialized problems such as racial discrimination, city planning, health - welfare - recreation, education for democracy, good government, and other community interests.

Citizens Plan for Tomorrow

In **Philadelphia** the **Citizens Council on City Planning,** Walter M. Phillips, president, has taken a leading part in securing for that city a "Better Philadelphia Exhibition." Aiding in the project was the **Chamber of Commerce and Board of Trade,** Clement V. Conole, general manager. Designed by Oskar A. Stonorov, well known architect and housing authority, in collaboration with the City Planning Commission, the exhibition covers some 50,000 square feet, cost $300,000, and was on view at Gimbel Brothers department store for some weeks. It is the hope of the citizens council to find a permanent home for it so that it may be viewed at all times. A third of the cost of the exhibit was appropriated by the city council; the remainder was contributed by civic-minded individuals and mercantile, financial and industrial organizations.

Discussing the exhibit, *Civic Affairs*, published by the **Philadelphia Committee of 70**, Harry K. Butcher, secretary, comments that "the exhibition illustrates the technical phase that must precede the development of the city of tomorrow. It is the pattern which planning experts recommend be followed by the mayor and city council. The exhibition should help you to determine if it is worth your while to devote some of your spare time to politics and better government and help re-establish Philadelphia in its rightful place among the leading cities of the world."

Wide support for its stand on planning is reported by the **Seattle Municipal League**, C. A. Crosser, executive secretary. The league feels that "responsibility for preparation of an overall city plan for future development should rest with the City Planning Commission and that the services of a nationally recognized city planner should be secured."

Cooperating on City Problems

Pennsylvania has organized a **Committee on Pennsylvania City Problems**, made up of representatives of civic and service organizations with local chapters, of cooperating colleges and universities, and of the State Department of Internal Affairs, William S. Livengood, Jr., director. The committee is intended to function in a "coordinating and advisory rather than an executive or directive capacity," reports the monthly bulletin of the Internal Affairs Department.

The purpose of the committee is to "encourage and assist local chapters of service and civic organizations to devote more of their meetings—perhaps half—to informed, constructive discussions of specific problems of local government in their cities." The committee's program is designed to promote a means by which local citizens can work out the answers to their local problems rather than to provide solutions. The State Department of Internal Affairs will furnish monographs, factual data and printed matter as a basis for discussion. The colleges and universities will supply discussion leaders and assist in the gathering of supplementary local data. Among the problems to be discussed are new revenue sources, sewage disposal, housing, planning, zoning, traffic and parking, slum clearance, airports and recreation.

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Report to Members

The annual report of the **Massachusetts Civic League**, Miriam Butler, executive secretary, appears in a recent issue of the *Lens*. Following the secretary's short statement on the year's work are reports from committees—billboards, crime, child welfare, education, forms of government, housing, lottery and pari-mutuel, public health, public service, public welfare, and research on state problems. The league is working on plans to celebrate its 50th anniversary next year.

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Training Program

The **Council on World Affairs** (Cleveland), Shepherd L. Witman, executive director, is expanding its internship program of the past two years to an in-service training program. Through the cooperation of the Carnegie Corporation of New York the council will provide a year's training and experience for two trainees in the administration and operation of community education in world affairs. The training program will give experience in all aspects of community organization with respect to adult education in world affairs. Its purpose is to provide thorough preparation for a professional career in this field. It is expected that after their period of training interns will organize, develop and administer similar projects elsewhere in the U. S.

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Fight on Vote Frauds

Attorney General Nathaniel L. Goldstein of New York State has announced plans for a year-round campaign against election frauds. Man power for the campaign will come from a pool of 400 attorneys who will volunteer their services. Each month Mr. Goldstein will select 30 of these volunteers, to be called special deputy attorneys, who will give a minimum of twelve hours of work during a calendar month, investigating election frauds. All will be continued in a reserve pool for duty on election day. Mr. Goldstein stated that one objective of the program is to build up a pool of experts to head the hundreds of volunteers needed to augment his staff for the 1948 presidential election.

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Anniversaries

The **Independent Civic Association of Sheepshead Bay (Brooklyn, New York)** has completed 25 years of activity. "While taking no part in politics," says it secretary, J. B. Milgram, the association "has acted in all other respects as a community sounding board."

September 1947 wound up twelve years of service by the **Iowa Taxpayers Association,** Joe L. Long, executive secretary. "We seem to have just about gotten settled down to the job of being useful and as helpful as possible to both interested citizens and public officials," says its bulletin, *The Iowa Taxpayer.* The bulletin calls attention to the events transpiring over the years and comments that "twelve years seem a long time when you look forward and try to picture 1959 and wonder just what will have been done about the problems with which the world is now struggling." The organization held an all-day program October 31 to celebrate its anniversary, with Hon. George A. Wilson, the state's senior U. S. senator, as principal speaker at a luncheon.

The **Minneapolis Council of Civic Clubs,** Eugene Larson, president, organized 22 years ago, now has 58 affiliated organizations representing a total of 40,000 members. Each month the *Town Crier,* its official bulletin, is mailed to all clubs and their representatives. Monthly meetings discuss important topics confronting Minneapolis and its metropolitan area.

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Strictly Personal

The Detroit Citizens League has announced appointment of **Hale G. Knight,** former member of the Michigan Liquor Control Commission and now on the staff of the United States Senate Appropriations Committee, as its executive secretary. Mr. Knight succeeds **William P. Lovett,** the league's secretary for 31 years, who died several months ago.

The Citizens' Civil Service Association of Illinois has honored its retiring president, **Mrs. Laura Hughes Lunde,** by unanimous passage at the association's annual meeting of a resolution praising her work. Mrs. Lunde was also presented by the association's board with a personal gift in appreciation of her services.

Stanley Hawks, vice president of the Minneapolis *Star and Tribune,* has been appointed chairman of the 1948 Civic Council Fund Campaign in Minneapolis. This campaign, organized in 1937 to eliminate duplication of effort, collects funds for six civic organizations in the Minneapolis area.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Hopkins, Minnesota, Adopts P. R. Charter

Elections in Cambridge, Toledo and Hamilton

THE village of Hopkins (population 4,100) at its regular election on December 2 adopted a home rule charter by a vote of 1,148 to 555. The charter provides for a council-manager plan of government and the proportional representation method of electing the council.

This is the first time that proportional representation has been tried in Minnesota. The new charter provides for the first council election under P. R. to be held May 11, 1948. The council will take office July 1, 1948, after which the first city manager will be appointed.

The Minneapolis *Star* of December 4 congratulated Hopkins editorially on its new charter: "The Hopkins charter is more advanced in some respects than the new charter being proposed for Minneapolis. Hopkins will have a city manager whereas Minneapolis would have a financial administrator with many of the powers of a city manager. Hopkins will have proportional representation, the most democratic way of electing a representative governing body."

C. C. Ludwig, *Executive Secretary*
League of Minnesota Municipalities

Good Government Forces Win in Cambridge

The Cambridge electorate went to the polls on November 4 to enumerate its order of preference for the 34 candidates for the city council and 18 candidates for the school committee. This was the fourth Cambridge election under P. R. The voting was unusually heavy, 72 per cent of a larger registration coming to the polls as against 64 per cent in 1945.

So far as the city council was concerned, the issues were the same as in the last municipal election; namely, the continuation of efficiency in government and support of the present city manager. All nine incumbents were running and of them five had voted for the retention of the present city manager, John B. Atkinson, and four had voted against him. The five supporting the manager were those who had received the endorsement in 1945 of the Cambridge Civic Association, which is the charter group in Cambridge. There have been during the last two years a number of other five to four votes on constructive measures.

The Cambridge Civic Association endorsed the five incumbents and five additional candidates, one of whom had been elected to the council in 1941 under charter group endorsement and was seeking his seat again after a term of military service. The other four were newcomers to the field. In the final outcome the charter group retained its majority of five to four, with, however, the returned veteran replacing one of the previous officeholders, who finished tenth. Of the four unendorsed candidates elected three were on the previous council and one was returned to the council after being defeated in 1945.

The outstanding feature of this election beside the heavy vote was the concentration of votes among the leading candidates. In 1945 the endorsed candidates and the seven leading unendorsed received 84 per cent of the total first choices. In the last election they received 92 per cent. The charter group, although maintaining only its same number of councilors, increased its proportion of the total first choices from 45 per cent to 50 per cent.

In the school committee race much was at stake. The schools in Cambridge have not shown the progress in the last six years that has been demonstrated in the municipal administration. The campaign was waged on the issue of the elimination of politics from the school committee.

The Civic Association endorsed only one candidate who had held office before, Bradley Dewey, who ran for the first time in 1945 by request and as a public service. The four other candidates endorsed by the association also ran this year by request and were, on the whole, unknown to Cambridge politics. It is gratifying that two of these newcomers were elected and that Bradley Dewey was re-elected with the largest number of first choices ever given to any candidate for any office in a P. R. election in Cambridge. This vote was a tremendous vindication of Mr. Dewey's vigorous campaign for a better administration of Cambridge school affairs.

The other three positions on the committee were filled by the return of two of the previous unendorsed incumbents and by a former member of the school committee who was defeated for the city council in 1945. Under the Cambridge charter the seventh position and chairmanship is held by the mayor, who will be elected from its own membership by the city council when it sits in January.

Donald Spencer

Cambridge Civic Association

Election Interest High in Toledo

Toledo's seventh P. R. election of nine city councilmen reveals a mixture of new precedents and old gripes.

The number of ballots cast, 90,648, was a new high (total valid vote 85,550; invalids and blanks 5,098). Consequently, the quota was the largest yet—8,551.

First to reach the quota was the present vice mayor instead of the mayor. Since being mayor is usually worth two-thirds of a quota, an old rule-of-thumb was broken. Capable leadership and a press that has been both unusually favorable and sustained in its support of the vice mayor gives reason to the result.

Ad Thacher, formerly a county commissioner and mayor and councilman since adoption of P. R. in 1935, was defeated. Most people thought that couldn't happen.

Three new councilmen were elected —three who had never run previously for any public office. All are young men, one a war veteran. They replaced the three oldest present councilmen.

For the first time in nineteen years, party endorsement of council candidates was open. The Democrats won one additional seat. However, it is too early to predict any strengthening of party lines in actual legislative voting. In the past there has been little bloc-voting on legislation.

The vice mayor and the mayor were both elected on the count of first-choices. The nine elected candidates received 73 per cent of all first-choice votes.

Four Democratically-endorsed successful candidates received 39 per cent of the vote; three Republican endorsees, 30 per cent; and two independents, 21 per cent. Thus 90 per cent of those who cast valid ballots helped elect councilmen.

The one Negro candidate elected received support from all wards—in fact, from all except 15 of 350 precincts. The quota was greater than the potential Negro vote. A successful Polish-Democrat received votes from 90 per cent of the precincts; votes of other councilmen-elect ranged from 96 to 99 per cent.

The count was slow, averaging 1,278 ballots per hour (first-choice sorting) as compared with 2,020 in Cincinnati. It was conducted by a bipartisan Board of Elections.

RONALD E. GREGG, *Executive Secretary*
Toledo Municipal League

Hamilton, Ohio, Holds Eleventh P. R. Election

Strict versus "liberal" law enforcement was the underlying campaign issue in Hamilton's eleventh P. R. council election in November. Four purported administration supporters and three candidates who are critical of the existing city administration and the present council's policies were elected.

The Hamilton election is of special interest in view of the heavy attacks on P. R. in New York and Cincinnati, although retention of P. R. was not an issue.

The official vote cast was 16,682, largest since Hamilton's adoption of the P. R. system in 1926. Twenty-seven candidates sought the seven council seats. The quota figure was 2,086. Invalid ballots numbered 442, 2.7 per cent of those marked, and 88 ballots were blank. Invalid ballots were fewer than ever before on a percentage basis. The election count was completed within 48 hours after the polls were closed. Actual counting and transferring required about 22 hours in contrast to 27 hours required to count 14,479 ballots in 1945.

Twenty-two transfers were necessary before seven candidates were elected. The present mayor, William Beckett, was re-elected outright with 450 surplus votes. Three other councilmen were re-elected on the fourteenth, eighteenth and twenty-first transfers. These three and the mayor were the only members of the present council who ran for re-election. The remaining three, newcomers to the council, won automatically when there were no further eliminations possible. Citizen interest was high as hundreds of Hamiltonians watched the counting process.

Dr. L. L. Hunter, only Negro seeking election, stood seventh in the first-choice count with 4.9 per cent of the first-choice votes, and remained in the running until the final transfer of votes. The last councilman elected had only 409 first-choice votes, or fourteenth in rank, but climbed to 1,862 on the last transfer. He was on the mayor's ticket. A lone woman candidate ranked twenty-fourth in the first-choice count and was eliminated after the sixth transfer.

Three tickets accounted for 23 of the 27 candidates. Each of the three tickets will have two representatives on the new council. The seventh member of the new council ran independently.

Candidates on two of the tickets, the Forward Hamilton ticket, headed by Mayor Beckett, and the Citizens Liberal ticket, managed by Councilman Howard Wilson (not running for re-election), pledged continuation of "good government." The Forward Hamilton ticket also backed the present administration in city hall. Candidates on these two tickets polled 56 per cent of first-choice votes. The Independent Charter ticket campaigned for more "liberal" government, generally interpreted as less strict enforcement of state laws by city police.

Several issues, including the granting of a bus franchise, community recreation facilities, acquisition of additional water supply and garbage collection, were hotly debated prior to the election although many observers believed the underlying issue was strict or "liberal" law enforcement. The present city manager, Frank Buechner, has endeavored since his appointment in 1946 to clean up prostitution and enforce state laws on gambling. In this move he has had the support of the majority of the present council and the cooperation of a new police chief. Three members of the new council are alleged to favor the permitting of gambling.

The key to the control of Hamilton's civic affairs for the next two years rests with these three councilmen unless the majority of four committed to "good government" support each other on all major issues. That such unanimity will prevail is hardly indicated by past actions of the present councilmen who were re-elected and will serve in the new council. On several major issues the council has been badly split. The first test will come when the new council meets in January for organization and the selection of a mayor.

Alan C. Rankin

Miami University

CITY, STATE, NATION

(Continued from page 41)

and Development Agencies. Several states in 1947 created new planning agencies or unified planning activities into a single agency. The survey revealed that 39 states are spending more than $8,000,000 on such activities in the current biennium.

New York leads in such expenditures; its state planning agency, the Department of Commerce, received $1,700,000 for the current fiscal year.

The revamped Oklahoma Planning and Resources Board will spent $1,200,000 over a two-year period to survey industrial possibilities of the state's resources, power, water and transportation facilities, and the availability of markets, labor, credit and industrial sites. Efforts to stimulate tourist trade will be made by a Department of Publicity.

In Pennsylvania, legislators gave planning continued support by appropriating the State Planning Board $200,000 for 1947-49. In addition, the Department of Commerce received $950,000 for industrial and tourist research. Problems being studied include stream pollution, depletion of coal and timber reserves, soil erosion and overconcentration of heavy industry in small areas.

The Arkansas Resources and Development Commission received $995,610 for 1947-48, compared to $244,958 in 1946-47.

In California the new office of the director of planning and research is operating on a budget of $116,405 until July 1948.

In Minnesota an unusual activity of the new State Department of Business Research and Development is investigating violations of state anti-trust laws. Other major efforts of the agency will include research in broader use of natural resources, diversification of industry and advertising scenic attractions.

Michigan's new Department of Economic Development, meanwhile, is completing a study of industrial potentialities in the state's Upper Peninsula, stimulating location of new business in the state, and aiding localities in industrial development surveys. These and other activities of the department are financed by a $75,000 appropriation for the current fiscal year.

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Counties and Townships May Zone in Ohio

Regulations Set Forth in 1947 Legislation

THE NEW Ohio county and township zoning law, reported in this section last month, authorizes counties and townships to adopt zoning ordinances for unincorporated territory as follows:

1. Counties or townships may regulate the location, height, bulk, number of stories and size of buildings and other structures, percentages of lot areas that may be occupied, set back building lines, sizes of yards, courts and other open spaces, population density, uses of buildings, other structures and land for trade, industry, residence, recreation or other purposes;

2. County commissioners or township trustees may proceed upon their own initiative or shall proceed upon petition of voters numbering not less than 8 per cent of those who voted in last election for governor;

3. Counties or townships instituting zoning shall set up a rural zoning commission of five members residing in the unincorporated territory;

4. The county or township rural zoning commission then submits plan giving its recommendations;

5. The county or township zoning commission may request the county or regional planning commission to prepare a zoning plan for it;

6. Proposed zoning plan must have at least one public hearing;

7. After the hearing the proposed zoning plan must be submitted to county or regional planning commission for approval, disapproval or suggestions. Any changes recommended by planning commission must be subjected to additional public hearing;

8. After county or township zoning commission has completed recommendations for the zoning plan and a further public hearing has been held, the zoning plan may be adopted by county commissioners or township trustees. However, any changes made must be submitted to the zoning commission, and, if such changes are disapproved, the favorable vote of the entire membership of the board of county commissioners or board of township trustees is required for adoption;

9. Before the zoning plan can be placed into operation, it must be put to a vote of the voters residing in the areas to be zoned and receive a majority of the votes cast;

10. Amendments or supplements follow procedure similar to that outlined for adoption of the original zoning plan, except that they need not be submitted to vote of the electors unless requested by petition of voters;

11. Provision is made for any person adversely affected, who considers that the regulations do not comply with the law or are unreasonable, to appeal to the court of common pleas;

12. Where zoning is adopted, a board of zoning appeals of five members shall be appointed (by county commissioners for county zoning or township trustees for township zoning) to hear and decide appeals based on alleged errors in enforcement or infliction of unnecessary hardship;

13. A zoning inspector may be appointed, but where a county building inspector has been appointed, he shall also be the zoning inspector. It is required that a zoning certificate be ob-

tained for construction work on any building or structure, certifying its compliance with the regulations;

14. Lawful use of land, buildings or structures existing at the time zoning is adopted may be continued even though not in conformity with the zoning regulations, but upon discontinuance of such use for two years, further use must comply with the regulations;

15. Outdoor advertising classified as business use is permitted in districts zoned for industry, business, trade, or on land used for agricultural purposes;

16. Exempted from zoning regulation are buildings or land used for agricultural purposes or public utilities, publicly or privately owned. No power is granted in the act to prohibit any mercantile or retail establishment, drug store, hotel, lunch room, restaurant or place of entertainment in any areas zoned for trade or industry; and

17. Violation of the zoning regulations shall subject the violator, upon conviction, to a fine of not more than one hundred dollars. Each day of violation after conviction shall be deemed a separate offense.

Two Counties Consider New Charters

The Board of Supervisors of Chippewa County (Sault Ste. Marie), Michigan, recently appointed a committee to study the advantages of the manager plan.

The Good Government League of Hamilton County (Cincinnati), Ohio, is considering making a renewed attempt to secure a home rule charter for the county. A manager charter was rejected by the voters in 1935.

Road Centralization Continues

Adams County, Mississippi, recently decided by action of the board of supervisors to centralize its road work into one unit replacing the traditional precinct system.

Rusk County, Texas, by popular referendum, rejected the county road unit plan by a ratio of four to one, and Orange County rejected it 1,179 to 799. Of the 30 or more Texas counties which have held elections under the 1947 optional county road law, approximately a dozen have voted favorably.

In Kentucky a three-months survey by the Public Administration Service led to the conclusion that state centralization of all rural roads offered the only logical solution. The state would not assume road and bridge debts, and counties would continue to furnish the right of way. They would be allowed to levy a tax for a higher standard of construction or maintenance than that provided by the state. Existing competent local road organizations could be retained to operate under state contract, but the report described Kentucky's 120 counties as "many of them with too small a tax base to support an effective administrative organization, and many too small in area to utilize effectively such an organization if it were available." If Kentucky accepts the recommendations, it will be the fifth state to effect virtually complete centralization of all road construction and maintenance.

Texas County Pioneers Home Rule

Under a county home rule amendment to the Texas state constitution, adopted by referendum in 1933, Delta County, Texas, may become the first county in the state to enjoy local home rule. The amendment provides that counties with populations of more than 62,000 may adopt a home rule charter, but that smaller counties may adopt such a charter only on approval by a two-thirds vote of each house of the state legislature. Delta County, with a

1940 population of approximately 13,000, received this approval from the 1947 legislature. The county officials have filed with the attorney general's office their plans for a county referendum in which a simple majority favorable vote is required for adoption of the home rule charter.

Pennsylvania Legislates for Counties

According to the Pennsylvania Department of Internal Affairs' *Monthly Bulletin,* slightly more than 25 per cent of the bills introduced in the 1947 session of the General Assembly related to county government. A total of 188 bills affecting counties was passed and sent to the governor, who approved 174 and vetoed 14. The new acts relating directly or indirectly to county government constituted slightly less than 25 per cent of the total acts passed.

Although the 1947 legislation leaves the structure of Pennsylvania county government virtually unchanged, there is scarcely a county officer who is not affected to some extent by the new laws. Most significant statutes include:

1. Acts 524 and 525 abolish all existing salary boards in counties of the second to eighth classes and provide for establishment in every such county of a new salary board. The newly constituted boards have authority to fix the number and compensation of all appointed officers, deputies, assistants, clerks and other persons whose compensation is paid out of the county treasury. In addition to these acts giving counties autonomy as far as number and compensation of appointed officers is concerned, the legislature has provided salary increases for most county officers, including elected officials, beginning in January 1948. Moreover, fees of a number of county officials have been increased.

2. Act 542, the real estate tax sales law, is optional in its application to counties. This act is expected to provide for quicker and more businesslike collection of delinquent taxes and disposition of property for which taxes remain unpaid. The requirement that property for which a sufficient bid is not obtained be sold free of encumbrance within one year is expected to result in quick disposition of the backlog of unsold property in some counties.

3. Act 64 permits sheriffs in second- to eighth-class counties to succeed themselves.

4. Act 251 authorizes establishment of a State Association of Prothonotaries and Clerks of Quarter Sessions Court, with certain expenditures chargeable to counties of the second to eighth classes.

5. Act 303 authorizes the State Association of County Commissioners, on approval of the members in convention, to coordinate and devise uniform, economical and efficient methods of county administration, the expenses to be met by assessment levied against the counties.

6. Act 562 authorizes the Joint State Government Commission to make a study of the tax laws of the state and other states and counties in order to determine improved methods of financing the state and its political subdivisions.

7. Act 212 gives the county planning commission in second-class counties jurisdiction and control over the subdivision of land within the county, except within cities and boroughs.

8. Acts 271 and 372 authorize establishment of a State Association of Directors of Veterans' Affairs, with counties liable for certain expenses of the organization.

9. Act 549 allows counties to establish temporary veterans' housing authorities.

Columbus Joins Ranks of Income Tax Cities

Referendum Likely on Ohio City's New Levy

A MUNICIPAL income tax of ½ of 1 per cent was unanimously adopted by the Columbus, Ohio, city council at its meeting November 28, 1947, following a two-and-a-half hour hearing at which opponents declared they would seek a referendum if the tax were enacted.

Effective January 1, 1948, the tax is to be levied on personal incomes and the net incomes of businesses. In the case of persons employed by Columbus firms, collection will be by payroll withholding. The self-employed, persons employed outside the city, and businesses will file annual declarations and pay the tax quarterly. The first quarterly installment will be due March 15, so that the city income taxpayers can worry about the city tax along with the federal levy. Pensions and annuities are not taxable under the new law.

The levy is unofficially reported as likely to yield from $2,500,000 to $3,000,000 annually for the five years it is to be in force. Proceeds will be used for balancing the budget—heavily burdened by an amendment enacted November 4, 1947, which gave the city's firemen, formerly on a 72-hour week, a 40-hour week—to meet about $1,000,000 in back pay, to settle sewage pollution suits, and extend service in most city departments.

Conspicuously successful use of a municipal income tax has already been made by another Ohio city, Toledo, which imposed a one per cent levy effective March 1, 1946. Through December 31, 1946, the tax yielded Toledo $3,637,796, of which $1,454,151 was transferred to the city's debt retirement funds. Collections for the full year 1947 were expected to exceed $4,000,000. The tax is meeting more than $1,300,000 annually of debt service on bonds payable inside the ten mill tax rate limit.

Motor Fuel Taxes Raised

Nine taxing jurisdictions raised motor fuel taxes by legislation adopted in 1947, according to the Federation of Tax Administrators. None boosted the tax to a level exceeding the 7 cents per gallon imposed by Florida, Louisiana and Tennessee, however.

The nine increases during the year were: California, which added one and one-half cents to a total of four and one-half cents; Colorado, which added two cents for a total of six cents; Connecticut, which added one cent to make a total of four cents; District of Columbia, whose tax now totals four cents; Maine, which added two cents to make a total of six cents; Maryland, adding one cent to make a five-cent total; Nevada, which added one and one-half cents for a five and one-half-cent total; Rhode Island, which added one cent to make a total of four cents; and Vermont, which raised the tax one-half cent to a total of four and one-half cents.

Some of the increases are temporary. Maine's increase is for three years, while that of Nevada is for two years. The Nevada tax—for the benefit of county and city roads—may be avoided in any county in which the county commissioners refuse to impose the added excise.

Motor fuel taxes—in force in all 48 states and the District of Columbia, range down from the seven cents per gallon top to a low of two cents in Missouri. Highest rates tend to be found in the south, lowest in the Great Lakes and upper Mississippi valley areas.

California Cities Seek Local Sales Tax Uniformity

A committee to study the technical, legal and administrative factors involved in bringing about uniformity in the 64 municipal sales tax ordinances in force in California has been appointed by the League of California Cities. Chairman is Norris Montgomery, mayor of Santa Barbara, and another committee member is C. C. Wood, finance officer of San Bernardino, these having been the first two cities in the state to enact local sales taxes.

The municipal sales tax was one of the principal subjects discussed at the state league's annual conference in September, and the formation of the special study committee was an outgrowth of papers delivered then. The committee will catalogue differences in existing local sales tax ordinances and propose methods of reconciling them. It will also study the various report forms and other administrative features with a view to suggesting uniformity of practice as well as of law.

Property Taxes in Oregon 54 Per Cent Over 1940

The general property tax levied for 1947-48 by local units in Oregon will exceed $62,000,000, up just over $10,000,000 from 1946-47 and 54 per cent above the total levied in prewar 1940. Increased taxes for school purposes and taxes specially voted for county purposes, generally for improvements, were the principal factors in the rise. Levies for city purposes alone advanced less than 2 per cent from 1946-47 to 1947-48, or from $12,600,000 to $12,900,000.

These figures are set forth in a recent issue of the *Oregon Voter*, which shows that the total property tax levies declined from $48,800,000 in 1928 to a low of $38,500,000 in 1936. By 1939 they were up to $41,500,000, but declined to $40,500,000 for 1940. The downward trend continued during the early war years, the total dropping to a low of $34,800,000 for 1943-44. Since then the upturn has been sharp, the prewar level being passed in 1945-46.

Borrowing Costs Rise for Local Governments

The gradual upward movement in the cost of local borrowing which began in the spring of 1946 continued almost unabated during 1947, and early in November. *The Daily Bond Buyer's* index of yield of twenty representative municipal bonds broke above two per cent for the first time in more than four and a half years. By the third week in December the index was 2.25 per cent, compared with 1.85 per cent at the beginning of 1947.

Local borrowing costs had declined sharply after the peak of the depression. The index here cited reached its all-time peak at 5.69 per cent May 1, 1933. By December 1, 1941, it was down to 1.93 per cent. Pearl Harbor and our entrance into the war brought a reversal of trend, and by March 1, 1942, the index was up to 2.51 per cent. Thereafter the lessened volume of local borrowing and the competition for municipals on the part of wealthy individuals anxious to own them for their "tax haven" advantages progressively pushed the interest rate down, and by May 1, 1943, the index was down to 2.01 per cent. The next month it dropped below two per cent, and continued its downward course through February 14, 1946, when an all-time low of 1.29 per cent was established.

Renewal of local and state borrowing and concessions made by Congress to higher bracket taxpayers, which lessened the value to them of the tax-exempt feature of municipal bonds, combined to contribute to increases during 1946, and by the end of 1946 the index was up to 1.90 per cent, approximately the pre-Pearl Harbor level. Through the first ten months of 1947, the index rose as high as 1.99 per cent (March 6) and went as low as 1.81 per cent (July and August). Increasing pressure by the Federal Reserve, aimed at creating a "tighter" condition among commercial banks, and later bank action in raising interest rates on commercial paper, had their effects on the municipal price structure, however, and prices for municipals were further softened and interest rates increased by prospective increases in supply and by growing buyer resistance.

How much farther municipal bond prices will decline (and local borrowing costs rise) is a problem bothering both the local units and the investment bankers who buy their bonds and retail them to investors. Admittedly, the supply-demand picture has changed in the last two years, to the detriment of the position of municipal borrowers, but it may be expected to change again, in their favor, when municipal bond yields rise sufficiently to bring resumption of buying by insurance companies and other fiduciaries to whom the tax exemption feature was not a factor and who consequently dropped out of the market when "tax haven" prices ruled.

These investors can presently purchase long-term U. S. government 2½ per cent bonds at just over par, and since the Federal Reserve has been supporting the market to prevent a break through par it is likely that a yield of close to 2½ per cent will continue to be a requisite to interesting the fiduciaries in municipals. In any event, it seems likely that bonds issued by cities, counties, school districts, etc., from now on will cost the taxpayer considerably more in interest than if they had been sold a year or two earlier.

N. Y. Five Cent Fare on Way Out?

The five-cent subway fare, sacred cow of New York City politics for a generation, but the subject of numerous unkind remarks by Mayor O'Dwyer in the last year, went under direct attack for the first time by the city's chief executive when he took to the air in December to outline fiscal problems.

Faced with an $18,000,000 "operating deficit" for the subways, the mayor asked for a fare rise sufficient to cover the increased operating cost. Unofficially, an increase of three cents, or an eight-cent fare, was calculated as necessary to meet his requirement.

The city's difficulty in financing increased costs springs in part from a tax rate limit for operating purposes. The subway "operating deficit," if not covered by subway revenues, takes funds needed for other purposes and not readily replaceable. Taxes for the payment of bonds and interest, however, are not subject to the limit; consequently, the financing of service on the subway debt presents no special problem, and the mayor asked for a specific stipulation that the fare could be raised to cover debt service as well as operating expense only if approved by a popular referendum.

Training for Public Employees Planned

Staff College in Britain, Refresher Courses in N. Z.

THE Administrative Staff College,[1] at Greenlands, Henley on Thames, will open on March 31, 1948; three sessions will be held during the year. Nominations for students will be accepted from industrial and commercial firms, the civil service, local government authorities and trades unions.

Prior consideration will be given to candidates, preferably aged 28-35, who hold, or are about to be promoted to, senior executive positions. The fee for the nearly three months session, which includes all tuition, full residential facilities, recreation and the cost of works visits, essential books and materials, will be £150. Funds have been made available by the Nuffield Foundation so that those who would benefit from a course but who might be prevented on financial grounds can attend.

The syllabus will include such subjects as: analysis of present-day administrative problems; comparison of organizational structures; relations with the consuming public, suppliers, markets, competitors and government agencies; and the role of the administrator in maintaining the vitality of an organization. Special attention will be given to such matters as job analysis, methods of recruitment, staff training, wage systems and labor incentives. In addition, the courses will touch on accountancy, company law, statistics, public relations, market research and welfare.

Instruction will be mainly through group discussions, supplemented by lectures and demonstrations. Visiting specialists will talk on selected technical subjects, and college members will be encouraged to speak at debates, prepare documents, keep records of discussions and report on works visits.

New Zealand Courses

An interesting development in the field of local government administration was the conduct in New Zealand of two refresher courses for local government employees. The first of these courses was held in Rotorua in June and was primarily for local government employees resident in the North Island. The second was held in Dunedin in August for employees in the South Island.

The courses had their origin in the (federal) Rehabilitation Department, which is charged with rehabilitating ex-servicemen so that they may take up their former positions without detriment to their efficiency.

It was decided to have one course only since in recent years there has been considerable emphasis placed on the development of a local government service in which the employee may make his career and move from one type of local authority to another by way of promotion. It was felt, too, that this would serve the additional purpose of permitting employees of one type of authority to know something of the general structure, functions and working of other types.

Lectures were generally dual, one being given by a representative of the supervising central government department and the other by a local body officer active in that field.

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[1] See "British Leaders Plan Administrative College," the REVIEW, March 1946, page 150.

The "Closed Shop" in the United Kingdom

The closed shop issue has again been raised as a result of the action of a number of local authorities in the United Kingdom. Southwark borough council has decided to make membership in a trade union a condition of employment or continuance in employment of any person in the council's service.

Hence, all present employees of the council who are not already members of a trade union are required to join their appropriate organization before September 30, 1948, and all applicants for employment must state that if they are not already members of a union they will apply for membership within a month after taking up their duties. What recognized union or organization must be joined will be determined by a committee, but the general rule is that such bodies are those that participate in joint negotiating machinery of the settlement of conditions of employment, the recommendations of which are accepted by or are binding on the council.

The city council of Leeds is reported to have approved a resolution of the Transport Committee to dismiss industrial employees of the transport department who do not join their appropriate trade union. According to a press report, Edmonton borough council has confirmed the dismissal, in accordance with the council's "closed shop" policy, of an employee who was said to have been expelled from his union because of non-payment of dues.

Local Boundary Commission Chairman Reports

Although the report of the British Local Government Boundary Commission is not yet scheduled, Sir Malcolm Trustram Eve, chairman of the commission, in his address at the annual conference of the Association of Municipal Corporations gave some clue to the thinking of the commission.

He pointed out that as of today there is no general agreement among local authorities as to what changes are desired. It seems to be agreed, however, that whatever may be the future relations between county government and the larger towns, two-tier government will be necessary in some form over the geographically greater parts of England and Wales. No single major authority has so far suggested to the commission that single-tier government can or should be arranged for the whole country.

"Many people are saying," said Sir Malcolm, "that members of lower tier authorities are losing interest. County boroughs threatened with reduction to the status of non-county boroughs have said that they will only be allowed to empty the bins, bury the dead, and cleanse the streets." He added that "we have suggested in our report equal functions for all types of county district. Some people have read into this an intention to level all down. This is far from our intention. We want a levelling up."

He posed some other questions, however, the principal one of which was whether the lower tier units could expect more powers unless they united and, if they did not, were they not in danger of losing more powers, or even extinction.

South African Cities Have Staff Troubles

A number of municipalities in South Africa are today faced with serious staff shortages especially in technical departments. Men with expert knowledge are leaving the municipal service in alarming numbers.

The Durban city engineer's department, for instance, has been critically weakened by the loss of more than 60 highly trained technicians who have taken up better paid posts elsewhere. The design staff is sixteen when it should be 39; the architectural section has a staff of nine when it should have 26; there is one quantity surveyor instead of twelve; the planning section has nine instead of twenty.

Under such conditions, work is being seriously retarded. One job has had to be given to three different staff architects in succession, and if further staff losses occur it will be imperative to give the work out to private architects at a cost to the city of £12,600.

This acute shortage of staff, particularly in the town engineer's office, is delaying important work in Springs. The town engineer during the past few months has lost the services of his assistant and many other qualified members of his staff. Since many of the resignations have been caused by the more attractive salaries offered by private firms, it has been decided to pay substantially higher salaries and invite applications from overseas. The council is offering each successful applicant £100 towards his passage to the union and a house under the municipal housing scheme.

Tasmanian City Gains by Erosion

Giving evidence before the joint parliamentary committee on snagging of rivers in Tasmania, Mr. Wishaw of Carrick said that twenty acres of new land is being created annually in Launceston from soil eroded from elsewhere. Siltage brought into the Tamar from other rivers had been estimated at 4,000,000 cubic yards per year. This silt is dredged and deposited on low lying areas which are thereby reclaimed. On the reclaimed areas homes and factories will be built, standing on the island's most precious soil. "What may be Launceston's gain is unquestionably a tragic loss to country land holders and to the state in general," said Mr. Wishaw.

Cities Present Position on Housing in Canada

The Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities, through a special committee on housing, presented to the central government a proposed "Outline for National Low-Rent Housing Legislation." It proposed that the federal government lend up to 90 per cent of the full construction costs of all privately sponsored, limited dividend projects, and finance full construction costs for all municipal, provincial or federal projects.

The position of the federal government had previously been that the contribution to municipal projects would be 90 per cent, and that the land contributed by the municipalities would constitute the remaining 10 per cent contribution. The cities now feel that the land which was formerly available is no longer available, and that the federal government should finance the full costs of the project.

Furthermore, says the proposal, "To expect the municipalities to contribute towards the capital costs of construction would be to impose on them a burden which their limited and strained financial resources make them ill equipped to assume. Moreover, the provision of adequate housing for all Canadian families is, or should be, a national social minimum and, as such, it should be a national financial responsibility. This is not to argue that the municipalities have no responsibility. They have. But it is neither in their interest, nor in the interest of the nation at large, to add to the already heavy municipal debt structure a further load for housing indebtedness the more so inasmuch as, over the years, the provision of low-rent housing is likely to grow to large proportions."

Mayoralty Contingencies Provided in Winnipeg

An amendment to the Winnipeg charter, obtained at the last session of the Manitoba legislature, provides for the contingency of a mayoralty candidate dying between nomination and election day, on election day, or after being elected but before taking office. If such a candidate dies between nomination and election day, no election shall be held that day and no candidate shall be declared elected by acclamation. If a candidate for the mayoralty dies on election day before the close of the polls, the election shall be void. In either of these cases, or in the case of a person elected to the office of mayor on a regular election day, dying before taking office, a new election for mayor shall be held "as if for the purpose of filling a vacancy in the office, and all proceedings therefor shall be taken by the clerk as soon as may be."

"The Common Good"

From time to time in the English *Municipal Journal,* there appears some most interesting and instructive matter in a special column, Clement Dane's "From My Notebook." Recently Mr. Dane described a feature of Scottish finance known as "The Common Good." Here it is:

That peculiar feature of Scottish municipal finance, "The Common Good," has again come into prominence as a result of the minority report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Expenses of Members of Local Authorities. Mr. R. H. Turton, who signs the minority report, recommends that the Secretary of State for Scotland should appoint a royal commission to enquire into the system of "The Common Good." I cannot see the Scottish authorities acquiescing in the proposal.

What is this "Common Good"? It consists of the entire property of a burgh which is held for the good of the community. To take Glasgow, for example, "The Common Good" originated mainly in the grants of lands from ecclesiastical authorities, the acquisition of church lands after the Reformation, and the accumulated surpluses of petty customs and other properties of the past, profitably invested. At one time the financial duties of Glasgow Corporation consisted mainly of the management of this fund. The town council, like other Scottish municipal corporations, can exercise a wide discretion in the application of this money. Glasgow's "Common Good," I understand, amounts to £850,000.

"The Common Good" is the common purse and is not under any statutory restrictions, but must always be devoted towards objects directly beneficial to the city and its inhabitants. There is no parallel to it in England except in the funds of the corporation of the city of London. It is of interest to recall that out of "The Common Good" and the loans raised on its security, was taken the money required to construct the Glasgow tramways, the whole clear revenue from which belongs to the fund.

Books in Review

Cogwheels of Democracy: A Study of the Precinct Captain. By Sonya Forthal. New York City, William-Frederick Press, 1946. 106 pp. $2.

This was published in 1946, and the work on which it is based seems from internal evidence to have been done five or more years before. The author performed the astonishing feat of interviewing 600 precinct captains of the political parties in Chicago; she wrote up vivid characterizations of them, and analyzed the evidence. She attempts no conclusions but gives us a source book which develops in detail abundant proof of the things we have all assumed as to old-fashioned ward politics in Chicago.

RICHARD S. CHILDS

Your City Tomorrow. By Guy Greer. New York City, The Macmillan Company, 1947. xiii, 210 pp. $2.50.

A wise and well read citizen, a former editor of *Fortune,* undertakes in this small and readable volume to inspire laymen with some of his own enthusiasm and hopes for the bolder city and regional planning manifested in British projects and in some new American works like the Boston contest. R. S. C.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Directories

Directory of Tennessee Municipal Officials. Knoxville, University of Tennessee, Bureau of Public Administration, 1947. 31 pp. $2.

Driver Training

The Abington Plan of Home-School Cooperation for Behind-the-Wheel Instruction. By National Conservation Bureau. New York, Association of Casualty and Surety Companies, 1947. 8 pp.

Automobile Driver Education for High School Students. A Long Range Solution of the Traffic Accident Problem. New York City, National Conservation Bureau, or Chicago, U. S. Junior Chamber of Commerce, 1947. 11 pp.

Final Report on Student Driver Training Program. Jointly sponsored by Delaware State Department of Public Instruction, State Highway Department and Delaware Safety Council. Chicago 6, National Committee for Traffic Safety, 1947. 6 pp.

A Service for Universities and Colleges. Progress in Driver Education in the United States. New York, New York University, Center for Safety Education, 1947. 4 pp.

Standards and Procedures for Examination of Applicants for Driver Licenses. Washington, D. C., American Association of Motor Vehicle Administrators, 1947. 50 pp.

Education

Shall Government Subsidize Our Public Schools. By Robert A. Millikan. New York City, National Industrial Conference Board, 1947. 22 pp. 25 cents (discounts on quantity orders).

Government Text Books

City Government in the United States (Revised). By Charles M. Kneier. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1947. viii, 727 pp. $4.50.

Readings in American National Government. Edited by David Fellman. New York, Rinehart & Company, 1947. viii, 300 pp. $2.

Housing

What and Why Public Low-Rent Housing. Washington 25, D. C., Public Housing Administration, Housing and Home Finance Agency, 1947. 8 pp.

International Affairs

Voting Procedures in International Political Organizations. By Wellington Koo, Jr. New York, Columbia University Press, 1947. 349 pp. $4.

Will Dollars Save the World? By Henry Hazlitt. Irvington-on-Hudson, New York, The Foundation for Economic Education, 1947. 95 pp. 75 cents (discounts on quantity orders).

Land Use

Symposium on the Public Lands. By Theodore W. Schulz, Oliver LaFarge, etc. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico, Division of Research, Department of Government, 1947. 22 pp. 50 cents.

Neighborhoods

The Neighborhood Unit Plan—Its Spread and Acceptance. A Selected Bibliography with Interpretative Comments. By James Dahir. New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1947. 91 pp. $1.

Overlapping Units

Governmental Units Overlying City Areas. By Richard C. Spencer and Josef Barolzheimer. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1947. 55 pp.

Personnel

Institutional Employee Maintenance. By John C. Crowley. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1947. 14 pp. $1.

Planning

Industry and Transportation. Master Plan Report. Fall River, Massachusetts, Planning Board, 1947. 31 pp. maps.

Planning Detroit. Detroit, Michigan, City Plan Commission, 1947. 32 pp.

Public Employment

State Employment in 1947. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1947. 10 pp.

Public Welfare

Principles and Practice of Social Work. By Helen I. Clarke. New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1947. xiv, 450 pp. $3.50.

Russell Sage Foundation 1907-1946 (in two volumes). By John M. Glenn, Lilian Brandt, and F. Emerson Andrews. New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1947. 746 pp. $5.

Your Community—Its Provision for Health, Education, Safety, Welfare. By Joanna C. Colcord. Revised by Donald S. Howard. New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1947. 263 pp. $1.50.

Reporting

Reporting. By Joseph M. Lowery, Mabel W. Jensen, etc. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, *Municipal Finance*, November 1947. 31 pp. 50 cents.

Smoke Abatement

Application of Overfire Jets to Prevent Smoke from Stationary Plants. By Richard B. Engdahl and William S. Major. Columbus 1, Ohio, Battelle Memorial Institute, Fuel Research Laboratory, 1947. 31 pp. 25 cents.

State Government

State Legal Accountability. By Robert P. Eckert, Jr., Joseph A. Moynihan, etc. Chicago 37, Council of State Governments, *State Government*, October 1947. 24 pp. 50 cents.

Your Kentucky Government 1943-1947. The Record of 4 Years of Good Government in Your Kentucky. By Governor Simeon Willis. Frankfurt, the Governor's Office, 1947. 110 pp.

Taxation and Finance

City Finances: 1945 (Cities Having Populations over 25,000). Vol. 3, Statistical Compendium. Prepared by Bureau of the Census. Washington 25, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1947. ix, 258 pp. $1.25.

Reduction of Taxation. By Chamber Committee on Federal Finance. Washington 6, D. C., Chamber of

Commerce of the United States, 1947. 43 pp.

A Six-Year Financial Plan, Including a Capital Outlay Program 1946-1951. By The Six-Year Planning Committee. Attleboro, Massachusetts, Mayor's Office, 1946. 35 pp.

Social Effects of Municipal Rating. A Study Conducted in Footscray. By The Land Values Research Group with Cooperation of Footscray City Council. Melbourne, Australia, 1947. 60 pp. 2/6. (Apply to Research Director, A. R. Hutchinson, 32 Allison Avenue, Glen Iris, S. E. 6, Victoria, Australia.)

Sources of State Tax Revenue in 1947. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1947. 29 pp.

State Finances 1945. Vol. 3: Statistical Compendium. By Bureau of the Census. Washington 25, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1947. 65 pp. 35 cents.

State Tax Collections in 1946. (Final). Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1947. 15 pp.

Taxes. (Based on discussions at conference of senators, congressmen and governors, Chicago, September 1947.) Chicago 37, Council of State Governments, *State Government*, November 1947. 20 pp. 50 cents.

Technical and Administrative Amendments. By Chamber Committee on Federal Finance. Washington 6, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1947. 65 pp.

Total Government Expenditures in 1945 and 1946. New York 7, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy*, September 1947. 8 pp. 25 cents.

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IN GOOD TIMES PLAN FOR BAD

(Continued from page 15)

structive force for stabilization, it must apply such prudent policies.

This cannot be accomplished without the enunciation of an accepted policy and the procedure by which it can be practically attained. Such a procedure must include three factors:

(1) Protected municipal reserves accumulated in good times for use in hard times;

(2) Long range financial programs permitting the application of long term fiscal policies;

(3) Stabilization of operations, including capital outlays, as the objective to be sought through the application of the first two.

The National Municipal League should recognize the importance of this matter and take steps to secure the cooperation of other national organizations and agencies concerned in a continuing program of education that will be needed to develop a general nation-wide understanding of its importance.

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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

The City's Extremity

THE REVIEW's guess of several months ago[1] that the city of New York's billion-dollar budget could be cut many millions seems borne out by a current study.

The REVIEW advised that outside consultants would be more independent and objective than the mayor's new efficiency bureau could be.

Now the Citizens Budget Commission, a local organization invited in by the mayor, asserts that at least $30,000,000 can be saved in five departments alone by the adoption of modern methods and elimination of bad practices. New York has more than a hundred departments and boards. That's probably too many, even for a governmental operation second in size only to the national government. It is fairly certain that a vigorous, impartial examination of all departments would turn up constructive economies of much more than $30,000,000.

People everywhere who have grown up with the idea that Tammany is synonymous with vicious politics, that Tammany controls New York, and that therefore the metropolis pours the taxpayers' money down the political sewer, may find it hard to believe that New York is one of our best run cities. It is, for a politically managed place, even though John Gunther's notion that it tops the list is pretty far-fetched. Few jobs remain available today for the kind of favoritism and nepotism on which Boss Ed Flynn cynically rests his case.[2] And leaks through purchases and contracts were pretty well plugged long ago.

But there are deeply ingrained bad habits which make it difficult to get a full day's work for a day's pay. There is unwieldy bureaucracy. There are relatively meaningless and expensive traditions. There is resistance to new methods.

These weaknesses are by no means confined to New York. They are present in some degree in almost every human operation, public or private. And they are more wasteful and costly, in themselves, than the outright deliberate plundering which goes on when public resources are used, as Boss Flynn thinks they should be, to support political machines.

Cities, big or little, no longer can afford the luxury of waste. They face a serious financial crisis. Most of them must restore plant and equipment neglected during the depression and war, and they must do it in a period of high costs. Meanwhile, they are in a financial straitjacket. Their sources of revenue are inflexible.

There is a great hue and cry among the cities for more state aid and a larger share of state-collected taxes. Such demands are justified.

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[1] See editorial, July 1947, page 365.

[2] See page 121, this issue.

But they would be more clearly valid if equal anxiety and pressure were put on getting their operations critically examined by competent outsiders, cutting out unnecessary waste and operating their services efficiently.

The ills of local, county and state government are not unknown. The experts have identified them long since. And anyone who can read or listen should have no difficulty knowing their cause and cure.

The taxpayer's extremity should be the opportunity. What is known as "good government" should make great strides within the next few years as more and more municipalities get so hard up they'll have to face the facts.

Fractional Cities

AN INCREASING proportion of our population lives in communities that are out of balance economically and socially in ways that make political orphans of people and thwart the urge—which we must have in a system of self-government—to participate in public affairs.

There are the lean-to communities that lie profitably against the boundaries of large cities separated only by an invisible legal line. Eastern Massachusetts provides an extreme case. Numerous suburbs encircling congested Boston house the employers and constitute most of the region's high-value residential areas—spacious patches of costly homes with a high per capita taxable base, no industry, no poverty and little need for service.

But a satellite community may be, contrariwise, a grouping of humble homes around a smoky factory with no high-grade residential or shopping district to average up the tax revenue. Hoboken, a square mile of modest dwellings within the New York metropolitan area, struggles with the fact that it lacks the normal American proportion of wealth, good leadership and philanthropy. Citizens who advance in wealth move into better residential neighborhoods, but as these are over the line they forthwith dismiss Hoboken's condition forever from their consciences.

The coming of the automobile, including the motor truck, is encouraging a further and wholesome sprawling out of population from even small urban centers to a ten or twenty mile radius—500 to 1,200 square miles. It shows in cities of recent sharp growth like Hartford. It is not merely a residential scatteration; new factories go out to the cornfields, too, and draw to their parking lots all the employees they need from an endless open countryside.

As to the old congested center thus left behind, a discriminating conflagration that turned its blighted and decadent areas into permanent parking and access facilities would conceivably exhibit the ultimate pattern for an efficient center, with elbow room brought inward clear to the shadows of the office and factory buildings.

The transition from compact cities to vast semi-urban areas of low population per acre brings difficulties in administering and financing services; the web of political boundaries is at odds with logical engineering. Freak administrative results develop in relative taxation, planning, water supply, transportation, fire protection, relieved when overdue annexations solve the problem, whereupon another similar tangle develops farther out.

The situation also bedevils the unit communities of the region. Some of them get too many of one kind of people. Suburbanities follow the political news in the big city newspaper and ignore the little village newspaper, even if there be one, and that brings unawareness of village politics. The local retail storekeepers club together to run the village for their private advantage in opposition to the "sleepers" who work elsewhere each day.

Capable and public-spirited citizens pursuing a welfare problem, are halted at the village border and blocked from attacking social or political conditions in a backward impoverished area next door; the distance may be only half a mile, but they are outsiders. People shift to homes a mile or two away but, because they have crossed a line lose their political roots and have to begin anew. Citizens get parochial in their political interest and fall into a false loyalty that impels them to vote for the interest of their little bailiwick against the pressures of broad regional needs.

Metropolitan regions, multiples of many governments, have been studied, rather hopelessly, for years; the Los Angeles congeries—353 governments — with its new wartime growth, is being competently studied now as a region.

But the emerging pattern of urban living is one which even a growing city of 50,000 faces. It will show a weak non-growing super-Main Street at the center, with blighted residential districts and very little new housing, serving a thin, far-flung population over a ten-mile radius—under a dozen separate jostling governments. And with citizens compartmented likewise to the detriment of their political effectiveness.

Licenses Can Be Policemen

Well administered licensing system will aid in many ways in regulation and supervision of business and industry.

By BLANCHE DAVIS BLANK*

THE municipal license has one of the widest vistas of any administrative device. It can accomplish more with less ado than almost any other form of local sanction. Yet this stepchild of the city fathers is frequently only a yellowed roster of names of various enterprises that are required to pay a yearly fee. In return for this fee the business or individual receives a printed license display card.

These perfunctory activities generally comprise the entire "system," sole purpose of which is financial.

But a license is more than just a source of revenue. It represents a master key to several administrative and social problems. On the one hand, the license opens the door to an efficient method of regulating certain industries which require supervision in the best interests of the public. On the other hand, it locks the door to many racketeers who might otherwise handicap legitimate enterprisers. It can aid the effectiveness of the police, health and safety work of a city. To overlook these aspects in prescribing a law defeats the very purpose of a license, the essence of which is not to prohibit nor to grant freedoms but to restrain and regulate. This should be the primary legislative thought when a license requirement is instituted.

Unfortunately, too few people understand the protection afforded by a well run municipal license system. And in order for a good license system to function, its services must be well known to the public. Here is a brief summary of what a well administered license system can do:

(1) Insure adequate knowledge and skill in particular occupations, (2) raise the standard of services offered to the public, (3) fix moral responsibility on those engaged in occupations affecting the public health and welfare, (4) guarantee financial responsibility in occupations involving the handling of other people's money,

(5) protect the public from fraud and dishonesty, (6) provide for the health and safety of workers in certain trades, (7) protect the consumer from goods or services that might prove dangerous, (8) eliminate graft and illegitimacy in certain business fields for the benefit of the honest enterprisers, (9) encourage citizenship and residency in a particular area, (10) help prevent minor economic crises by precluding overcrowding in certain businesses and trades,

(11) aid in general law enforce-

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*Mrs. Blank is teaching government at the College of the City of New York. During her senior year at college she was an honors research assistant to William B. Herlands, then New York City's commissioner of investigation. A licensing system which she worked out for the city of Syracuse in connection with her studies at the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs of Syracuse University, received interest and attention from city officials.

ment and the reduction of criminality, (12) absorb part of the locale's handicapped population by restricting licenses in particular spheres to the blind, maimed, etc, and (13) provide the average citizen of limited time and money with a swift, simple and inexpensive administrative avenue of redress against petty abuses.

Non-license Picture

A few examples may help make this picture more vivid. Without a properly enforced licensing system the average unemployed individual is an easy prey for a variety of sharp practices. Almost any condition can be imposed on him when the inducement held out is work. Unsupervised agencies can easily become the haunts of undesirable characters. In some instances bookmakers, brothelkeepers, sweat-shop operators and other unsavories have used employment agencies as recruiting grounds.

Furthermore, agency operators themselves have been known to charge exorbitant fees, register applicants who were under-age, and send people out to jobs under false pretenses.

Today, of course, the situation is less critical than it was during the 30's. Still, it exists. If this field were covered by a municipal license provision, adequately regulatory and well enforced, abuses of this sort could be mitigated. The New York City employment agency license provisions, for example, require a careful check on the character of the owner of the agency, on the persons who frequent the agency, fees charged, information brochures used, physical facilities of the establishment, clients and still other details. These matters are investigated before a license is issued and checked periodically.

The same sort of elaborate treatment is needed for business enterprises that may become the tools of criminals. Pawnbrokers, second-hand and junk dealers are good examples. Proper license control, through inspection of books and preliminary investigation of the dealer's character and connections, make the tracing of thieves and other lawbreakers an easier job for the police.

New York City again illustrates the point. Pawnbrokers there are required to list every transaction—including the name, address and occupation of the vendor and a careful description of the article—in a daily report to the police. This is then checked against thefts reported to headquarters. If a dealer handles too many "hot" articles, or is in other ways involved in irregularities, his license is suspended. This threat of being put out of business acts as a salutary stimulant to efficiency and honesty in the daily dealings of such enterprisers.

Motion-picture houses, meat-packing plants, barber shops, laundries, amusement halls—all are businesses that clearly affect the public health and safety. Through an adequate license system it can be insured that aisles are wide enough, stores fireproof, stairs safely lighted, handlers of food clean, children's sections in theaters supervised—to mention just a few items.

A licensing system worthy of the name should include a competent and full-time administrator, a number of inspectors—or a group of specially assigned policemen, a thorough knowledge of the license laws on the part of all officials concerned, a complete and detailed set of records, an official to hear complaints of and against licensees, and an intimate liaison between the license function and other city departments.

While these features may appear obvious, they are considerably beyond what is generally found. A typical example of municipal licensing practices can be demonstrated by the situation in one large city of upstate New York. No one, from the mayor through the city clerk (the licensing official), down to the patrolman in the police department whose special function it was to check up on licensees, knew just what licenses the city required in the first place. Naturally, the details beyond this, concerning conditions under which licenses were granted, were completely ignored.

As in so many cities this community had no compilation of municipal ordinances. All the city laws were recorded—originally by hand, later printed—in a series of four huge volumes without any sort of comprehensive indexing. These tomes were kept carefully locked away in the city clerk's office and were completely inaccessible.

A conveniently indexed compilation of the license laws was made generally available later and many oversights and areas for reform were brought to light. It was found that the city laws required the licensing, along with concomitant regulation, of poolrooms, bowling alleys, expressmen and lodging houses. None of these institutions was being licensed at that time. Another anomaly disclosed was that a license fee was being currently collected from a shooting gallery without any vestige of statutory permission.

On further investigation it was discovered by this city that if the license laws were effectively carried out it would be possible to implement the work of other city agencies, increasing public welfare and safety.

Why a License System?

PERIODICAL DEPT

The question will surely be raised as to why a licensing system should be needed to provide this simple sort of police or health department service. The answer is threefold. In the first place the license provides for an ounce of prevention instead of the usual pound of cure. It is no longer necessary to wait until after damages occur to seek relief. One can, under a properly conditioned license provision, establish his equity in a case by telephoning a complaint charging that a licensee is not complying with specified stipulations.

Another type of precaution is exercised through the preliminary investigation, including a character check and finger-printing which many license applicants undergo. This eliminates the hazards of having a face familiar to police files run the poolroom your sons may frequent.

In the second place, the license affords the citizen a unique benefit not obtainable through other channels of regulation. A license system provides for administrative adjudication. This means swift, sure and simple justice in the type of cases most individuals would not bother to take to court for reasons of time, finance, ignorance or a general dislike for the mysteries of the law.

Redress Easy

A poor housewife, for instance, who has lost five shirts in a laundry through either fraud or carelessness, can seek a cheap and quick redress at the office of the licensing official. There is no need for counsel, no court expenses and no legal formalities or time-consuming red tape. The hearing officer delivers an opinion based on evidence, shrewd observation, experience and common sense—which is generally just what the situation needs. The sanction, loss of the privilege of conducting business, is severe enough to insure immediate compliance. And still, the rule of law is not lost since either party to the dispute may appeal the case to a court. But this preliminary step avoids the abuse of justice that frequently occurs when the poor or oppressed, who often shy away from the courts, fail to take action because the channels open overwhelm them. This easily available remedy also eliminates situations that can be handled by simple arbitration, thus clearing overworked court dockets.

Finally, the license provides administrators of municipal affairs with an unusual degree of economy and efficiency. The license is singular among administrative sanctions in that it places the onus of compliance upon the individual instead of placing the burden of enforcement on the authorities. If a person fails to comply with the terms under which a license is granted, the remedy is simple—no license. If an individual already licensed does not live up to regulations his abuses can be quickly stopped by suspending his license. The highest form of punishment for violations is revocation of a license.

In case of revocation there is generally a court order backing the administrator. The courts, however—which are, of course, the final appeal—are prone to presume the competence of the license officer so long as he appears to be reasonable in his activities. Compare this procedure with the long, difficult and costly machinery that must be invoked by a health inspector who issues an order for the removal of a violation.

It is fair, of course, to ask how this comports with our system of democracy and our understanding in law that a man is always innocent until proved guilty. This question presents one of the serious drawbacks to an efficient license system. Possibly it presents the difficulty encountered in any efficient operation. Is it democratic? The answer must be put in terms of the men who administer the system. In the last analysis, any system is only as good or as democratic as the men who put it into effect.

With this reservation in mind, it can and should be urged that the 392 cities which collect over $82,524,000 in revenue from licenses and permits survey their license systems more carefully and introduce at least some of the regulatory features that are the potential and the genius of licensing. This will pay cash dividends as well as the more intangible rewards of a better satisfied citizenry.

Waste in Overlapping Taxes

Senator O'Conor calls for fewer matching funds, single use of sources, coordination between various government levels.

By **HERBERT R. O'CONOR***

IF THE American system is to survive—and it will despite all the wishful forebodings of democracy's opponents—not only must there be a marked reduction in the amount of over-all taxation our citizens are called upon to shoulder but individual and business alike must be freed from the annoyances and inefficiency of overlapping and duplicating levies. One path to such tax reduction, to such relief for the taxpayer, is through coordination of the tax systems of the various levels of government.

It is my conviction that the maximum tax reduction at which we aim can never be fully achieved without coordination and its resulting elimination of waste and inefficiency. Conversely, there is no doubt but that coordination of itself will, and inevitably must, bring about reduction in total taxes.

The report of the Joint Committee of the National Tax Association, the American Bar Association and the National Association of Tax Administrators[1] is a comprehensive treatise in concise form which merits the study of every member of Congress as well as of every state and local official and, indeed, of every thoughtful person. Solutions advanced offer an approach to the achievement of the desired goal of tax coordination.

In its discussion of the basic phases of the problem and in the very detailed and realistic study and recommendations concerning income taxes — including the community property phase, death and gift taxes, levies on gasoline, tobacco, alcohol and others which figure largely in the total revenue of federal and state governments—the joint committee report presents a solid factual foundation for the further discussions which must ensue before steps can be taken legislatively to assure cooperation among the various levels of government.

All who study the report will not be in entire agreement with all the proposals, which is to be expected. But the meeting of minds which produced this report advances the project of tax coordination to the point where, first, the vital importance of the problem is made clear and, second, the recommendations form a firm basis for discussion with other groups working in this field and with the members of Congress and state legislatures, municipal officers or county commissioners who finally will be called upon to enact the legislation or procedures required.

Having participated as a representative of the United States Senate in the Joint Congressional-State Tax Conference in Chicago, it is most gratifying to note that all present there were in full agreement with the conviction of the joint committee that each level of government should function upon its own revenues, and that the governmental body which spends tax funds should have the responsibility of raising them. While matching funds and grants-in-aid may never be dispensed with entirely, their reduction to the absolute minimum, it was felt at Chicago, would tend to keep expenditures on a business-like basis and prevent projects of dubious worth such as all of us have seen on numerous occasions in the past.

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*U. S. Senator O'Conor of Maryland was formerly governor of the state of Maryland. He was president of the Council of State Governments in 1943 and national chairman of its Interstate Committee on Postwar Reconstruction and Development. This article is his address, in part, before the National Tax Association at Miami, November 20, 1947.

[1] *The Coordination of Federal, State and Local Taxation,* 1947. 103 pp.

Another point of agreement between the Chicago conferees and the joint committee was with respect to the priority claim of the states in the field of gasoline taxation. They urged that the federal government withdraw from this field and make a start promptly in this direction by decreasing the present one-and-a-half-cent tax to one cent, looking to the ultimate complete elimination of the federal gasoline tax.

As one who believes, however, that the motorists are among the most overtaxed and harassed of any group of taxpayers, I must voice opposition to that part of the committee's findings which would provide that: "If the state taxation of motorists is relatively fair and moderate and still yields revenues in excess of highway needs, there would seem to be no compelling economic reasons which would prohibit the use of those revenues for non-highway purposes."

Present highway costs would doubtless make such a possibility remote. Even were this not the case, however, I believe that motorists pay so many and such heavy taxes for the privilege of driving that it would be most unfair to tax them as a group for general fund purposes.

Tax Barriers

In its conclusion on liquor taxation the committee decries "discriminatory taxes and the erection of other barriers to importations from other states." Here we can stand together without the slightest difference—except that it has always been my firm conviction, and as governor I joined in many efforts based on the belief, that *all* discriminatory barriers between states were to be deplored and to be removed as promptly as possible. During the war it was my privilege to be particularly active, on behalf of the Council of State Governments, in activities looking to the suspension of state truck-weight regulations which hindered urgent transportation for the war effort. We were most successful in these efforts.

In its discussion of the largest revenue producing tax of them all, the income tax as applying to individuals and corporations, the joint committee carefully refrained, as was to be expected, from any recommendations for reducing this form of levy which weighs so heavily upon the great mass of our population. I am sure, nevertheless, that the exhaustive studies necessary to the compilation of such a report would impress upon any student of government the urgent need for prompt and generous relief from this burdensome impost.

Debates on Capitol Hill will center largely upon the question of relief for the suffering people of Europe's devastated areas. The need there is urgent and, in the name of humanity, America can do no less than its utmost to allay hunger, to supply fuel and clothing, and to help the hapless inhabitants of those countries to get back on their feet economically.

We must remember at the same time, however, that the fearful rise in prices of all necessary cost-of-living items has cast its blight upon the lives of millions of our own people who find that even the increased wages of the boom period through which our country is passing are not adequate for the maintenance of even a basic standard of living. They too must have relief in the form of lowered income taxes which will permit them to retain enough of their wages to meet increased costs.

Suffering too from the blight of oppressive taxes are the twin sources of national stability and prosperity —American business and industry. They likewise must be given the helping hand of lowered taxes if they are to continue to furnish employment in record totals.

The rundown condition of Britain's coal mines shows what happens to industry and business when funds are not available for proper maintenance and replacement or for the necessary research to keep plant facilities and methods abreast of the changing needs and opportunities of the times.

Businessmen know how dangerous a condition it is when government takes from business and industry such a large portion of their earnings that such vitally necessary provisions for the future are rendered impossible. Particularly is this so under the abnormal price conditions prevailing today, when equipment and plant replacements cost not less than twice as much, and sometimes three times as much, as such replacements would have cost before 1939.

Taxing Industry

We all know that the most urgent need of the moment is steel. Available production facilities fall far short of American and world needs. Yet steel officials are reluctant to spend the vast sums required to expand their facilities because the experience of the years after World War I reminds them that world demands for steel are likely to fall below even present maximum facilities once the immediate demand for their product is met.

What incentive is there for the leaders in this industry to plan for expansion to meet world needs when the report for the first three months of this fiscal year shows that taxes consumed more than five-sixths of the net profits of one of the largest steel companies of the nation? How much do you suppose can be laid by for expansion under such conditions if stockholders are to receive the moderate return on their investments which is rightfully theirs?

The people of Britain have found to their dismay how difficult it is to meet world business competition and to produce in quantities necessary for a reasonable standard of living, with mining and industrial facilities which are worn out or obsolete. It must not be permitted to happen here.

The point is well taken in the joint committee's report that it will be "just another report on tax coordination unless all grades of government accept the responsibility of undertaking specific improvements in the coordination of their taxes." This will require certain basic information upon which the various levels of government may base their efforts towards coordination.

Study Commission Suggested

It was because of my conviction that these basic facts must be at hand before any general revision of the complicated national taxing system is undertaken that I presented to the Senate early in 1947 Senate Joint Resolution 90. This would provide a national nonpartisan commission to make a study of tax collection procedures, overlapping and duplicating tax lexies and the effects of federal grants-in-aid, and to make recommendations to Congress for the coordination of the tax systems and the proper allocation of taxing areas to the various governments.

Under a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments a thorough study is being conducted to uncover all possible facts regarding present taxing methods as a basis for a report on Senate Resolution 90. Many of the findings were discussed at the meeting of governors and congressional representatives in Chicago, where it was most gratifying to note a general agreement on fundamental objectives.

Likewise, the committee's belief, as expressed in its report, "that tax coordination is desirable among the states and with their local subdivisions," is particularly interesting because only last year I was privileged to initiate efforts along this line in Maryland which have resulted in well considered reallocation of tax revenues and sources of taxation to the benefit of the counties and municipalities of the state.

Recognizing the acute financial situation faced by many of the component units of the state, I established a commission to determine a more equitable tax relationship. Its report, made after thorough study of the relative fiscal strength and needs of the state as well as of the political subdivisions, met with universal acceptance and the entire program was adopted with only minor variations.

Local taxes, such as state licenses, recordation taxes for real estate transfers, taxes on admissions, etc., were reserved for the counties and for the city of Baltimore; the system of taxation as applicable to racing revenues was revamped to the point where the political subdivisions now share liberally, and the income tax law was revised so that the counties and the city of Baltimore now are assured of a limited first call on the taxes paid by their individual residents while permitting the state to increase or decrease its portion of income tax receipts according to its needs.

This represents an instance of what gradually must be done as between the states and their local units, as well as between the states and the federal government, if the goal

(Continued on page 90)

Counties in a Strait-jacket

Antiquated state constitutions keep barriers in the way of efforts to meet modern needs for greater efficiency.

By **M. H. SATTERFIELD***

THE 1947 session of the Tennessee legislature rejected a proposal to call a constitutional convention to effect certain changes in the state's unamended constitution. But had the proposal been enacted, and had the constitution been changed in accordance with the recommendations of the Revision Commission, counties in Tennessee would still have remained in much the same strait-jacket as before.

Of the nine proposals for amending the constitution,[1] only one dealt with counties and that in a limited way. Under this proposal the legislature could have provided by general law for the consolidation of any or all of the functions of any city with those of the county in which located, provided it received the approval of a majority of the voters in each unit of government.[2]

Tennessee's constitution was adopted in 1870 and has successfully withstood all attempts to amend or replace it since that time. The document, like the constitutions of so many other states, contains many provisions which hinder or restrict adoption of effective governmental methods and procedures.

One such barrier relates to the consolidation or dissolution of counties. At the time the Tennessee constitution was adopted all emphasis was on the creation of new counties. As a result that instrument is strangely silent on county consolidation. The constitution contains, however, several provisions relating to county boundaries, county seats and limitations on the creation of new counties which affect any effort to reduce the number of counties.

For example, the constitution designates several counties by name and goes into considerable detail in defining the boundary lines of other counties. It also provides that no county seat can be removed without a favorable two-thirds vote in the county thus affected, nor can any part of a county be taken to form a new county without the approval of two-thirds of the qualified voters in the part thus taken.

Despite these detailed provisions of the constitution, one consolidation has been effected in Tennessee. In 1919, after a favorable two-thirds vote in the county to be abolished, James County was annexed to Hamilton County through specific legislation.

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[1] See *Report of the Constitution Revision Commission,* State of Tennessee, November 8, 1946.

[2] Such consolidation of functions is already possible under existing Tennessee law. See *County Government and Administration in the Tennessee Valley States,* by M. H. Satterfield. Washington, 1940, Tennessee Valley Authority. Pages 125-126.

PERIODICAL DEPT.

In 1939 a general law was passed in Tennessee authorizing counties to consolidate and offering a subsidy to any county that would vote its political extinction. No county has taken advantage of this legislation, although initial steps were taken in one instance.[3] There are probably other more compelling reasons why no action has been taken under the law but one reason is undoubtedly the complicated procedure for consolidation, made necessary by the constitutional restrictions outlined above.

Constitutions in many other states likewise contain restrictions on the merging of counties. Fortunately, however, as these documents are being revised or amended more liberal provisions are being added on county mergers. In the new Missouri constitution, for example, provision is made for the consolidation of two or more counties by a majority vote in each of the counties affected.

Similarly, in Georgia a recent revision of the constitution limits the number of counties to 159, the number now existing, and provides that no new county can be established except by the consolidation or merger of existing counties. Two or more Georgia counties can be combined on a favorable vote in each participating county.

Barriers to Structural Changes

Perhaps one of the most serious obstacles to providing an effective county government is the practice in most states of embedding in the constitution provisions pertaining to county administrative officials. Few states are entirely free of such provisions and in many states the number of elective officials so provided for constitutes the majority of county officials. The office of sheriff is the one most commonly found in state constitutions, it being a constitutional office in some 40 states. Offices of county recorder or register, coroner, trustee, tax collector and auditor are others commonly found in state constitutions.

In Tennessee constitutional officers include the sheriff, trustee, register, coroner, ranger and clerks of the chancery, circuit and county courts. In addition the Tennessee constitution provides for the selection of justices of the peace and confers upon them as the county's chief governing body certain powers and duties. The embedding of these offices in the Tennessee constitution has made it almost impossible to provide an effective county organization. The State Supreme Court has held, for example, that the county governing body composed of justices of the peace is a constitutional body which cannot be abolished by legislative enactment, nor can it be deprived of those duties imposed upon it by the constitution.[4]

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[3] The details of this law and the only attempted use of it are described in "Tennessee Counties Stand Pat," by M. H. Satterfield, the REVIEW, January 1940.

[4] *Prescott* v. *Duncan,* 148 S. W. (Tennessee) 235, 1911. The constitutional duties of justices of the peace in their capacity as the county governing body include appointment of a coroner, a ranger (office now extinct), and such other county officers as may be provided by statute and not elected by vote of the people. Justices are also empowered to fill vacancies in the offices of sheriff, trustee and register until the next regular election, and to determine the county tax rate.

Tennessee has, nevertheless, experimented with other types of county governing bodies, although it has not been possible to abolish the county court, the governing body composed of justices of the peace. One such plan has been the commission form of government. Shelby County was the first to adopt this form, establishing in 1911 a three-man commission with jurisdiction over all those county affairs which could be taken from the county court.

Other Tennessee counties have adopted the commission plan with varying degrees of success. In all cases, however, it has meant setting up a duplicating governing body. A special act passed by the Tennessee legislature in 1937, for example, set up a commission plan for Knox County. Griffenhagen and Associates in their survey of Knox County government in 1940 criticized the county's governmental setup by pointing out that the board of commissioners "was superimposed on the antiquated organization already existing. The transfer of functions from the old organization to the new was not expertly done. The lines of cleavage were not well drawn, nor were provisions for concerted action between the old and the new well established. Jagged scars of overlapping jurisdiction and duplicated powers were left, as well as broad areas in which failures to provide for unification of effort leave gaps in the structure. On the whole, what may have been a worthy effort operated to confound the confusion already existing."[5]

The county manager plan in modified form has also been used to a limited extent in Tennessee. In 1941 the legislature enacted a modified county manager law for Hamilton County. Under this law a county council consisting of the county judge and four councilmen elected at large was given control over those county functions which could constitutionally be given to it. The council was directed to employ a county manager to serve at the will of the council and to exercise general supervision over county functions under its jurisdiction.

The government adopted in Hamilton County has apparently worked out very satisfactorily. Savings have been effected in a number of instances and there appears to be improved services. Based upon the success of the modified manager plan in Hamilton County, a similar plan has been put into effect in McMinn County, in which the "Battle of Athens" took place during 1946.

The situation in Tennessee is similar to that found in many other states where constitutional restrictions prevent establishment of a completely integrated form of county government. In these states counties are saddled with outmoded administrative methods or forms that go only part way in providing machinery for meeting present day problems.

A few states have remedied this situation. Virginia, for example, amended its constitution in 1928 and authorized the legislature to provide optional forms of county government. Acting under this authorization the legislature has provided three optional forms of government, any one of which may be adopted upon a favorable vote of the county electorate.

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[5] *Report on an Exploratory Examination of Local Government in the Knoxville-Knox County Area, Part 1, The Government of Knox County,* December 31, 1940, page 38.

Approximately a dozen other states have adopted new constitutions or have amended existing constitutions to provide for optional forms of county government.

In most of the states where constitutional restrictions on forms of government have been removed, the legislatures have usually made available to the counties the manager as well as other plans of government.

Although in general counties have been slow to take advantage of this legislation, the opportunity is offered to any county to decide whether it wants to adopt a more integrated county governmental structure. For example, only four Virginia counties have manager government, but several others have voted upon the plan and rejected it. The point is that any Virginia county can decide for itself whether or not it wants the manager or some other form of government. This is a freedom of choice not available to the counties in those states having constitutional barriers which hinder or prevent changes in administrative structure.

The lack of constitutional restrictions hinders effective county government in some states. In a majority of the states constitutional provisions prohibit local and special laws applicable to counties. In Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia and a few other states, however, the constitutions contain no prohibitions or restrictions on the legislature's control over counties and other local governments. This means that a large part of the legislation passed in these states is local in nature and applies mostly to individual units of local government.

Restriction on Local Laws

In the 1943 session of the Tennessee legislature, for example, there were 473 private acts passed which required 1,650 printed pages; public acts, on the other hand, numbered only 158 and required a printed volume of only 458 pages. In the 1941 session, heralded as one of the shortest legislative sessions in Tennessee's history, the situation was even worse. In that year 546 local acts were passed requiring almost 1,900 pages to print, as compared with 164 public acts covering less than 600 printed pages.

There are several objections to the practice of controlling counties and other local units through special legislation. For one thing counties have very little to say about legislation dealing with local affairs. Although local acts are generally formulated by the local legislative delegation, this delegation does not always reflect the desires of the county concerned. Local legislation also places such a heavy burden upon the legislature that it is difficult for legislators to give proper consideration to matters of statewide concern.

The evils of such practices are pointed out in a recent study of the legislative process in Alabama:

> The practices surrounding local

> and private legislation are pernicious in many ways. Such legislation often opens the way for the most shameless lobbying. It leads to unjustifiable and unsound demands upon the public treasury. It calls for a solution of local and private problems by an agency ill-designed to solve those problems reasonably. The legislator, willingly or otherwise, becomes the arbiter of the affairs of his county. At the worst he may emerge as a petty tyrant, with no recourse open to his constituents before the next . . . election. At best he is pulled and hauled between local political factions, forced to give more time and attention to local affairs than he can possibly give to the interests of the state as a whole; for advancement of local interests must be his major political concern if he wishes to remain in the legislature.[6]

Although it seems desirable to place some restrictions in constitutions on the amount and kinds of local legislation to be permitted, there is always the danger of so restricting counties that the situation might prove equally as serious as the practices of special legislation.

There is, of course, need for flexibility in dealing with the problems of counties. It is quite evident that the problems of the small rural county are vastly different from those of highly populated or urban counties, and the legislature should be permitted to deal with them on a different basis.

In the new Missouri constitution the problem of special legislation seems to have been handled effectively. The legislature was authorized to classify counties into not more than four classes with respect to their powers and duties. In carrying out this mandate the Missouri legislature has passed legislation classifying the counties of the state into four groups on the basis of assessed valuation.[7]

Conclusions

The county is more important today in terms of money spent and functions performed than it has ever been,[8] and earlier fears that it was doomed as a unit of government do not appear to be justified. While the county is a vital part of our governmental system, it is not well equipped to carry out the services now required of it or to fulfill its important relationship to the nation and the national economy. One of the basic reasons for this lag in keeping administrative machinery and procedures up to date is the matter of constitutional barriers.

Kansas City, Mo. Public Library

State constitutions in general need an overhauling to remove these barriers and to substitute provisions which will permit and encourage better governmental practices and procedures at the county level. In this connection states would do well to consider the *Model State Constitution* issued by the National Municipal League. This document, while limited to the minimum essentials

(Continued on page 124)

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[6] *The Legislative Process in Alabama, Local and Private Legislation,* by Hallie Farmer, University of Alabama, 1944, page 45.

[7] See "Missouri Counties Streamlined," by Estal E. Sparlin, the REVIEW, July 1946, pages 337-343.

[8] See *The American County — Patchwork of Boards,* by Edward W. Weidner. New York, National Municipal League, 1946, page 15.

Federal Aid Due to Continue

Eightieth Congress has before it numerous suggestions for increased grants to assist state and local governments.

By J. KERWIN WILLIAMS[*]

DEVELOPMENT of a more complete program of federal financial aid to state and local governments apparently is due to continue in the United States even in times of normal prosperity and peace.

Heretofore the great expansion in federal grants, loans and advances to states and localities has been looked upon by many as merely a useful device in depressions or a method of meeting wartime emergencies. This has been particularly true of direct federal financial aid to local governments.

The record of Congress since the war ended, however, and the bills that will probably be considered in the present session, indicate that more and firmer ties may be established between the federal treasury and state and local governments.

Recent innovations in federal aid range from providing funds for airport development[1] to an authorization for granting moneys to plan and construct public and other non-profit hospitals within the states.[2] Other bills now in the mill would greatly extend the types and amount of federal aid to state and local governments in the fields of housing[3] and education.[4]

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[*] Mrs. Williams is author of *Grants-in-Aid under the Public Works Administration,* published by Columbia University Press, and co-author, with Paul V. Betters, of *Recent Federal-City Relations,* published by the United States Conference of Mayors. She has also written numerous pamphlets and articles in the governmental field.

[1] *Federal Airport Act, Public Law 377,* approved May 13, 1946, had as its purpose the providing of federal aid, through the Civil Aeronautics Administration, for making preliminary plans and surveys for needed public airports. Under it the 1947 National Airport Plan was prepared. Applications may be made for federal grants to help construct projects within the National Airport Plan.

The plan lists a total of 4,431 airports to be developed or improved within a three-year period, with the federal government to supply a total of $441,600,000. *Public Law 490,* approved July 5, 1946, contained appropriations of about $50,000,000 to start carrying out the provisions of the National Airport Act.

[2] *Hospital Survey and Construction Act, Public Law 725,* approved August 13, 1946. Thus far, appropriations have been made only for the survey and planning features of the act; $2,350,000 was made available under the *First Supplemental Appropriation Act, Public Law 663,* approved August 8, 1946.

[3] See the proposed *National Housing Commission Act* (Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill) S. 866, H.R. 2523. This measure would coordinate federal housing functions under a National Housing Commission, encourage private enterprise to meet housing needs, improve the low-rent housing program, create a farm housing program, and provide federal aid to localities for slum clearance and redevelopment.

[4] See the proposed *National Education Agency Act of 1947,* S. 1239, introduced by Senator Morse on May 6, 1947, and declaring that the policy of the United States shall be "through consultative services and by grants-in-aid to assist the states to make available improved educational opportunities to all citizens."

See also the *Education Act,* S. 81, introduced by Senator Green on January 8, 1947, proposing federal grants, to be matched by state or local funds, for supplementing the salaries of teachers in free public elementary and secondary schools.

Under this bill federal grants would

A number of the newer forms of federal aid have been centered partly or wholly in the Federal Works Agency, with chief responsibility for handling the programs given to its Bureau of Community Facilities. The expansion of the federal grant-in-aid idea in the postwar era, therefore, may conveniently be seen by examining briefly the current programs[5] of the Bureau of Community Facilities and those that may be assigned to it under bills pending in Congress.

Advanced Planning Program

Since May 1945 the Bureau of Community Facilities of the Federal Works Agency has been carrying on a program of federal advances to state and local governments to aid in the preparation of a "shelf" or reserve of completely planned public construction projects to be undertaken as soon as economic conditions warrant. This program was made possible under Title V of the War Mobilization and Reconversion Act of 1944,[6] and is intended to help stabilize the construction industry and to serve as a cushion against a possible future recession.

The program covers all state and local public construction except housing. The advances made to state and local governments are repayable to the federal government at the time the work is actually undertaken. Federal aid was essential in obtaining prompt action on planning because of the fact that states and localities frequently have no funds legally available for blue prints, specifications and similar preparatory work until bond issues have actually been floated for proposed construction projects, and such bond issues are seldom authorized very far in advance.

The total of $65,000,000 appropriated by Congress for state and local advance planning is now almost completely allocated; as of June 30, 1947, the bureau had approved planning advances totalling $61,669,000, covering state and local public works estimated to cost $2,300,000,000.

While there is at present no authority for making further advances to plan additional projects, certain congressmen as well as interested business and professional organizations and the Presidential Council of Economic Advisers are urging that further federal money be made available so that the reserve can be kept constantly replenished. At the normal rate of state and local public construction, plans equivalent

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amount to $15 per year per pupil in average daily attendance. Another significant bill is the proposed *Educational Finance Act of 1947,* S. 472, introduced by Senator Taft on January 31, 1947, to assist states and territories to support a minimum foundation education program. Appropriations would start at $150,000,000 per year and rise to $250,000,000.

[5] The "Lanham Act" program of the bureau, now in the process of liquidation, will not be discussed here. It was a wartime program under which federal funds were used to provide community facilities and services in areas where war industry had caused increased population and congestion, and localities could not be expected to assume the whole burden of added costs. See *Public Law 849,* 76th Congress, approved October 14, 1940. (54 Stat. 1125, U.S.C. 1521.)

[6] *Public Law 458,* 78th Congress; 58 Stat. 785, 791.

to a reserve of this size would be used up within one year.

Senator Green introduced a bill in the last session of Congress (S. 1423, 80th Congress, 1st session) to provide up to $50,000,000 of federal funds annually for the making of advances to stimulate planning of a reserve shelf of non-federal public works. In the House a companion bill was introduced by Representative Muhlenberg (H.R. 3490, 80th Congress, 1st session). In the summer of 1947 hearings were held on the Senate bill, but no action has yet been taken on H. R. 3490.

Disaster Surplus Property

Floods, explosions, hurricanes and other catastrophes that may paralyze local governments temporarily and thus endanger public health and safety may now be made the basis for securing certain federal assistance under the disaster surplus property program. Public Law 233, approved July 25, 1947, empowers the War Assets Administration, in the discretion of the president, to turn over to the Federal Works Agency surplus property—such as trucks, shovels, medical equipment, fire-fighting supplies—for use in alleviating damage, hardship and suffering. The FWA may transfer this property, with or without monetary consideration, to the appropriate governmental unit in the disaster area. The law has already been invoked in a number of areas notably in Texas City, in the hurricane-struck regions of the south and in the forest fire sections of New England.

Water Pollution Control

From time to time, in past sessions of Congress, bills have been introduced to use the federal grant-in-aid method of encouraging state and local action against stream pollution. Several measures were proposed in the last session to furnish federal technical services and funds for this purpose.[7]

The Senate actually passed a water pollution control bill, S. 418, introduced by Senators Barkley and Taft. On the following day, July 17, 1947, the bill was referred without amendments to the House Committee on Public Works. The measure provides that the surgeon general of the Public Health Service, acting for the Federal Security Agency, make surveys and recommendations of needed action in preventing stream pollution; the Federal Works Administrator would make loans to any state, municipality or private industrial enterprise to construct treatment works and to prepare engineering reports and plans. Loans would be limited to one-third of the estimated cost of a project. Congress would be authorized to appropriate up to $100,000,000 each year for such construction loans. An additional $5,000,000 would be made available to the Federal Security Agency for allotment to the states for preliminary studies and investigations, and $12,000,000 annually might be appropriated to the Federal Works Agency for advance plan preparation for such projects by state and local governments.

Slums and Blighted Areas

A hardy perennial in Congress in

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[7] In the House H.R. 123 and 3990 were introduced by Representative Mundt; H.R. 315 by Representative Spence; H.R. 470 by Representative Elston.

recent years, which has never come into full bloom, is the proposal that federal grants and loans be made to state and local governments for the clearance of slums and blighted areas. The problem has grown steadily to greater national importance. Housing construction and repair were seriously curtailed both by the depression of the early 1930's and by the war period with its shortages of labor and materials for civilian use. Meanwhile the spreading slums and blighted areas have been a breeding place for disease, delinquency and crime, and have taken more than their share of local revenues for policing, fire protection, social services and health work without returning more than a small proportion of real estate taxes.

Representatives Dirksen and Fletcher in the first session of the 80th Congress introduced identical bills that would assign to the Federal Works Administrator the task of making federal grants and loans for slum clearance and land redevelopment. These bills, H. R. 4012 and H. R. 4144, were referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Under the proposals the federal grant would be not more than half the difference between the estimated total cost of acquiring and clearing the land and the estimated sale value of the cleared land; the loan would be permitted to equal the estimated value of the cleared land. The land when cleared could be sold or transferred to an individual, partnership, cooperative corporation or to any other legal entity or public body agreeing to develop the land to its highest and best use in accordance with the redevelopment plan approved by the public agency concerned.

Veterans' Program

State and city governments with public institutions of higher education have been participating in the program of the Bureau of Community Facilities designed to implement the educational sections of the G.I. Bill of Rights. The Federal Works Administrator, acting under Public Law 697, approved August 8, 1946, can acquire without payment any surplus federal facilities (structures and equipment ranging from entire buildings down to scientific instruments, cafeteria equipment and baseball bats) determined by the War Assets Administration to be available. The Federal Works Administrator is empowered to transport these facilities to eligible educational institutions at no cost to the colleges.

Under an authorization to appropriate up to $100,000,000, an initial $75,000,000 was made available for the program and permission was also given to spend certain leftover funds previously appropriated under the Lanham Act program. These first funds could be used also to re-erect structures after delivery to the colleges. A later appropriation of $3,000,000 was restricted to mere disassembling and transporting of the facilities.

The Research Division of the BCF indicates that out of $77,400,000 allotted by the end of September 1947, colleges receiving state or local support received about $45,400,000 as compared with $29,000,000 to private colleges. The public colleges participating in the program have an enrollment of 1,400,000, and account for about half of the more than 1,500 approved projects.

More Aid for Colleges

Now that labor and materials are more plentiful, there has been a movement to extend the program to provide permanent instead of temporary facilities for the colleges affected by the still-increasing G.I. student enrollment. A nationwide survey conducted last spring by the United States Office of Education points to the desirability and need for permanent construction with federal financial aid.

The Aitken bill (S. 971) to accomplish this purpose was introduced in the first session of the 80th Congress. Hearings were held in the spring of 1947 by the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. A similar bill (H.R. 2845) was introduced in the House by Representative Rohrbough. Under these proposals the sum of $250,000,000 in federal grants-in-aid would be authorized for the purpose of providing permanent educational facilities to eligible colleges. The federal grant for each project would be limited to no more than 50 per cent of the cost of the educational facility.

WASTE IN TAXES

(Continued from page 80)

of tax coordination we are seeking is ever to be realized.

The program for national tax reform is complicated, undoubtedly, but it may be stated in simple terms. Coordination—reduction; reduction—coordination. Both can be initiated now, both should be initiated now, even though their fullest realization be impossible of immediate attainment.

How much reduction? How much coordination? As much as we can get, as quickly as we can get it. Perhaps the $6,000,000,000 reduction visualized by the Committee for Economic Development is too much to hope for now. Perhaps not. In any event, the nation's economy, as well as the rights of our individual citizens, demands prompt relief as a necessity for maintenance of American prosperity.

In being generous to the people of Europe, Congress need not be less generous in its treatment of the American people. Our economy is sufficient to provide for both. Let's keep that economy strong and stable by affording both business and individuals the tax relief necessary to inspire confidence in America's future and desire for participation to the fullest in its continuing development and expansion.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Reorganization Under Way in New Jersey

Governor and Legislature to Implement Constitution

THE work of putting into effect the sweeping revisions of New Jersey's administrative, judicial and taxing systems, authorized and outlined in the new state constitution adopted last year,[1] is getting into full swing with the convening of the 1947 legislature—the 172nd—which began its session on January 13.

Governor Alfred E. Driscoll in a personally delivered message on that date gave the legislature his proposals on reorganization and various other state problems. A leading feature was his plan of administrative organization, reducing the number of state departments and agencies from 96 to fifteen. The constitution sets a limit of twenty. The departments as proposed by the governor are: agriculture, banking and insurance, civil service, economic development (including conservation), education, institutions, labor and industry, law and public safety, military affairs, public health, public utilities, public works, state, treasury, welfare.

He called for a complete job—"no mere pro forma reshuffling or regrouping"—with the objectives of maximum efficiency, a career public service and citizen participation. Legislative leaders have been asked to avoid haste and to provide for full discussion at hearings on the legislation involved.

The governor's program may be facilitated by a strong preponderance of his own (Republican) party in the legislature, but it is not expected to have smooth sailing as it will affect many individuals and interests.

The constitution itself prescribes the new judicial framework, topped by an appellate supreme court, members of which have already been appointed by the governor. The new supreme court is now drawing up the rules which will govern all the courts of the state. Considerable legislation is nevertheless required before the court system will be fully prepared for the transition, set for September 15, 1948.

The state tax system is also due for thorough revision, largely as a result of the new constitution. The legislators have a problem in devising a tax program to provide adequate revenues for growing requirements of the state, especially in the educational field, including state disbursements to school districts.

Local Government

Governor Driscoll devoted several paragraphs in his message to local government, urging establishment of a commission to investigate the forms now provided by law and to recommend any needed changes in local government laws. Pursuant to this recommendation a resolution to provide such a commission was introduced jointly by David Van Alstyne, majority leader of the Senate, and Edward O'Mara, minority leader.

A long legislative session is expected, extending well into the summer.

Washington Legislative Council Held Legal

The legislative council created by the 1947 Washington state legislature has survived a court test of its constitutionality. It was challenged by the state auditor on the score that the state constitution prohibits members of the legislature from filling a "civil office" created during the term for which they were elected. According to the Council of State Governments, this was the first such court test of legislative councils on this point. The auditor refused to honor expense vouchers for members of the council, whose chairman then applied for a writ of mandamus.

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[1] See the REVIEW, October 1947, page 513.

The decision, handed down in October, was in the council's favor, six to two. The court held that the statute creating the council did not impose any new office or trust upon legislative members of the council.

In Washington, as in several of the 22 states now having legislative councils or similar bodies, the council also functions as the commission on interstate cooperation.

Kentucky to Revamp Outmoded Statutes

Amendment, re-enactment or repeal of 110 statutes face the 1948 legislature in Kentucky, where the Statutes Revision Commission has found this number of laws to be in need of such action.

Some of these statutes have been held unconstitutional; others have been superseded or nullified, in effect, by later legislation. Some are duplicates, others are wartime emergency measures. Many are defective because of legislative oversight.

The statutes were thoroughly revised in 1942, but the commission has ascertained that the number of laws mentioned are now in need of attention.

California Redevelopment Agency Organized

The State Redevelopment Agency, recently authorized by the California legislature, held an organization meeting in December at which it elected L. Deming Tilton, planning consultant of San Francisco, as chairman; Paul R. Williams, Los Angeles architect, as vice chairman; and Howard W. Campen, deputy district attorney of Santa Clara County, as secretary. Other members of the agency are Howard Nichols, Bakersfield building contractor, and Festus T. McDonough, plasterers' union executive of Los Angeles. Its headquarters are in Sacramento. Applications for the position of director of redevelopment were authorized.

The agency is charged with the responsibility of stimulating planning and community redevelopment, and of inquiring into and making recommendations designed to alleviate the housing shortage in California.

Somewhat related activities are conducted by the office of the director of planning and research, which recently succeeded the California Reconstruction and Reemployment Commission.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

A council-manager charter for **Baytown, Texas,** a consolidation of Baytown, Goose Creek and Pelly, was approved 1,888 to 254 on January 24.

An election on the council-manager plan is scheduled for February 10 in **Paris, Texas.**

In his message to the legislature, Governor Bradford of Massachusetts has proposed that **Boston** be permitted to vote this year on adoption of Plan E.

Mayor Joseph B. Harrington of **Salem, Massachusetts,** first Democratic incumbent in 25 years, has recommended that the city council and the citizens investigate the manager plan in an effort to improve government.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Amsterdam, New York,** is looking to charter revision, including consideration of the National Municipal League's *Model Charter.*

Petitions are being circulated in the borough of **Fair Lawn, New Jersey,** calling for a referendum on the council-manager plan, possibly in March or April. The plan is endorsed by Mayor H. C. Yerger, Jr.

The city charter of **Cumberland, Maryland,** is about to be revised and interest in the manager plan is being expressed.

A vote on the manager plan will be held in **Fairmont, West Virginia,** on February 3.

The manager plan is under discussion in **Bradenton, Florida.**

Enabling legislation covering the council-manager plan is expected to be introduced in the **Mississippi** legislature.

Petitions for a referendum on the manager plan are being circulated in **Green Bay, Wisconsin,** under the sponsorship of Councilman A. B. Pinkerton. Public meetings to discuss the plan have also been held.

In **Wisconsin** several cities have the council-manager plan under consideration. They include **Wausau,** where the Chamber of Commerce is studying it; **Prairie du Chien,** where the League of Women Voters conducted a pro and con discussion on January 14; also **Merrill, Watertown** and **Sparta.**

The **St. Cloud, Minnesota,** Charter Commission, which has been at work through 1947, has decided, fourteen to one, on the council-manager plan. The charter is expected to be ready for a vote early in 1948.

As a result of petitions filed by the Citizens Civic League, an election on the manager plan is to be held in **Fulton, Missouri,** in February.

Petitions containing 537 names, asking for a vote on the council-manager plan, have been filed and accepted in **Marshall, Missouri.** Only 185 names are needed. Date for the election has been set for February 3. Petitions are reported to be in circulation in **Mexico, Missouri.**

The Chamber of Commerce of **Council Bluffs, Iowa,** has instituted a campaign for adoption of the manager plan.

An active movement for the manager plan is under way in **Boone, Iowa,** with the support of the Chamber of Commerce.

In **McCook, Nebraska,** the Junior Chamber of Commerce has sponsored a movement for the manager plan which is supported by the *Daily Gazette* and endorsed by the two local political parties. In **Omaha** a committee appointed by the mayor is studying the plan. A group of voters in **Crete** is seriously considering the manager plan.

In **Colorado** the voters of **Delta** approved a charter convention proposal 748 to 399 but defeated a council-manager proposal 644 to 578. In **Greeley** the voters rejected both types of proposal; the manager plan lost by a narrow margin, 2,119 to 2,059.

In **Golden, Colorado,** graduate fellows of Denver University's Department of Government Management are conducting an administrative survey under the supervision of Professors Henry K. Stanford and Troy R. Westmeyer. Golden recently adopted the council-manager form of government and the survey, requested by the council, is to provide the first manager with data needed to fulfill the requirement that he present a plan for city reorganization within 60 days after entering office.

The Board of Freeholders of **Santa Cruz, California,** is preparing a council-manager charter and has engaged expert assistance. The present commission-form charter dates from 1911.

The city council of **Torrance, California,** has appointed a city administrator on an interim basis pending a vote on the council-manager plan to be held at the April municipal election.

A group of four hundred citizens is preparing to launch a drive in **Portland, Oregon,** for adoption of the council-manager plan.

The **Tacoma, Washington,** *Times* has pointed out editorially various shortcomings of the existing commission form of government in comparison with the council-manager plan.

In **Ketchikan, Alaska,** petitions are being circulated calling for a referendum on the manager plan at the April municipal election.

Commission Government for New Jersey Cities Challenged

Most of the larger New Jersey cities and many smaller municipalities in that state operate under the commission plan, with varying results. Recently the New Jersey State Patrolmen's Benevolent Association, by its Board of State Delegates, adopted a resolution calling upon Governor Alfred E. Driscoll to initiate an investigation of commission government, with proposals for remedial legislation if indicated as necessary. The resolution recited that while some municipalities with the commission form of government "have found this system completely satisfactory and competent," others with that form "have provided within recent months a chaotic rule which militates against both good morale and top efficiency of both public safety and other municipal personnel."

Cleveland Redraws Ward Lines to Reflect 1940 Census

Late in 1947 the Cleveland city council adopted an ordinance establishing new boundaries for its 33 wards, based on 1940 census figures of population. It is to become effective January 1, 1949. Although passed by a vote of 32 to 1, the ordinance is the result of much controversy.

According to *Greater Cleveland,* bulletin of the Citizens League, "The new ward lines are an unmistakable improvement over the existing pattern which is a hand-me-down from the year 1918. Where ward populations ranged —according to 1940 census figures— from a low of 9,968 in downtown Ward 31 to a high of 56,410 in Ward 30 in the southeast section, the new alignment has reduced this gap to a minimum of 22,000 and a maximum of about 33,000."

The new boundaries will be in effect only the year before the taking of the 1950 census, and the question is presented as to when a new revision will be accomplished. The Citizens League calls attention to the present charter provision, adopted by the people in 1945, requiring the council to redivide the city into 33 wards immediately after official announcement of the federal census results, and suggests that some way of making this automatic be considered, together with the question of the best number of councilmen, and the possible election of some councilmen at large.

Reorganization Set Back in Green Bay, Wisconsin

A recent attempt to streamline the city government of Green Bay, Wisconsin, was defeated by one vote in the commission. Green Bay, which adopted the commission form of government in 1916, switched to the election of commissioners by wards in 1926.

The reorganization plan included a charter ordinance giving the mayor power to appoint administrative officers with the consent of the commissioners, or for the commission to assume this power if it so desired. It also provided for the office of director of finance with supervision over the existing offices of city clerk, treasurer, comptroller and assessor, and the creation of the office of director of public works with supervision over the existing offices of city engineer, street superintendent, building inspector, electrical inspector and plumbing inspector. The city comptroller would be the director of finance and the director of public works would be an engineer with certain definite professional qualifications.

Certain restrictive charter ordinances were to be repealed, including those requiring high schools of equal size on each side of the Fox River, which roughly bisects the city; selection of a street commissioner and assistant and an assessor and deputy from opposite sides of the river; maintenance of two fire houses on the west side; and selection of at least one-third of the elective city officials from the west side.

C. K. Alexander
Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance

Few Civil Service Dismissals Reversed

A detailed analysis of the dismissal practices of 112 civil service agencies —federal, state and local—recently completed by the Civil Service Assembly indicates that a very small percentage of civil service dismissals are overturned on appeal. The survey covered fourteen of the twenty statewide civil service systems and the civil service agencies of 38 major cities, 42 smaller cities and towns and seventeen counties. Information from the federal government was also included.

In the state and local jurisdictions, 5,018 civil service employees were dismissed during 1946. Although 2,568 of these could have taken their cases to civil service appeal boards, only 330 did so. Appeal boards backed up the original decisions to dismiss employees in two-thirds of the contested cases. Thus dismissals took effect in over 95 per cent of the cases open to appeal. Most cases not open to appeal were dismissals of probationary or wartime appointees.

These findings, according to the assembly, refute the claim that even when dismissal action is taken in good faith by a public official his decision is frequently reversed by a civil service board, with the result that incompetent personnel are reinstated or are not fired in the first place.

Responsibility for taking the initiative in dismissing incompetent public employees, the survey disclosed, is given to the department head or appointing authority in 101 of the systems studied. The assembly points out that when this power is used judiciously, the civil service agency almost invariably backs up the department head.

During 1946 only thirteen of the 5,018 dismissals studied were appealed for judicial review. Of these, nine were settled during the year. Seven decisions previously made by appeal boards were upheld, while two were reversed.

For the state and local agencies studied, the dismissal rate averaged 1.3 per cent in 1946. This is only slightly lower than the current discharge rate for private industry, taken as a whole, as reported by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. The dismissal rate in the federal service was 2.5 per cent in 1946, somewhat higher than that in private industry. Clearcut comparisons of dismissal rates are impossible in this regard, however, because of wide differences in labor turnover in different fields of both public and private enterprise.

Merit System Further Extended in New Jersey

There are now sixteen counties, 71 municipalities and four school districts in New Jersey under the civil service program administered by the State Civil Service Commission. Eleven out of thirteen localities voted to come into the program at the election last November. The merit system is now on a constitutional basis in New Jersey.

Nomination Proposals for New York Judges

New York State elects its Supreme Court judges with results that vary widely in quality in the different districts. State Senator Thomas C. Desmond, with a past record of being taken seriously, has introduced in the legislature a pair of constitutional amendments to enable the voters of each judicial district to substitute one or another of seven ready-made systems of selecting judges, namely:

1. Election by electors of the district after designation by petition and nomination at a primary election. (This is the direct primary method approved by the New York State Federation of Labor and other organizations.)
2. Election by electors of the district with an opportunity for the governor to name the first candidate. (This plan has been suggested by committees of the City Club and Citizens Union, both of New York City.)
3. Appointment by the governor and confirmation by the Senate, subject to later confirmation by a majority of electors of the district. (This plan substantially is as proposed by the so-called Citizens Committee on the Courts.)
4. Appointment by the governor from a list submitted to him by a nonpartisan judicial commission, subject to confirmation by a majority of electors of the district after a short term of service. ("Missouri plan.")
5. Appointment by the governor and approval by a nonpartisan judicial commission, subject to confirmation by a majority of electors of the district. (This is the "California plan," similar to but not quite the same as the "Missouri plan.")
6. Appointment by the governor for a full term unless the Senate shall disapprove or fail to confirm such appointment. (This plan is similar to that now used in appointing federal judges.)
7. Appointment by the appellate division of a justice who has served satisfactorily as a judge of a lower court of record. (This would be a "merit system" for judges.)

RICHARD S. CHILDS

Municipal Courts Replace Michigan JP's

Several cities in Michigan have changed their charters in recent months to permit establishment of municipal courts, presided over by salaried judges, to replace fee-paid justices of the peace. The *Michigan Municipal Review* states that if such a court is operated efficiently and economically, if finances are handled properly, and if salaries of the judge and his employees are adjusted according to the revenue obtained from court activities, the taxpayers will suffer no loss. By comparison the justice of the peace system brings no revenue to the city, regardless of how much business is conducted.

If the judge is paid a salary much of the incentive to abuse the powers of the office is removed. The court becomes a part of the city government and is subject to the same controls and accountability as other municipal departments.

"Although it is not intended that cities should establish municipal courts purely from fiscal motives," says the *Review*, "records indicate that municipal courts do make money. The com-

(Continued on page 112)

Researcher's Digest . . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Budget Time Dictates Bureau Report Topics

Appropriations and Taxes Continue their Upward Trend

AN $800,000,000 estimated possible total for New York State's next budget far exceeds the highest amount of revenue the state has ever collected in a single year ($687,000,000 in 1946), according to the **New York State Citizens Public Expenditure Survey** in its *New York State Taxpayer.* The increased cost of relief is a major cause of the record estimate.

The total amount budgeted for local governments in New Mexico has increased 109 per cent since 1940-41. Schools account for the largest amount of this increase, points out the **Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico,** Robert F. Asplund, director, in the *New Mexico Tax Bulletin.*

Jasper County (Mo.) Tax Economy Association, Gerald N. Hardy, secretary, has submitted its *Citizens' Recommendations on the Proposed 1948 Jasper County Budget* to the public budget hearing. The association makes a number of general recommendations and commends the county for the extensive breakdown of expenditure items in the proposed budget.

Estimated 1948 receipts in Philadelphia are the largest in the city's history, says the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research,** Robert K. Sawyer, director, in an issue of *Citizens' Business.* A detailed table compares 1948 estimates of receipts with 1947 estimates and with the 1946 receipts.

The 1948 Erie County budget and the statements of policy connected with it are summarized in *Just a Moment,* **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau,** Sidney Detmers, director.

The 1948 city budget of Lackawanna, New York, shows a decrease of about $120,000 from the 1947 figure. This is accounted for principally by the transfer of health and the library to Erie County, says *Comments,* published by the **Lackawanna Tax Research Bureau.**

According to the **Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy of Baltimore,** D. Benton Biser, director, the city's 1948 budget proposal should be reduced. Two issues of *Your Tax Dollar* outline the sources of revenue for the proposed budget and summarize recommendations for a drastic decrease in the Bureau of Highways budget.

The **Chicago Civic Federation,** Harland C. Stockwell, executive secretary, has issued five bulletins containing statements made by members of the federation at the public budget hearings of the city of Chicago, the Sanitary District of Chicago, the Chicago Park District, Board of Cook County Commissioners, and the Chicago Board of Education.

The new Wayne County, Michigan, budget of $35,800,000 exceeds last year's by almost 11 per cent, points out the **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research,** Loren B. Miller, director, in *Bureau Notes.* The county budgets for 1947 and 1948 are summarized.

The **Missouri Public Expenditure Survey,** Edward Staples, executive director, has released its fourth annual compilation of budgets of Missouri's 109 rural counties, under the title *Toward Better County Government.* It is concluded that "the data in the tabulation present many illustrations of the continuing need for more careful study by officials and citizens in the preparation of budgets."

The **Providence Governmental Research Bureau,** Robert E. Pickup, executive director, compares in a recent bulletin the city's 1945-6 and 1946-7 receipts and expenditures with estimated receipts and actual appropriations for 1947-8. The two tables are quite detailed.

The **Bureau of Public Administration of Boston University,** Don B. Leiffer, director, in cooperation with the **Massachusetts Association of Town Finance Committees,** has developed and published two charts entitled "1946 Charges Against Revenue—Departmental Maintenance Expenditures" and "1947 Appropriations for Departmental Maintenance." Each chart gives tax rates, total appropriations for departmental maintenance and percentages by functions for 76 Massachusetts towns divided into three population groups. Average figures for each group and for all towns are given.

Taxes Going Up

The statewide average increase in Indiana property taxes for 1948 is more than 20 per cent over 1947. A press release from the **Indiana Taxpayers Association,** Walter T. Horn, executive secretary, points this out and also presents two tables showing, by counties, Indiana property tax levies as advertised and as finally fixed in 1947 and a comparison of the state's actual property taxes in 1947 with estimated 1948 figures.

Des Moines property tax rates for 1948 have been increased since 1947 by over 11 per cent, according to the **Des Moines Bureau of Municipal Research,** Glenn N. Hoffman, secretary.

The 1947 tax rates of all Missouri municipalities are listed in *Your Tax Money* of the **Missouri Public Expenditure Survey.**

Wisconsin county tax levies for 1948 have risen more than 14 per cent over those for 1947, according to the **Wisconsin Citizens Public Expenditure Survey,** in *Wisconsin Tax News,* Glen W. McGrath, editor. A table showing the new tax levies is included.

Montana's public school system has been given an increased revenue this year of about $22,000,000—$5,000,000 more than last year. Higher salaries for teachers and other school personnel account for a major portion of the increase, points out the *Montana Taxpayer,* published by the **Montana Taxpayers' Association,** R. A. Neill, executive secretary.

Improving Tax Administration

One issue of the *Wisconsin Taxpayer,* organ of the **Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance,** Paul N. Reynolds, executive director, is devoted to assessments—variations in property assessment practices, methods available for their improvement, and aroused interest in assessment procedures.

"Fiscal Relations in a Working Federalism" is the title of an article by Governor Alfred E. Driscoll of New Jersey published by the **Tax Foundation** in *The Tax Review.* Governor Driscoll makes five general recommendations: that Congress support vigorous and responsible state government, that a joint federal-state program to eliminate duplicating structures be encouraged, that unnecessary costs be reduced whenever possible, that adequate standards of service responsibility to meet local needs be developed, and that tax structures be adjusted so as to assure a fair and equal application of existing taxes.

State Government and State Resources

Pennsylvania Handbook of State Government, "A Ready Reference for the Businessman," has been issued by the **Pennsylvania State Chamber of Com-**

merce, Leonard P. Fox, general secretary. The main purpose of the handbook is to set forth the specific ways in which business operations in Pennsylvania are affected by the state government and to indicate the agency or bureau which has jurisdiction in each case. The material is listed alphabetically by subject and cross-referenced.

Legislative councils, legislative reference services and bill-drafting agencies in the various states which have them are described in *Aids for State Legislators,* by Christian L. Larsen and Miles F. Ryan, Jr., issued by the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of South Carolina,** George R. Sherrill, director.

The public administration of natural resources in Alabama is comprehensively treated in *Alabama's Heritage,* by Joseph M. Ray of the University of Maryland and Lillian Worley of the University of Alabama. The 186-page report is published under the auspices of the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama,** Roscoe C. Martin, director. The authors discuss the subject from all angles, concluding that "resources administration in Alabama is in no sense mature."

"Existing Facilities for Health Care in Tennessee" is the title of an article by Margaret Pouder in a recent issue of *The Tennessee Planner,* published by the **Tennessee State Planning Commission.** This is a report on hospital facilities, health department facilities and services and related resources in the state, undertaken in order to find out just what is needed to bring health care in general up to a minimum standard.

Old Age Assistance

Utah old-age recipients are now required to give a lien on their property over $1,200 in value. Other important changes made in Utah public welfare administration by a 1947 law are summarized in a *Research Report* from the **Utah Foundation,** Stanley J. Stephenson, managing director.

Passage of a lien and recovery law in Missouri is advocated by the **Missouri Public Expenditure Survey,** which points out in two recent pamphlets that such a law in Indiana has caused 10 per cent to leave that state's old-age assistance rolls while Missouri has been forced to cut 10 per cent off every recipient's check because of the large number of people receiving assistance.

The history of the old-age pension in Colorado is summarized in the *Colorado Taxpayer,* published by the **Colorado Public Expenditure Council,** Fred Bennion, executive director.

"Public Relief Since 1933; California Law Summarized" is an article by Harry V. Cheshire of the **California Taxpayers' Association** in that bureau's *Tax Digest,* Jessie K. Grant, director.

Special Attention Local Planners

The **Bureau of Urban Research of Princeton University** is sponsoring a series of lectures to be held in March in the auditorium of the Frick Chemical Laboratory at Princeton. The series, concerning the causes and consequences of metropolitan decentralization, is as follows: "The Changing Population Pattern of the Modern City," Philip M. Hauser (Tuesday, March 2, 7:45 P.M.); "Time, Space and the City's Physical Readjustment," Henry S. Churchill (Thursday, March 4, 4 P.M.); "The Economic Theory of Urban Expansion," Homer Hoyt (Monday, March 8, 4 P.M.); "Governmental Problems of Urban Decentralization," Joseph D. McGoldrick, (Wednesday March 10, 7:45 P.M.); and "The Defense of Cities in Aerial Warfare," Ansley J. Coale (Thursday, March 11, 7:45 P.M.).

"Developing a Plan for Planning" is the title of a recent supplement to *The*

Borough Bulletin which summarizes a report of the **Institute of Local and State Government of the University of Pennsylvania,** Stephen B. Sweeney, director, on planning procedures for the borough of West Chester.

Local Planning in Tennessee is reported in detail in a 61-page booklet put out by the **Tennessee State Planning Commission.** Local planning programs in all sections of the state are described, with numerous maps and charts; a list of local planning commissions in Tennessee is included.

Metropolitan area problems are considered in three recent issues of *Citizens' Business,* bulletin of the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research.** The bureau has also published a report entitled *Financial Picture of an Improvable Area,* a study of nineteen blocks in the city which had been selected for close examination by the Philadelphia Redevelopment Authority. The purpose was to estimate the city and school district revenues and expenditures of this area in 1946 "deemed ripe for redevelopment." Many tables are included.

The Municipal Airport Problem in St. Louis is considered in a report to the mayor from the **St. Louis Governmental Research Institute,** Victor D. Brannon, director. The institute recommends that the city turn over its airports to a metropolitan authority, which would have complete independence in operating them.

The **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama** has issued a 61-page report on *Cities and Riverfront Lands,* by York Willbern, assistant director of the bureau. The study is a general one—though many of the examples used have been taken from experiences in Alabama, Kentucky and Tennessee—and covers cities and rivers, uses of riverfront land, riverfront development and administrative machinery. In an appendix the author discusses the legality of municipal riverfront development programs in Alabama.

Street Trees for Cities is the title ot an attractively planned report on planting in city streets by the **Bureau of Municipal Research and Service of the University of Oregon,** Herman Kehrli, director, in cooperation with the **League of Oregon Cities.** There are several photographs and many diagrams, a suggested street tree ordinance, and a table summarizing the advantages and disadvantages of the different kinds of trees which can be used. The report is priced at one dollar.

The Scope and Effect of Bureau Activities

The **Taxpayers' Federation of Illinois,** George E. Mahin, executive secretary, has begun work on the first of a series of intensive and detailed studies of county government administration. It is now under way in McLean County at Bloomington, the county seat.

The **Public Administration Service** of Chicago, Herbert Emmerich, director, has published *Current Research Projects in Public Administration.* The projects are listed according to the general fields which they concern and are those initiated or under way in 1947.

The **Bureau of Governmental Research and Services,** Donald H. Webster, director, in cooperation with the **Division of Adult Education and Extension Services,** both parts of the University of the State of Washington, has issued three reports comprising proceedings of various sections at the university's Twelfth Annual Institute of Government. *Election Problems and Voter Participation* includes a number of tables and graphs. The other two are *Library Service to Business and Government* and *Current Trends in Safety.*

Two divisions of the **Pennsylvania Economy League** have issued reports on their current activities and future objectives. The State Division devotes an issue of *State-Local Government Topics* to a summary of its activities. The Western Division, Leslie J. Reese, director, reports on its long-term objectives in an issue of its *Newsletter.*

All local government officials in **Jasper County, Missouri,** have been invited by that county's **Tax Economy Association** to use its public administration reference library.

The *New York World-Telegram* has run a series of articles by Roger Stuart on inefficient welfare administration in Baltimore, using facts uncovered there by the **Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy.**

Critical Appraisals

A Critical Appraisal of University Bureaus of Public Administration (55 pages) has been published by the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Virginia,** Rowland Egger, director. The pamphlet is a symposium of six papers presented at a section meeting of the **American Political Science Association** in December 1946. As Dr. Egger says in the foreword, the contributors "were drawn from walks of life quite independent of the university bureaus. They are, moreover, of sufficient professional stature to be somewhat less than profoundly impressed by the pretentions of the bureaus or their 'high command.' "

Public administration bureaus are appraised as to their research product, their service activities and their educational activities; also from the standpoints of an operating agency (TVA), a professional association of public officials (International City Managers' Association) and a private management consultant (J. L. Jacobs and Company).

"I hope that you, in research, will approach newspapers with patience and understanding; that you will side with us in our efforts to pry open all government sessions that are held behind locked doors; that you will fight with us against the suppression of any public information, and that—at a time when great forces seek to undermine newspapers—you will lend your efforts to protect and safeguard freedom of the press," said Oxie Reichler, editor of the *Yonkers Herald Statesman* in an address at the annual conference of the **Governmental Research Association,** G. Gordon Tegnell, secretary, held last October.

Mr. Reichler's address, entitled "The Press and Citizen Research," is reprinted in the December number of *Notes and References,* the bulletin of the association. It is also summarized, with extensive quotations, in the November issue of the *New York State Taxpayer,* of the **New York State Citizens Public Expenditure Survey.**

The Yonkers editor wrote to a number of editors in other cities asking them whether the material submitted to them by research bureaus was used or thrown away. He found that a majority of the editors regarded the activities of the municipal research bureaus as very valuable. But, said Mr. Reichler, "you must not mind if the newspaper strives to be lively and interesting with your material."

He lists several things which bureaus should do to improve their relations with editors and the acceptability of their material, concluding, "Years ago I developed boundless admiration for governmental research. I know the vast effort which goes into even a brief compilation. But I also know the inspiration that can flow therefrom, provided popular acceptance is gained."

PERIODICAL DEPT.

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Civic Groups Plan for 1948

Boston, New York, Others Announce Their Programs

THE **Plan E for Boston Committee** has announced its reorganization and plans for a mass campaign to secure an opportunity for Boston voters to decide whether they desire Plan E—council-manager with proportional representation—as the system of government for their city. Francis X. Ahearn, new chairman of the committee, has announced a ward, precinct and block campaign and invites the cooperation of other interested groups.

"This [adoption of Plan E] is a privilege given to all the other 38 cities in the commonwealth," Mr. Ahearn said, "but denied to Boston by the legislature. We plan to enlist large numbers of voters who will tell the governor and general court they want a chance to express their opinion on the matter by ballot."

He pointed out that Cambridge and Lowell have found the plan successful and that the voters of Revere, Medford, Worcester and Quincy recently adopted it.

"Back up Ahearn!" headlines the Boston *Herald,* in an editorial on the city's situation. "The men who want to retain the political and corrupt advantages of the present charter are thoroughly well organized. They know how to fight, fairly and otherwise. They have a potent voice in the legislature, where the decision will be made on whether Boston shall have the right to choose its own government. That plainly means that the unorganized citizens who want a city manager form of government must make their numbers felt. And they can make their numbers felt best by backing up the Plan E Committee and its new chairman, Francis X. Ahearn."

The **Citizens Union of the City of New York,** George H. Hallett, Jr., executive secretary, has announced its "State Legislative Program for 1948" in a ten-page mimeographed statement. Among the measures to which it will lend its active support are bills on city and state financial problems, housing, improvements in legislative procedure, compulsory annual automobile inspection, election reforms including extension of absentee voting privileges and permanent personal registration, selection and number of judges, constitutional initiative, reapportionment, implementing county reform, etc., etc. —more than enough to keep this 50-year-old organization out of mischief for a long time to come.

"To keep step with the increase in citizen interest in public personnel problems and to be able to render more effective service to public administrators," the **Citizens Civil Service Association of Illinois,** Harry W. Knight, president, announces its complete reorganization and modernization "to render more and better service during these postwar years," to quote its *Public Personnel Notes.*

Activities of the association will be confined to the five major units: the state of Illinois, city of Chicago, Cook County, Chicago Sanitary District and Chicago Park District. Major attention will be devoted to the state and city.

The association's citizen education program will foster "greater public knowledge of the principles, practices and problems of our public personnel agencies through this newsletter, talks by members of a speakers' bureau and special conferences and reports."

The association announces that the pre-war Illinois Volunteer Monitoring Program, initiated by the Illinois Civil Service Commission at its suggestion, is being reorganized. More than 150 volunteers have responded to a recent appeal.

"Where Do We Go From Here?" asks the Municipal Committee of the **Albany (New York) City Club.** The report of its chairman, Miss Audrey Margolis, appears in *The City Club Chronicle* for December. The committee is looking forward to its 1949 Citizens' Platform—issued every four years when local elections occur—and presented in the mayoralty election to candidates of all parties as well as to the public. Subcommittees are now at work analyzing planks of the 1945 program to determine what progress has been made, where revision is necessary, and what further recommendations must be added.

A library of books pertinent to the work of the Municipal Committee is maintained at club headquarters and is available to those interested, and Miss May Greenman, a committee member, is preparing field trips for those subcommittees interested.

This year, under the auspices of the club's Finance Committee, a course on public finance, conducted by Beulah Bailey Thull, will be offered to members.

The **New Jersey Taxpayers Association,** A. R. Everson, executive vice president, has issued a twelve-page *Proposed 1948 Platform and Program.* Discussion covers costs and financing of federal, state and local governments as well as schools.

The *First Annual Report* of the **McMinn County (Tennessee) Good Government League,** L. H. Dooley, president, covers its history, purposes, accomplishments and its future program. The league is "an organization of vigilant citizens hoping to accomplish collectively what each could not successfully do alone." It conducts quarterly meetings at the court house to "transact league business and provide a forum for the discussion of public questions."

The league is making a study of the assessment and equalization of property taxes to recommend needed reforms to the county council. It contributes a column, "Looking Forward," to the *Daily Post-Athenian* which is "devoted to keeping the public informed regarding the county government with comments designed to foster a wholesome attitude toward the responsibilities of citizenship"; and it is preparing a factual report on the operations of county government during the past year. The league has under consideration the issuance of a monthly or quarterly bulletin to keep its membership abreast of its activities and problems.

"A civic challenge awaits us in the new year," says the *News Letter* of the **Fort Wayne, Indiana, Civic Association,** Lee J. Ninde, editor. Thirty projects, listed on a sheet sent to members, call for "attention, thought, discussion and action." Among the major 1948 problems of the city are a master plan, traffic congestion, parking, blighted areas, smoke abatement, housing, recreation needs, etc. Members are asked to check the five they feel most important. "The challenge of the new year demands the attention of every citizen," comments the *News Letter.* "Fort Wayne will become just what its citizens make it."

Valhalla, an unincorporated hamlet near White Plains, New York, has a **Community Council,** Gilbert J. Nelligan, chairman, which is getting things done. The council is an unofficial organization composed of representatives of all local groups—property owners, church societies, political parties, youth groups, American Legion, service clubs, some twenty in all. Its planning committee is in process of organization and will make recommendations to the town board of Mount Pleasant in which Valhalla is situated; town and county officials have already carried out many suggestions made by the group's traffic committee.

Youth Has Its Day

April 15 is the date set for Kansas City's (Missouri) fourth annual High School Day in city hall. The **Junior Chamber of Commerce,** in cooperation with school and city officials, is handling arrangements. Fourteen schools, representing over 16,000 pupils, have submitted the names of nominees for elective officials from among the pupils. Final elections will be held February 19. The pattern of Kansas City's council-manager government is being followed in the setup of student elective and appointive officials, who will spend most of the day with their "opposite numbers" in the city hall and other city offices and institutions.

The **Kansas City Community Service Division** announces that another "Junior City" has been organized at one of the city's schools.

Massachusetts' Good Government Day,[1] in which high schools all over the state participate, was held January 9. High school pupils selected members of a student senate and house of representatives which sat at the State House in Boston operating a legislative business day. "The plan has inherently interesting possibilities for effective educational outcomes," said Dr. John P. Tilton, chairman of the **Massachusetts Civic League's** Education Committee, which sponsors the day. "The direction of young people's interests towards state affairs, the preliminary elections, campaigns, discuscussions of current legislation, and the subsequent reports to their constituents, all contain educational values of considerable worth."

The **Students' Committee on State Affairs,** a subcommittee of the Massachusetts Civic League's Education Committee, held its organization meeting for the 1947-48 season in November. Student delegates from 24 of the 29 schools registered attended the session at Old South Meeting House, where Miss Miriam Butler, executive secretary of the league, discussed the purposes of the organization. Geoffrey Paul of Boston Latin School was elected chairman of the group, and Richard McGowan of Shrewsbury High School was elected secretary.

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Town Criers at Work

Members of the Town Criers Committee, the **Municipal League of Seattle's** "stable" of speakers, hold themselves in constant readiness to accept engagements with community and service clubs throughout the Seattle area. They are well prepared to give talks on five subjects important to the community: City Planning for Seattle, Will King County Get Home Rule?, Seattle's Police Problem, How Good Is Your City?, and What Makes the Municipal League Tick? Town criers hold bi-weekly luncheon meetings reported as "lots of fun." Members try out their speeches on the rest who criticize for delivery, organization, etc. At such meetings participants relate their speaking experience "on the firing line" for the benefit of all.

The league plans a half dozen forums

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[1] See the Review, September 1947, page 60.

this season, reports C. A. Crosser, its executive secretary. Last winter's forums were reported as very successful and were broadcast—either live or transcription—over local radio stations.

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'Qualifying Candidates'

The **Cleveland Citizens League,** Guy C. Larcom, Jr., director, reviews its methods of qualifying candidates for public office and appraises the results in its publication, *Greater Cleveland.* The league points out that in last year's election over 76 per cent of winning candidates had league endorsement. The league's best score "was made in the selection of candidates for council, 21 of the 33 elected having had a 'preferred' and two more a 'well qualified' rating."

The league distributed 35,000 copies of its *Voters Directory* in 1947. In addition, league endorsements are given full coverage in the newspapers. Just how extensive its influence may be is difficult to estimate, says the bulletin. Comments received by the league "from candidates, partisans and the general public suggest that although in some contests league opinion may not be a strong factor, in many it is important both to the candidate and the electorate and is therefore a real force; that, finally, in cases where the race is close, the endorsement may well mean the difference between victory and defeat."

The league has been investigating candidates for local office since 1897 when as the Municipal Association of Cleveland it issued its first election bulletin.

At its recent annual meeting, the Cleveland league made civic awards to three local public officials for "distinguished service": Ernest J. Bohn, a leader in the housing and planning fields, "for his exceptionally able representation in the city council and the state legislature"; Norma F. Wulff, "for her unselfish and unsparing devotion to the best ideals of public education and for her significant contribution to the advancement of the Cleveland public school system"; and Daniel E. Morgan, "for his distinguished performance over a period of many years as legislator, administrator, political leader and judge."

* * *

Community Council News

The **University of Michigan's School of Education and the Extension Service** has revived its *Michigan Community News Letter,* distributed "in the interest of community adult education." A number of issues of the *News Letter* appeared during 1939-1941 but it was discontinued during the war. This first issue gives news on the organization of youth or teenage centers and other recreational activities for young people, activities of community councils throughout the state, and adult education.

The Community Forum, published by the **New York State Citizens Council,** Frederick T. Rope, executive director, reports on regional conferences held at Schenectady, Utica, Buffalo, and Johnson City. Other conferences are scheduled for Syracuse and White Plains. The institute is now planning its fourth annual institute on community leadership.

* * *

New Publications

The **New Jersey Education Association** has issued *Local Government—How Does It Work?,* by James E. Downes of the Newark State Teachers College, for use in adult discussion groups. Points covered by the leaflet include the importance of local government and of politics, the role of parties in local government, who runs the local government, the citizen and his local government, and the preparedness of young people to assume civic responsibility. A bibliography lists numerous books and pamphlets on government and citizen participation.

* * *

Constitution Contest

The **Seattle Bar Association** and the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* have sponsored jointly a "Constitution Day Essay Contest," reports the *Seattle Municipal News,* Paul W. Seibert, editor. Any resident of King County (Seattle) was eligible to submit an entry on "The Importance of the Constitution Today." First prize is $500, second prize $50 and third prize $25.

* * *

Civic Groups in the News

Public Personnel Review, quarterly journal of the **Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada,** James M. Mitchell, editor, published an article in its October issue on **The Connecticut Merit System Association.** Author of the story is Aileen Roberts, the association's executive secretary. "There is perhaps no more important phase of government in which citizen interest and support is essential than in the merit system," says Miss Roberts. She gives a short historical account of the organization, lists its objectives and methods of work, together with plans for the future.

Work of the **San Diego Taxpayers' Association,** John F. Borchers, manager, is described in an article by Mr. Borchers appearing in *The Tax Digest* (**California Taxpayers' Association**) for October. "Not only have more projects been undertaken than in the preceding fiscal year," reports the article in referring to the "step-up" of organizational activities, "but more careful analysis and consideration have been given to each of the projects undertaken."

One month previously, *The Tax Digest* published a summary of recommendations of the *Administrative and Financial Survey of Alameda County Government,* made by the **Alameda County Taxpayers' Association,** Will C. James, president, and G. C. Morris, secretary and executive director.

Work of the **Massachusetts Civic League** was described by its president, Richard S. Bowers, in a recent radio broadcast. Text of the address is reproduced in the *Lens,* publication of the league.

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Local Projects Win Acclaim

The **Business and Professional Women's Club of Little Rock, Arkansas,** has won first piece in the public affairs project competition set up by the Public Affairs Committee, Gladys F. Gove, director, of the **National Federation of Business and Professional Women.** The group conducted an open forum called "Little Rock's Town Meeting." In planning the project, under the guidance of Mary Cannon, chairman of the committee in charge, the club enlisted the active participation of many cooperating civic groups. It "won an enviable place in the community through its initiative in making possible the discussion of urgent public questions." The project is described in a recent issue of the *Independent Woman,* publication of the national federation.

Two clubs tied for second place. The group in **Corbin, Kentucky,** sponsored a city-wide campaign for rodent extermination resulting in an annual saving to the community of over $20,000. The **Wheeling** club, cooperating with another group, formed the **Wheeling Civic Club Association** which has acted as a central committee to back a five-year seven-point program for local improvement, working with the board of trade, planning commission, city council, state road commission and federal government agencies.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Yonkers Fusion Regime Continues

Lowell Council and School Elections

OFFICIAL election figures show that in Yonkers, New York, when people go to the polls to choose a common council by paper ballots under proportional representation, and also to elect other candidates by voting machine on the same visit, they use P. R. with greater care and effectiveness—and with far fewer blank and void ballots—than when they are pulling down the voting machine levers.

The statistics, just issued by the Westchester County Board of Elections, show that while 54,633 valid ballots were cast for common council under P. R., only 52,508 valid ballots were cast at the same election for Supreme Court justice on the machine, only 52,716 valid ballots for Children's Court judge, and only 50,753 for county sheriff.

While the official P. R. total of "blank and void" ballots aggregated 4.56 per cent (3.24 per cent invalid), the official "blank and void" total for Children's Court judge was 7.7 per cent, for Supreme Court justice it was 8.1 per cent, and for county sheriff it was 11.1 per cent. For other candidates and for propositions and amendments to the constitution, the "blank and void" totals were even greater.

Because more than 50,000 valid P. R. ballots were cast, Yonkers' common council today numbers seven members—two more than in any of the eight years the city has been operating under a council-manager charter.

The new council—chosen from among a field of twenty—comprises six men and a woman. Three were endorsed by the Democratic party, three by the Republican party and an independent, Mrs. Edith P. Welty, is now serving her fifth consecutive two-year term.

Mrs. Welty had been endorsed by the Republicans for the first time two years ago—on a so-called "fusion" slate—but last autumn the G.O.P. deliberately withheld its endorsement. Nevertheless, she ran much stronger, with the backing of both the new Yonkers Municipal League and the old (and now dissolved) City Manager League, than two years ago.

All three of the Republican-endorsed victors had Municipal League backing. Two of them also had Manager League support. A so-called "practical fusion" campaign was carried on under Municipal League auspices, which included these three together with Mrs. Welty and an independent Democrat, J. Thomas Murty, former city welfare commissioner and an ardent managerite.

Topping the victorious councilmen was Curtiss E. Frank, attorney, who continues as mayor; and with him are serving, besides Mrs. Welty, who came in next: John C. Couzens and Andrew R. Maffei, attorneys; John J. Whalen, undertaker, who was reelected and now becomes vice mayor; Emmett Burke, high school teacher and owner of a business service, and Dr. Benjamin F. Barnes, reelected councilman and former mayor.

The last three had Democratic party endorsement. Dr. Barnes was elected in 1941 with Manager League endorsement, but he repudiated that group after election and joined the Democratic minority to make it a majority and himself mayor.[1]

He was defeated for reelection, but he got back into office on a recount of P. R. ballots to fill a vacancy last summer, when Vice Mayor James A. Sullivan suddenly resigned while under investigation in connection with major gambling scandals in a city-owned labor temple. Mr. Sullivan is currently under indictment on charges of forgery.

Since Mr. Couzens and Mr. Maffei were elected in a campaign during which they and other Republican-endorsed candidates hailed Mayor Frank as their "standard bearer," and since Mrs. Welty continues in close sympathy with Mr. Frank, there is confidence that these four will comprise a working majority. There was also a possibility that Dr. Barnes—nettled at grudging support from the Democrats in his reelection campaign—might throw in his lot with the majority, bolstering it further.

Because of a special charter provision, a second count of P. R. ballots took place at the end of the council election for the purpose of electing a mayor and vice mayor. All ballots were recounted in the same manner as in the original count except that the candidates in the new election were confined to the seven candidates just elected as councilmen. When all the ballots were sorted the candidate with fewest ballots was defeated and his ballots transferred to remaining candidates in accordance with the choices marked, and so on, until only two were in the race. Thereupon the one with the most votes, Mayor Frank, was declared reelected mayor, and Mr. Whalen, runner-up, became vice mayor.[2]

Because of the special mayoral recount, information not usually discernible in a P. R. election became evident. For instance, when the reassortment had been made to the seven winners, only 1,576 of the ballots had been "exhausted." That meant that 97.2 per cent—or all but 2.8 per cent of the valid ballots cast—had shown a choice for at least one of the councilmen elected. This is believed to represent a degree of effective democratic voting—with maximum representation on the council—without precedent in any local election.

The counting of votes was conducted under the general supervision of George H. Hallett, Jr., as consultant. It began at 9 A.M. on November 5 and was concluded at 4:30 A.M. on November 9.

OXIE REICHLER, *Editor*
Yonkers *Herald Statesman*

Lowell Holds Third P. R. Election

As in the two previous P. R. elections under the Plan E city government in Lowell, Massachusetts, a council composed of five Republicans and four Democrats resulted from the P. R. election of November 4, 1947, in that city. That it was not a matter of strict party voting, however, is indicated by the results of the concurrently held school committee election, also by proportional representation, which elected four Democrats and two Republicans. Under the Plan E charter, the councilor who is elected mayor will serve *ex officio* on the school committee.

Six incumbent councilors were reelected to office, including Mayor Leo A. Roy and former Mayor Woodbury F. Howard. The other three seats did not involve any great change in the political complexion of the council. In place of Councilor J. Russell Scott, who did not seek reelection, School Committeeman John Janas, from the same section of town, was elected.

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[1] The mayor, who is president of the council and not an administrator under the council-manager charter, was formerly selected by the council. After Dr. Barnes' deal for the mayoralty the charter was changed to provide for popular election of the mayor and vice mayor by a review of the council ballots as explained below.—EDITOR.

[2] This procedure, regularly and by design, gives the vice mayoralty to the most popular representative of the minority.—EDITOR.

The two councilors defeated for reelection were each replaced by a man of the same party. Councilor Francis P. McMahon was replaced by Democratic former Mayor John J. Bruin, who led the poll and, along with Mayor Roy, exceeded the quota on the first count. Surplus votes from Mayor Roy gave School Committeeman George A. Ayotte a comfortable lead over Councilor J. Elzear Dionne to win him the latter's seat. Ayotte and Dionne enjoyed support from much the same sections and groups and it was apparently the relative personal preference that was decisive.

The last few transfers of ballots involved a three-way contest between Democratic candidates for the ninth council seat. The two losers in this contest subsequently obtained a recount, but the results were not materially altered upon re-examination. The transfers from the lowest-standing of the three were decisive in reelecting Councilor Bartholomew J. Callery, Jr., over George C. Eliades, who had stood fourth on first choices alone.

P. R. has been useful in Lowell in according appropriate representation to the factions within the major parties, for decisions of the council often cut across party lines. Thus Mayor Roy was chosen by the council two years ago with both Democratic and Republican support.

The school committee election, like that for the council, involved a close contest for the last seat. The eventual winner of that position came up from behind his chief rival to pass him on one of the later transfers of ballots, and the issue between them was in doubt until all the other candidates had been elected or eliminated.

An outstanding feature of the latest P. R. elections in Lowell was the excellent coverage given by the *Lowell Sun.* Full tabulations of all transfers of ballots were given as the count proceeded, together with an intelligent account of the significance of the principal election results. The reporting was accompanied by excellent illustrations,

Howard Replies to Critics

City Councilor and former Mayor Woodbury F. Howard recently took the Lowell Taxpayers Association to task for published adverse comments on proportional representation. Taking up the specific allegations of the group, Councilor Howard answered (as reported in the *Lowell Sun* of December 1, 1947):

"1. *Is P. R. (proportional representation) 'extremely unpopular'?* . . .

"The real answer is that P. R. is 'extremely unpopular' with machine and party politicians because they can no longer control the outcome of our elections.

"2. *Is P. R. 'cumbersome'?*

"There may be some justification in this statement, but only in relation to the slap-dash methods by which we used to select our officials.

"Remember, P. R. is a procedure of voting and counting which guarantees that the city council will honestly and accurately reflect the various political opinions held by all our people. It is the only known system of voting in which it is possible to guarantee majority rule and minority representation.

"3. *Is P. R. 'long-drawn out'?*

"Again this is a comparison with our former slap-dash methods of voting and counting votes.

"But isn't it better to take a little longer at a little more expense to count the votes (a) accurately, (b) in the open, and (c) in one place where all the candidates and the public may be present to watch the proceedings? ...

"4. *Is P. R. a 'needless drain on the city's finances'?*

"In four years, Plan E (and P. R. is an integral part of it) has, among other things, kept our tax rate at a level which is $12.40 per thousand better than the average tax rate for the 351 cities and towns in the commonwealth. . . .

"Remember again, that P. R. eliminates the 'needless drain' of a primary and recounts in connection with it. Everything is accomplished in one election."

P. R. Effective

Councilor Howard alluded to the recent election to show the effectiveness of P. R.:

"A clear majority of the voters indicated that they wanted Councilors-Elect Bruin, Geary, Hockmeyer, Howard and Janas to be members of the city council. And yet on past political records, neither Bruin nor Geary, as enrolled Democrats, would have been elected as representatives of Ward 8 and Ward 7 in which they happen to live. The same comments apply to Hockmeyer and Howard, enrolled Republicans from Ward 1, and to Janas, enrolled Republican from Ward 9. The abolition of ward representation under P. R. has come nearer to meeting the real wishes of a majority of our citizens."

In closing Councilor Howard attacked the assertion that P. R. promotes racial voting:

"It is probably nearer to the truth to say that those who make that charge are probably the ones most guilty of it.

"There has always been a certain amount of racial voting, just as there has always been party voting, neighborhood voting, fraternal voting, sympathy voting and other really extraneous considerations. But any person who has watched the transfers of ballots under P. R. can see for himself that P. R. has done more to break down these prejudices than any other form of voting."

P. R. League Meets in Nashville

The annual meeting of the Proportional Representation League was held in conjunction with the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League in Nashville, Tennessee, the morning of Friday, November 14, at the Hotel Hermitage. Present were some 25 League members and friends. Richard S. Childs, a member of the League's Board of Trustees, presided.

The following trustees were nominated and unanimously elected: Albert D. Cash, Cincinnati; Richard S. Childs, New York City; Paul H. Douglas, Chicago; C. G. Hoag, Haverford, Pennsylvania; J. Henry Scattergood, Villa Nova, Pennsylvania; and Thomas Raeburn White, Philadelphia. Mr. Cash, who has since been elected mayor of Cincinnati by that city's council, took the place on the board made vacant by the death of Dr. A. R. Hatton, the League's president, over a year ago.

George H. Hallett, Jr., secretary of the P. R. League and of the New York Citizens Union, reported on the year's developments including the abandonment of P. R. in New York. Forest Frank, executive director of the Cincinnati City Charter Committee, described the successful campaign of his organization in bringing out a favorable vote in that city for retention of P. R. and in electing a majority of the city council of nine.

Frederick B. Willis, speaker of the

(Continued on page 116)

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

County Manager Plan in the News

Referendum Asked on Anne Arundel County's Charter

UNDER procedures authorized by the state constitution, opponents of the manager plan for Anne Arundel County (Annapolis), Maryland, circulated a petition and secured sufficient signatures to prevent the county commissioners from putting the county's new "business manager" plan, as enacted by the 1947 legislature,[1] into effect without a vote of the people. The plan must now be submitted to the county electorate in the 1948 general elections for a final decision.

Citizens of another Maryland county, Harford, are investigating the merits of the manager plan with a view to its adoption there.

The voters of Pinellas County (St. Petersburg), Florida, have opened a campaign for adoption of the county manager plan.

In accordance with the request contained in a petition filed by a citizens' charter committee in Jackson County (Kansas City), Missouri, circuit and probate judges of the county have appointed fourteen persons—seven Democrats and seven Republicans—as a commission to draft a new county charter. There is widespread interest in the county manager plan.

Interest in adoption of the manager plan is active in Chippewa County (Sault Ste. Marie), Michigan.

Battle Creek Township, Michigan, will vote, in February on incorporation as a "charter" township under the state's new charter township law,[2] which provides that the township board may appoint a chief administrative officer.

In Jackson County, Oregon, the League of Women Voters has begun a study of the advantages of the plan.

San Francisco, Charlotte Suggest Consolidations

Officials of the city and county of San Francisco, California, recently suggested that San Mateo, Marin and Alameda Counties be annexed to it. Further study of the proposal may be undertaken.

The governments of the city of Charlotte and Mechlenburg County, North Carolina, are jointly sponsoring a survey leading to possible consolidation of the two units of government.

Consolidation of Health Departments Voted

The voters of Lackawana, New York, recently decided, by a majority of almost two to one, to merge their city health department with the newly established Erie County health system. The total vote, as compared with that for city officials, was light.

Wisconsin County Forests Increase

Recent reports indicate that Wisconsin county forests now embrace nearly 2,000,000 acres of timber land. Although much of it was surrendered only a generation ago for delinquent taxes, it is now producing substantial quantities of marketable timber. Last year 21 counties produced more than 75,000 cords which constituted a new record. It has been estimated that cutting could be quadrupled without exceeding the amount of the annual growth.

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[1] See the REVIEW, June 1947, page 349.

[2] See the REVIEW, September 1947, page 470.

Modern Survey Techniques Add to County Acreage

Comal County, Texas, recently completed a resurvey of one of its boundary lines and consequently added 1,252 acres to its area. It was explained that in the "old days" surveys were made on horseback either by counting the steps of the horse or measuring the travel time and as a result many errors were made.

Jefferson County, Alabama, Permitted to Plan

The recent session of the Alabama legislature enacted a law whereby counties in excess of 400,000 population may engage in planning activities. It is thus applicable only to Jefferson County. The legislature also approved a proposed constitutional amendment authorizing it to modify the government of Jefferson County. This proposal will be submitted to the voters of the state next November.

Seattle League Urges County Improvements

The Municipal League of Seattle is continuing its campaign for reorganization and improvement of King County, Washington. In recent issues of *Seattle Municipal News* it has emphasized that there are too many units of government, costs are excessive and public officials are lax in adopting needed reforms.

Units of government in the county with taxing powers include one county, seventeen cities and 131 special districts. Special districts have been established for sanitary sewers, drainage, fire protection, schools, water, roads, commercial waterways, ports, libraries, forest fire patrols, airports and ferries. Nearly all are authorized to levy taxes amounting from two to ten mills, although some districts, such as schools, are levying up to 40 mills. The league is especially critical of the slowness with which the two road districts are being consolidated.[1]

An example of excessive cost was given in comparing city and county costs for purchase of tires. Although both have centralized purchasing, the league revealed that the county paid from 24 to 33 per cent more than the city in the recent purchase of tires. The league reiterated its suggestion of a year ago regarding cooperative city and county purchasing whenever possible.

CITY, STATE AND NATION

(Continued from page 96)

mon argument that the fee basis saves the taxpayers' money because it saves them paying another salary is false; in a city of moderate size, with a program of careful law enforcement and an up-to-date fee schedule, the receipts are likely to be well in excess of the expenses of the court and the salary of the judge."

Michigan cities which have established municipal courts recently include Hart, Midland, Mt. Clemens and Muskegon Heights. More than 30 other cities in the state had previously set up municipal courts, presided over by elected judges who must have had training in the law.

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[1] See the REVIEW, November 1947, page 592; December 1947, page 652.

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Cities Find Borrowing Grows More Costly

May Mean Reconsideration of Public Works Projects

MONEY is dearer, and is likely to become more costly. That was the important fact facing local governments with large-scale financing of improvement programs under way or proposed as the new year began. For some it will mean drastic revision of improvement plans and for a few, perhaps, abandonment or indefinite postponement of projects.

When this column was written a month ago, the gradual upward movement of local borrowing costs evident since early in 1947 had carried the index of yield of twenty representative local bonds, as compiled by *The Daily Bond Buyer*, from 1.85 per cent in January 1947 to 2.25 per cent the second week in December 1947. The index dropped slightly to 2.24 per cent the third week in December and it seemed reasonable to conjecture that perhaps a leveling off process might be under way.

On December 24, however, the federal government handed its now famous "Christmas present" to the financial community, lowering the official support price or "peg" on long-term government 2½ per cent bonds from around 101 to 100¼. In the ensuing week, the Treasury bought nearly $1,000,000,000 of federal bonds, in support of the new "peg" price, and the entire list of "governments" underwent a violent dislocation as prices were adjusted to the new level of long-term money rates.

Municipal bond prices suffered drops immediately after the new "peg" price for long-term governments was announced, but the holidays served as a damper on trading and most quotations were nominal, with actual markets thin in most issues. While it was encouraging to the experts that there was little disposition on the part of owners to liquidate their holdings at the lower prices prevailing, it was evident that yields on the obligations of cities, counties, school districts, states and other local agencies would be readjusted in greater or less degree to the new level on United States government obligations.

A further threat overhanging the market was the fact that the Federal Reserve System had pending an upward revision in the rediscount rate. This was put into effect the second week in January, raising short-term money costs from 1 per cent to 1¼ per cent. Since the low cost of short-term money is an important factor in the low over-all borrowing costs of local governments—because of the prevailing use by municipalities of serial bonds, which combine short and long term maturities in a single issue—the upping of short-term rates by the government served to emphasize that municipalities could not escape higher charges for the use of other people's funds.

How much of an increase is in prospect is of course not yet clear. No representative public offering of new bonds by a seasoned, first grade municipality was scheduled for the early part of January, but during the latter half of the month a number of well known and highly regarded borrowers had sales scheduled for substantial blocks of bonds. Results of these sales were awaited with interest, for comparison of the bids obtained with earlier proposals would indicate the idea of the financial community as to what readjustments were called for; and whether the bonds were awarded or not by the municipalities would provide information on how far the local units were ready to go in paying higher interest.

Regardless of the exact level at which interest rates for local borrowing finally stabilize, the increase already accomplished is such as to require a re-examination of improvement projects by many local units.

Projects Cost More

During the past year or two it has been by no means uncommon for a city, school district or other unit—especially in the case of smaller communities—to have voted bonds for a project, only to find when construction bids were received that the bond authorization was insufficient and that additional bonds must be approved or the project abandoned.

It is not unlikely now that some projects will be deferred, drastically altered or even abandoned because of another kind of increased cost—the higher cost of borrowing money.

Especially hard hit by the recent increased interest rates are projects designed to be self-supporting from revenues, such as water, light and power, transit, airport and similar improvements. In well managed communities such projects are customarily engineered with the greatest care to secure the nicest possible balance between capital costs, volume of services or sales, service charges or rates and financing costs. Further, many such projects are marginal, with revenue coverage so narrow that any substantial increase on the cost side throws the whole project in jeopardy. When a project is planned with the expectation of selling bonds at, say, 2 per cent, and it proves necessary to pay 3 per cent, such marginal projects prove uneconomical or require drastic revision.

Municipalities subject to tax rate limits which include taxes levied for the payment of bond interest and redemption may also be hard hit by the upward movement of borrowing costs. The low interest costs which have prevailed in recent years have been a boon to such units, permitting them to capitalize partially the saving in interest by expending larger principal amounts for improvements. Now they must finance their improvements with the same amount of annual expenditure, but with interest costs higher the construction program itself will have to be curtailed.

1947 Pari-Mutuel Betting Falls Below Previous Year's Total

During 1947 pari-mutuel betting totals at the nation's key horse-racing tracks lagged significantly behind totals for the record-breaking 1946 racing season, reports the Federation of Tax Administrators.

The New York 1947 racing period ended with a total of $352,630,000 bet through pari-mutuel windows, more than 13 per cent less than last year's total. In Florida even though attendance increased 10.8 per cent betting decreased .5 per cent. Racing revenues in California decreased 16 per cent.

Reports from other tracks fill in the picture. Total betting at New Hampshire's Rockingham Park this season was 19 per cent less than last year. At Washington Park, Illinois, the summer meet accounted for a mutuel total 25.09 per cent smaller than in 1946. In Canada betting at Ontario tracks during the first two months of the season dropped 10 per cent.

Though horse-racing continues to be a billion-dollar-plus annual business in the 25 states where betting is legal, few tracks have reported pari-mutuel totals for the year as large as 1946 amounts. State revenues in 1947 from taxes on horse-racing are expected to be below last year's record total of $93,800,000 in nineteen states.

First "Budget Session" for California Legislature

Beginning March 1 this year, California, whose legislature has heretofore met in odd-numbered years and adopted a budget for the succeeding biennium, holds the first special budget session of its legislature as provided by a 1946 amendment to the state constitution. The budget session will enact the first annual budget, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1949. The succeeding regular legislative session in 1949 will likewise enact a budget, for one fiscal year only, continuing budgeting on an annual basis.

Under the 1946 amendment even-year legislative sessions will be restricted to consideration of the budget and related matters and such emergency legislation as requires a two-thirds vote.

Constitutional limitations on the powers of the "budget legislature" are reported to be the subject of much pre-session study by legislators and state officials. According to one point of view, special appropriation bills—including the usual omnibus bills—will be forbidden, and such items as departmental deficiencies, etc., will have to be provided for as amendments to the budget bill itself. Further, it is expected that "emergency" legislation, if enacted and if not strictly related to the budget, may become the subject of court tests.

City Financial Reports Praised

The annual survey of municipal financial reports, made by the Municipal Finance Officers Association, has recently been completed, and the association has announced that "local taxpayers generally are getting a better explanation than ever before of how their dollars are spent."

The association cites as especially good the financial reports of Kansas City, Missouri; Richmond, Virginia; and New Haven, Connecticut.

In bestowing its accolade, the finance officers' organization states that: "Biggest improvement in city financial reports during the past decade is that they are becoming briefer, more graphic and generally far easier for the average citizen to understand. This trend contrasts sharply with the bulky fiscal documents which have been traditional." The group surveyed specifically reports of 50 cities varying from 50,000 to 500,000 population.

Without in any way detracting from the fact that the present state of municipal financial reporting is substantially improved over what it was ten to fifteen years ago, and that a majority of the larger cities are doing an acceptable job, it none the less must be noted much still remains to be done. In the smaller communities especially, preparation of good annual financial reports is still so exceptional as to suggest, to the outsider at least, that the local administration is unusually efficient and business-like. Unfortunately, there are still some conspicuous examples among cities in the "over 50,000" group of reporting either virtually non-existent or so bad as not to deserve the name. Not until every unit of municipal government publishes an acceptable annual financial report should the finance officers rest on their laurels.

Admittedly, the measure of what constitutes an acceptable annual financial report has stiffened appreciably in recent years, and the general quality of the reports of those units issuing them has tended to rise to the higher standards. Note that word, "tended": not all the changes made in financial reports have been improvements, by any means, despite the fact that such changes made for brevity or that charts, graphs or pictures of the new accounting machines were introduced.

Abbreviated statements and skeletonized summaries have the virtue of being easy reading for the lay citizen, but unless they are accompanied by detailed supporting statements or a separate, more comprehensive report, the layman with his interest fully aroused is likely to find himself enjoying the disadvantages as well as the joys of predigested literature.

The most significant improvement in annual financial reports of local units, in the writer's opinion, have been made in the preparation of balance sheets. There are still too many units which do not have balance sheets, and there are still too many statements purporting to be balance sheets which are not. Anyone receiving a number of different municipal financial reports nowadays, however, has a reasonably good expectation of finding many excellent balance sheets, prepared intelligently to reflect the condition of the several funds which the unit is required by law to maintain.

Contrariwise, the least skill and ingenuity has been shown in presenting the cash statement, especially in cities with an accrual method of accounting, where the tendency has been to eliminate the cash statement or to reduce it to a mere reconciliation of opening and closing cash. Details on receipts and disbursements are still informative, even in accrual accounting units, and they will become more so when the next depression hits and revenue collections begin to lag.

Yes, the good showing of 50 of the larger cities is something to be praised, but local officials and citizens alike still have a long way to go before stories can be written implying that all is well on the annual financial reporting front.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

(Continued from page 110)

Massachusetts House of Representatives, gave an instructive talk on the progress of Plan E (manager plan with P. R.) in his state, where in 1947 five municipalities — Worcester, Medford, Revere, Quincy and his home town of Saugus—adopted the plan. He also commented on the successful use of Plan E in Cambridge and Lowell.

In connection with the Worcester campaign for Plan E, Robert B. Service, Jr., reported on the successful efforts of his group—"where no one was a 'name' person at whom opponents might level attacks".

M. H. Satterfield of the Tennessee Valley Authority reported on the use of P. R. in Norris, Tennessee. Remarks were also made by Walter J. Millard, field secretary of the P. R. League, and Rev. Edward Dowling, S.J., of the *Queen's Work,* St. Louis.

Local Affairs Abroad . . . . . *Edited by James E. Gates*

British Columbia State-Local Relations

Legislature Plans to Adopt Goldenberg Recommendations

PREMIER John Hart of British Columbia has announced that the recent report of the Goldenberg Commission on Provincial-Municipal Relations in British Columbia would be "implemented in full" during the present legislative session.

The report is an exhaustive and comprehensive one, covering municipal organization in British Columbia, municipal functions and expenditures, municipal debts, revenues, taxation (real property tax and business and other taxes), tax-exempt property, municipal finances today, provincial-municipal relations. It makes 60 recommendations, which would, upon full implementation, mean a saving to British Columbia municipalities of approximately two and a quarter million dollars.

Among the recommendations is the suggestion that the province pay annually to municipalities one-third of the revenues from motor vehicle license fees after deducting costs of administration, payment to be apportioned on a population basis. This would mean a refund estimated at $730,000 more than now.

It is also recommended that the province extend its present 80-20 per cent division of social welfare costs between the province and the municipalities, respectively, to cover welfare services generally; that the municipalities be relieved of unemployment relief costs; that superannuation plans for civic employees be reviewed; that the province assume certain of the administrative costs relating to police and court operations.

In addition, it is recommended that Crown properties and buildings owned by the dominion and province and used for commercial purposes pay full municipal taxes and that where there is an undue concentration of dominion or provincial government property used for governmental purposes, the municipality receive an annual grant in lieu of taxes.

In its summary, the report states that "if the recommendations are implemented the relief to the municipalities in the fiscal year 1947-48, through increased provincial grants or by a transference of responsibilities to the province, may be estimated at about $1,750,000, which figure will tend to rise as a result of the recommended periodic reviews and as new policies based upon other recommended readjustments are developed. This relief will be in addition to the increase in school grants, estimated at $2,000,000 in 1946-47."

South African Commission Fights 'Irregular Urbanization'

A recent report appearing in the *South African Municipal Magazine* discusses the work of the South African Local Health Commission, a permanent body created by 1941 legislation primarily to provide local authority personnel in so-called public health areas.

General effect of the legislation is to make it possible for the provincial administrator to establish a form of local government wherever, in his opinion, it is necessary and where it is not possible to establish one of the orthodox forms provided in provincial legislation. The act represents the provincial council's endeavor to cope with the problems of irregular urbanization.

When a community is proclaimed a public health area the Local Health Commission automatically becomes its local authority, with the powers and duties usually associated with such authority. In practice the commission's responsibilities apply for the most part to urban areas in which the population is mainly non-European and predominately native.

The commission is a corporate body of three members appointed by the administrator for terms of five years. Features which distinguish it from the general run of local authorities are that it is a paid body and that it depends in large measure for its revenues on provincial grants. While it is empowered to impose taxes—and does exercise this power—most of the areas coming under its control, though urban in character, abound with features that preclude the application of the principle of taxing in its entirety.

The commission is an autonomous body and within the framework of its legislative structure it has as much freedom of action as is possessed by any local government body. Since, however, it is dependent upon the province for the greater part of its revenue, its autonomy is conditioned by the measure of financial support accorded. In other words, it is also an instrument of provincial policy, and the province regulates the tempo even if it does not entirely call the tune.

If the province is prepared to meet the growing cost, there seems no reason why the commission's work should not eventually overcome the growth of irregular urbanization and eventually bring about its elimination. When that state is reached the commission will have outgrown its usefulness.

The commission's work has embraced considerably more than the operation of public health areas. It has completed surveys of many areas where irregular urbanization exists. In some cases its activities have contributed to a solution of the problem by means which have avoided the necessity for its establishment as the local authority.

The commission does not wish to be judged by the number of public health areas established but by the extent to which its work leads to the elimination of the necessity for such areas.

Australian Shires Combine to Hire Health Inspectors

Because there is insufficient work for a full-time health inspector in many sparsely populated shires, it is the practice in both Victoria and Queensland for two or more shires to group together in the joint employment of an inspector, reports the *Australian Municipal Journal.* Such groups have been formed more or less indiscriminately without regard to efficient and economical treatment of the state as a whole.

It is obvious that the best results can not be obtained by such a method and the Health Departments of the two states have proposed a redivision of the health inspectors' areas to provide what they consider more efficient service.

The departmental recommendations, meanwhile, are meeting with strong opposition in both states. It is obvious to many, however, that there is merit in the departmental proposals and that, by a careful viewing of each state as a whole, improvement can be made on the present indiscriminate groupings.

London Eases Traffic Congestion

The experiment of banning parking in ten miles of London streets, and the prohibition of slow moving traffic in some areas, has been a great success in easing traffic congestion. In the streets affected by the new regulations—mainly in the congested West End—cars are not allowed to park, taxis must not wait for fares, and trucks must load or unload within twenty minutes. In some streets horse-drawn traffic and hand-propelled vehicles are prohibited during certain hours.

The combined effect of these measures has resulted in a distinct easing of congestion in the main thoroughfares and a consequent improvement in the speed of vehicles.

One effect of the "no waiting" ban has been increased use of parking lots recently established on bomb-damaged sites.

British Research Board Studies Water Pollution

The report of the British Water Pollution Research Board for 1939-1945 has just been published. It describes the work undertaken during those years for safeguarding drinking supplies and increasing the efficiency of sewage disposal and treatment of waste waters.

The activities of the board cover a wide field. Work on alternating double filtration and on the recirculation of effluent which the Board carried out at Birmingham is described. The result of this development is that a considerably smaller plant, occupying less land, is required for the same amount of sewage formerly dealt with.

Australian Municipal Banking Transfers Averted

Councils throughout Australia have reason to be grateful to the Melbourne city council for taking the initiative in testing the validity of the Commonwealth Banking Act[1] in so far as it conferred power on the commonwealth to limit councils in their choice of banking institutions, comments the *Australian Municipal Journal.*

Need for some federal-municipal body which could act promptly in such a case on behalf of Australian municipalities was emphasized by this recent experience. While the local government associations of Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland and Tasmania were all contemplating taking steps, there were difficulties in the way of any quick action.

The satisfaction which municipalities felt at the success of the Melbourne council's testing of the act is accentuated by their resentment of the methods employed by the commonwealth government to jockey them into transferring their accounts to the commonwealth bank prior to a decision of the high court on the matter.

This resentment was not eased by the action of the commonwealth bank in placing temporary bank buildings on vacant blocks, in defiance of municipal by-laws, so that it would be in a position to handle municipal accounts in towns where no branch of the bank had existed.

New Municipal Association in Northern Rhodesia

An association of local government authorities, to be known as The Municipal Association in Northern Rhodesia, was founded at Ndola on July 21 at a conference which was attended by the representatives of two municipalities and seven management boards.

Speaking at the conference, the mayor of Livingstone said that lack of adequate resources to meet the growing needs of the public for better services was one of the greatest hindrances to local authority development. It was satisfying to note that the government was to make a long overdue survey of the matter.

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[1] See the REVIEW, December 1947, page 658.

Low Budget Municipalities to Be Eliminated

According to an article published on June 4, 1947, by the newspaper *El Tiempo* of Bogota, Columbia, a bill has been introduced in the legislature whereby municipalities having a budget under ten thousand dollars or a population of less than 3,000 will be suppressed. Should such a bill become law several municipalities will be subject to its provisions.

Spends 75 Years in 'Temporary' Harness

It is reported from Brussels that M. M. Ehlen, an 89-year-old clerical employee of the town council of Verviers, Belgium, has decided to retire after having served 75 years in a "temporary" capacity. When he started work in 1872 at the age of fourteen he was considered too young to sit for the selection examination and was therefore accepted on a temporary basis.

Civic Heraldry Continues in Great Britain

The use of armorial bearings by corporations is not new. Even in the Middle Ages, when heraldry was mainly a personal and family matter, certain cities and towns such as London, Norwich, Shrewsbury and Kingston-upon-Hull, placed in their seals heraldic shields, which are still their civic arms, borne by prescriptive right.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the heralds, in the course of their visitations, recorded and sanctioned many such arms adopted by corporations, and in some cases formally granted arms where none had been used before, says C. W. Scott Giles in a recent issue of *Municipal Journal and Local Government Administrator.*

By 1700, 90 English cities and towns had acquired armorial bearings. Today, some 360 local authorities in England and Wales bear arms by right (excluding those using some device of local adoption which has not been recognized or granted by the Kings of Arms), and of these arms nearly three-quarters have been granted during the last hundred years. Civic heraldry is thus largely of modern growth, though it is firmly rooted in antiquity and tradition.

In the steady progress towards popular government, local authority has passed from the feudal families and the squirearchy to democratic bodies—the county, borough and district councils—and it is natural and fitting that these bodies should bear not only the public duties which the "nobility and gentry" performed (not unworthily in their days), but also the appropriate dignities, including the right to use tokens of honor and authority.

Armorial bearings granted to local authorities in recent years follow traditional lines in representing symbolically the history and present-day character and interests of the places for which they stand, while moving with the times to the extent of indicating industries and features undreamed of in the days of chivalry. We have old symbols with new meanings, such as the beacons of Brierley Hill representing the industrial furnaces of the Black Country; and we have some new emblems such as the aeroplane "volant" in the arms of Beddington and Wallington.

Books in Review

You're the Boss. By Edward J. Flynn. New York, Viking Press, 1947. x, 244 pp. $3.

Mr. Flynn has been for 25 years Democratic leader of the Bronx and a great power in municipal, state and national Democratic politics. Most of this lucid and well written volume is personal reminiscence of his political career and his participation in Democratic party affairs, and thus ranks as recent history.

About eleven pages contain authoritative source material for the political scientist. Nothing in it will surprise a local newspaper reader, but the material documents popular conviction as to how a political boss operates. Indeed, it makes Flynn a modern Plunkett. Plunkett, my young friends, was a Tammany politician who talked to a reporter, who published the conversation in a book. Plunkett described "honest graft." He considered it honest to anticipate the city's efforts to buy school sites by using inside foreknowledge of the city's intentions to get options on the properties and re-sell promptly and profitably to the city.

Such practices are out-of-date, but Mr. Flynn considers it quite in order to pay for his private advancement and maintenance in power out of the public treasury by other means, and he relates it all with remarkable candor and lame remarks of justification. "You're the boss" means that the readers—the people—are the bosses, but he proves they are not and can hardly make themselves so without extraordinary paroxysms of effort which they can hardly hope to maintain, especially since government, in part at least, finances the resistance of the "ins."

Now we will quote, with careful fairness:

"We cannot have government without elections, elections without organizations, or organizations without a 'spoils system' . . . . If it is immoral, then man is immoral."

"At the time I assumed the office of sheriff of Bronx County, in January 1922, it had become pretty much of a sinecure. . . . The appointees of the sheriff's office were not covered by the merit system and were selected strictly on a political basis. There were 67 positions in all, 62 of them political plums within the gift of the sheriff."

"In filling the 62 of the 67 jobs in the sheriff's office that were political appointments I considered the party's interests, and my own."

"Now the office of sheriff was highly important to the party from the standpoint of the county leadership, for it had at its disposal a number of exempt positions, i.e., appointive positions not subject to civil service requirements. The men occupying these jobs formed the backbone of the Democratic party in the county. Control of the office would pretty nearly decide control of the county organization."

"Shortly after I took office as sheriff in 1922, Arthur Murphy, leader of the Bronx, died. . . . This announcement was important, because of the fact that the sheriff's office contained so many exempt positions. The power to dispense these jobs was extremely important in influencing such a choice as now faced the organization. A number of positions in the sheriff's office were held either by district leaders or by district captains. Others who held them were in strong positions to exercise pressure on the leaders in their districts."

"I blurted out that I intended to call a meeting of my supporters and have myself elected leader, whether anybody liked it or not."

Mr. Flynn describes the district attorney's office whose exempt jobs are a valued stepping-stone for young lawyers leading toward judgeships. "Therefore the great majority of lawyers join the organization and are active in anticipation of political preferment in the district attorney's office and eventual election or appointment to some place on the bench; or, failing that, some other public office the County Committee might obtain for them."

"For a long period of time people who have held exempt positions usually have contributed to party activities. In the Bronx this is a very loosely enforced rule. Because of the Hatch Act, money is not contributed directly by the person involved, but usually by some member of his or her family. . . . Even so, many officeholders do not contribute, and for a variety of reasons. There may be sickness in the family. Or there may be any number of reasons, which they can satisfactorily explain, to secure exemption from contributing. The individual never suffers (in the Bronx) if his explanation is truthful and sincere."

"Today, actual power in the Democratic party in the Bronx resides with the Executive Committee. The chairman is, however, the real power within that committee, and for an obvious reason. There are nineteen votes: 28 executive members with a half-vote each; the county committee chairman, first vice chairman, secretary and treasurer with a full vote each; and the chairman of the Executive Committee (myself) with one vote. Since I choose the people who are elected officers of the general County Committee, I can always count on four full votes besides my own, which leaves me only five of the remaining fourteen to garner to assure myself of control."

"The Executive Committee chairman, or 'boss,' is absolute within the organization. There is no appeal from his decisions. I say no appeal. There is one. For if a member of the organization feels that he has been mistreated, or that he is stronger than the organization and can therefore challenge the 'boss,' he may do so. But he can be sure that every ounce of strength in the 'machine' will be brought to bear against him. This is indeed rigid discipline. But it is essential that no one successfully challenge the decisions of the organization."

"I have been chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee of Bronx County for a quarter of a century. . . . How do I maintain the majority support of the Executive Committee? To begin with, I always see to it that the key party workers have some sort of exempt positions, if they want them. . . . The families also—sons, daughters, husbands, wives—of the district leaders are taken care of in some way or other. . . . I have the final word about who should be appointed to positions that control exempt jobs. The county committeemen who elect the executive members know this."

"I am a practical politician. I know the facts of political life. I know that political machines, far from being anachronisms, are as modern as the combustion engine—and as indispensable. . . . And I also know that wherever the majority of voters work actively inside a political machine, you have a machine that represents the voters. It is as simple as that." (Where or when he ever saw the majority work so actively, Mr. Flynn does not report.)

Thus Mr. Flynn describes his ascent to his throne. The sheriff's patronage has since been wiped out and every one of those exempt jobs is in the competitive civil service. But today "in Bronx County there are 165 'exempt' positions (including federal ones)."

With the same cool cynicism, Flynn relates political events in which he participated: how Boss Murphy handpicked a Court of Appeals judge in response to an appeal from a dear old lady who brought tears to his eyes; how in the 1932 Democratic convention, in the credentials committee, "We decided to support Long's slate because he had pledged himself to the candidacy of Roosevelt." (How about the merits?) "Huey Long appeared before the committee. . . . It was clear that even if members of the committee had been free to vote as they saw fit, the Long presentation would have convinced them."

And how Boss Murphy, whom Flynn adored, told Governor Smith: "'Al, you will either sign this bill or I will never support you again, either for the presidency or for the governorship.' . . . Smith signed."

In the July 1947 *Atlantic Monthly*, Mayor La Guardia takes Flynn's confessions over the coals in his own way. La Guardia for twelve years as mayor affronted his supporters by the passion with which he rejected pleas for patronage. But La Guardia put the public interest first, which Flynn calls naive.

RICHARD S. CHILDS

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Administration

Reflections on Public Administration. By John Merriman Gaus. University, University of Alabama Press, 1947. 153 pp. $2.

Airports

Financing the Airports and Marine Terminal of the Port of New York. By Austin J. Tobin. Address before the Municipal Forum and the Municipal Bond Club of New York. New York, the Forum, 1947. 16 pp. 50 cents. Discounts on quantity orders. (Apply Monroe V. Poole, chairman, Committee on Publications, 37 Wall Street, New York.)

Assessments

Assessment of Real and Personal Property 1931 through 1946. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Tax Commission, 1947. 45 pp. mimeographed.

Civil Service

Civil Service Laws and Rules. Milwaukee, Board of City Service Commissioners, 1947. 248 pp.

Measuring and Rating Employee Value. By John B. Probst. New York, Ronald Press Company, 1947. xi, 166 pp. $5.

Placement and Probation in the Public Service. Reports submitted by the Committee on Placement in the Public Service and the Committee on Probation in the Public Service. Chicago, Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, 1946. xvi, 201 pp. $3.50.

Housing

Housing Characteristics in 108 Selected Areas. 1946 Veterans' Housing Survey and the 1940 Census of Housing. Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Census, 1947. 42 pp.

Housing in Wichita: 1947. Wichita Housing Survey Sponsored by the City Planning Commission of Wichita with the cooperation of the Public Housing Administration, Fort Worth, Texas. Wichita, Kansas, City Planning Commission, 1947. 58 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Money Rates and The Bond Market. By Joseph Stagg Lawrence. Address before the Municipal Forum of New York. New York, the Forum, 1947. 9 pp. 50 cents. Discounts on quantity orders. (Apply to Monroe V. Poole, chairman, Committee on Publications, 37 Wall Street, New York City.)

Preparing for the 1949 Federal Budget. The Outlook as to Expenditures, Taxes and the Public Debt. Washington 6, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Finance Department, 1947. 23 pp.

Summary of Governmental Debt in 1947. Washington 25, D. C., Bureau of the Census, 1947. 4 pp.

Traffic Safety

Immediate Goal and Action Program. The President's Highway Safety Conference, Washington, D. C., June 18-20, 1947. A Summary of Recommendations of Conference Committees and Advisory Groups. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1947. 52 pp. 20 cents.

Promoting Traffic Safety (Revised). Chicago, National Safety Council, 1947. 51 pp. Illus.

A Selected Bibliography on Highway Safety (Annotated). Nos. I and II Washington 25, D. C., Highway Research Board, 1947. 86 and 46 pp. respectively.

Traffic Performance at Urban Street Intersections. By Bruce D. Greenshields, Donald Schapiro, and Elroy L. Erickson. New Haven, Yale University, Bureau of Highway Traffic, 1947. xv, 152 pp.

You Bet Your Life. The Travellers 1947 Book of Street and Highway Accident Data. Hartford, Connecticut, The Travelers Insurance Companies, 1947. 31 pp.

COUNTIES IN A STRAIT-JACKET

(Continued from page 85)

with respect to local governments, contains the following basic provisions relating to counties:

1. Counties would be authorized to frame and adopt charters for their own government, in accordance with a prescribed procedure.

2. For those counties not desiring to frame and adopt their own charters, provision would be made by general law for the organization and government of counties, including optional plans of government.

3. Provision would be made by general law for the incorporation of counties, for alteration of their boundaries and for their consolidation and dissolution.

4. The legislature would be prohibited from passing a special act dealing with a county in any case where a general act could apply.

5. Counties and cities would be authorized to enter into agreements for joint performance or for transfer of services and functions.

The adoption by the states of constitutions containing these or similar provisions would make it possible for any county to secure a modern county government adapted to fit the needs of the county and equipped to perform its services in an efficient and economical manner.

The *Model State Constitution* should also be followed by leaving out of the constitution all references to specific officials as well as other details not essential to a statement of basic principles concerning county government.

Until constitutional barriers are removed county governments in general will continue to fall far short of the accomplishments expected of them.

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The League's Business

Clinton Rogers Woodruff

Clinton Rogers Woodruff, first secretary of the National Municipal League and first editor of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, died January 24 in his home in Philadelphia at the age of 79.

Mr. Woodruff played a principal part, with the cooperation of civic leaders in Philadelphia, New York and other cities, in issuing a call for a National Conference on Good City Government in Philadelphia on January 25 and 26, 1894. At this meeting plans were made for the establishment of the National Municipal League, which was formally organized in New York in May of the same year.

In addition to his League work, Mr. Woodruff led an active life as a practicing attorney and in public service. He was attorney for various committees prosecuting election frauds, and at various times was president of the Registration Commission, member of the Civil Service Commission, assistant city solicitor and director of welfare, all in Philadelphia, of which he was a life-long resident. He was twice elected to the Pennsylvania state legislature. Mr. Woodruff was also active as a layman in the affairs of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Retiring as League secretary in 1920, when he was succeeded by Dr. Harold W. Dodds, Mr. Woodruff remained honorary secretary for some years. His final contribution to the REVIEW was an article on the League's formation and early years which appeared in the fiftieth anniversary issue of November 1944. In that article he expressed regret that he had never had time to carry out his intention to write a history of the League, and wrote:

"To have been associated from its conception with this nation-wide effort to place American cities on a firmer and more honorable basis, to have been present at its birth, to have shared in its growth, was an opportunity such as can come to few men and for which I have always been deeply grateful."

Hoboken Survey Completed

An administrative and financial survey of Hoboken, New Jersey, by the League's Consultant Service was completed at the end of 1947 by Thomas H. Reed and Doris D. Reed. Copies of the report were delivered to the commissioners of the city on February 3.

The report created quite a furore. After a week of silence by the city administration and numerous futile efforts by the League of Women Voters and other local civic groups to obtain copies, it leaked to the press with hints that for some reason the commissioners were attempting to conceal the report, the opening sentence of which said: "The people of Hoboken have been robbed."

At its meeting February 17, Mayor Fred M. De Sapio accused Dr. Reed of being "unethical" in telling the newspapers about the report. The following day Alfred Willoughby, the League's executive secretary, issued what the *Jersey Journal* called a "sharply worded" statement rebuking the mayor and stating that Dr. Reed had given no information to the newspapers.

Detailing the baneful effects of boss rule in Hoboken during the more than twenty years of the McFeely dynasty, the report recommended the reduction of the city's payroll of 714 persons to 446 and possible economies of $528,000. The survey included an examination of all of the departments except education.

John W. Nowland

John W. Nowland, the REVIEW's state correspondent for Delaware, died on February 20 in Wilmington. Mr. Nowland recently resigned as director of the Tax Research Bureau of the Wilmington Chamber of Commerce to enter private business. Previously he had been executive director of the Tax Research Bureau of Utica, New York.

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Everybody's Business

NEVER before have so many states at one time been reconsidering their fundamental laws. In at least fifteen, constitutional revision is under way or being actively urged by political and civic leaders. This does not count Hawaii and Alaska, the two candidates for the honor of becoming the 49th state.

In short, American government is going through one of its great formative periods. What the people do with their state constitutions during the next five years may have as much influence on the future of our system as what they did during the first great period of constitution-making after 1776. This makes revision of state constitutions public business of first-rate importance—for all the people of all the states.

The people of each state have a vital stake in the quality of government in every state. Democratic federalism may be the only answer to the strong trend toward centralized dictatorships. The test of our federalism is not in the power and glory of the central government but in the vitality and effectiveness of the state and local units which make it up.

The current revival of interest in state and local government and the unprecedented effort to modernize constitutions and charters indicate that there still is plenty of life in the grass roots of our system. Whether this revival will prove only a flash in the pan or the beginning of a more vigorous democracy will depend on how resolutely and intelligently the people carry through. It would be a grave mistake to underestimate the dangers and consequences of failure.

Almost every state, except possibly those that have just gone through revision, desperately needs a new constitution. Few state constitutions ever were much good and fewer still have been fitted to the modern age of machine production, big cities and fast travel and communication.

The new American republic almost fell to pieces between the end of the Revolution and the adoption of the present constitution of the United States. The disintegration was due not only to the lack of a sufficiently strong federal government but also to the incompetence and irresponsibility of the individual state governments.

The country was saved in 1789 not by the strengthening of the states but by covering them over with the protective tent of a stronger union. Although important changes have been made in state constitutions since that time, they have not produced a single document which approaches the federal constitution as a basis for responsible and effective government.

Here are some of the fatal weaknesses common to most state constitutions today:

1. A disintegrated executive branch, unable to provide responsible ad-

ministration of the increasingly extensive and important services of modern government.

2. Complicated court systems manned by judges elected or appointed on terms which militate against the independence of traditional Anglo-Saxon justice and against the efficiency in administration required for the satisfactory performance of modern judicial business.

3. Bicameral legislatures almost impervious to reapportionment to meet shifts in population, especially the shift to the cities.

4. Limitations on legislative power which have so hog-tied state governments that the people are forced to turn to Washington for prompt and effective action on matters which should be handled locally.

5. Detailed provisions concerning county and other local governments which have seriously impeded the modern movement for home rule.

6. Inclusion in state constitutions of a mass of statutory details put there because of a fundamental distrust of the government of the day. Results have been the entrenchment of more and more vested interests and a blurring of the distinction between constitutional and statute law which has confused the public and stymied healthy progress in law and government.

7. A long and indigestible ballot for the election of numerous state, county and local officers, including judges, which gives the voter an impossible and therefore disheartening task. This is a principal cause of public apathy and the substitution of government by private manipulators for government by the people.

8. Fantastic provisions for amendment and revision which in some cases have practically deprived the people of access to their basic law and in others have invited too frequent, even frivolous, changes.

This is an appalling indictment. One might reasonably ask, "How has our system survived?" The answer, already given, is that it could not have survived except by virtue of the federal government and at the expense of an unhealthy tendency to rely more and more upon Washington to compensate for failures at the state capitol and city hall.

The time is very late for a reversal of this trend but the signs in an increasing number of states indicate that it is still not too late. The next five or ten years may tell the story. The states *can* be rehabilitated and our federal system put on a firmer foundation than it has ever had. But this will require great determination on the part of citizens and civic leaders and rare statesmanship which disregards petty political and personal advantages on the part of public officials.

The discipline and determination required are surely not so great as those now demanded of the people of Great Britain and of other countries devastated and depleted by war. But the very fact that America is prosperous and intact means that we must display a political maturity remarkable, if not unprecedented, in human history in order to do what we must do.

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Road-Blocks to Conventions

Three hurdles stand in the way of 'modernizing the archaic and organizing the chaotic'—legal, political, psychological.

By **WILBERT L. HINDMAN***

IT IS commonplace to point out that America is the land of the written constitution, and that we have had some two hundred constitutional conventions since the revolution. This statement is generally made in a spirit of complacency, not to say smugness.

Actually, it is a remarkable achievement that the number of constitutional assemblies in this country has reached such a substantial total. For in order to be held at all, constitutional conventions must overcome a host of interrelated hurdles, ranging from the legal through the political to the psychological.

One result is that, despite all the revisions which have taken place, there are many state constitutions in substantial need of modification and rewriting. These include the famous unamended document of Tennessee and California's constitutional colossus. (Alas for Hollywood—we have to concede to Louisiana the right to use the term "supercolossal" in describing that state's basic law.) The instances of Tennessee and California are typical demonstrations that constitutional change is needed both to modernize the archaic and to organize the chaotic.

If the need for revision can be regarded as self-evident in many states, the three factors which stand in the way of change—legal, political and psychological—require careful analysis.

Without commenting upon the elaborate legal restrictions imposed in many states on submission of individual amendments, it is important to note that the question of calling a constitutional convention may be submitted to the people in nineteen states only after a two-thirds vote of the legislature, and in four states a majority of all the legislators must support such a measure. In ten states ordinary majorities suffice and in eight there must be submission of the question at definite intervals, ranging from seven to twenty years.

Interestingly enough, twelve states have no specific provisions in their constitutions for calling conventions. It is now generally held in these states that authority to establish conventions exists, stemming from the provisions found in many bills of rights asserting that the people may "alter their government as they deem proper."

Actually more important than legal limitations, although related to them, are political barriers to conventions. The precise nature of these obstacles will differ in each state, but it is important to understand that substantial political opposition to constitutional change exists everywhere and will, if possible, take advantage of any and all legal impediments to revision of the basic law. Minority groups hostile to constitutional modernization are greatly fortified by any requirement of a two-thirds vote in each house of a legislature as a prerequisite to submitting the question to the people.

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*Dr. Hindman is head of the Department of Political Science at the University of Southern California as well as technical advisor to the California Legislative Constitutional Revision Committee. This article is his address before the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, Nashville, November 14, 1947.

While political opposition to constitutional change varies from state to state, one may safely generalize to the extent of asserting that change will be opposed by interest groups afforded special protection in the existing basic law. Such groups are easily discerned where tax limits are severe, where taxes are earmarked by constitutional fiat for such specific purposes as highway construction, or where there is inadequate constitutional support for existing regulations. Groups profiting from such weaknesses will fight change with every device at their command. On the one hand they will fall back upon legal restrictions and on the other hand they will use every technique they can muster to bolster a psychology which will defeat reform.

One political problem in many states is the relationship between the reapportionment issue and constitutional revision. Domination of legislatures by minorities in the rural areas is the order of the day in virtually all states, even those which are principally industrial and urban in composition.

Agricultural ascendancy was but fair and equitable in the nineteenth century, and of course no one in that period argued that the minorities who lived in cities had any superior right to majority representation in one or both houses of the legislature.

In the twentieth century, however, refrigeration and rapid transit enabled the metropolis to override Malthus, and great cities burgeoned into fantastic growth. Men alive today—and not remarkably old at that—can remember when Los Angeles, now America's fourth city, had, in 1880, only 12,000 people.

Reapportionment Problem

The rise of the city has been acknowledged reluctantly or not at all in state legislative representation. Reapportionment has largely ignored the facts of life as revealed by census figures. Rural folk have tried to justify their retention of legislative dominance by falling back on Jefferson's libel concerning city people as "sores on the body politic." This rural rationalization of its superiority to urban majorities is unconvincing. While nothing can be done about it in many cases, let's not pretty up rural machine domination of cities by pretending it is either benevolent or disinterested.

To be realistic, however, we must concede that we are really up against it on this issue. One way around the problem in relation to conventions is the 1947 New Jersey procedure, which excluded reapportionment from consideration. It is ordinarily the case, however, that constitutional conventions are made up of members elected or otherwise chosen from existing legislative districts. Often these are senate districts, which are most completely based upon scenery rather than population. Where this is true, the rural voice will be strong enough in a convention to cry down urban insistence upon the creation of representative assemblies.

Protected by assured majorities, therefore, rural interests are thus not everywhere hostile to conventions from fear of losing their power in legislative affairs. The most that can be expected of a constitutional convention at present seems to be that more of the industrial states at least will assent to the plan finally established in California which gives the people some measure of representation in accordance with numbers in the lower house of the legislature while retaining pastoral predominance in the senate.

It must be stressed at this point that the district system of choosing delegates, even if supplemented as in New York and Missouri by a number of delegates chosen at large, not only overweights the convention in favor of the rural elements—upstate, downstate, or outstate as the case may be—but in any event makes no provision, except by chance, for the representation of the principal interests of the state. So long as the legislatures cannot cope directly with this problem of interest group, or functional representation, it is of course too much to expect it to be solved in constitutional conventions.

Conventions commonly operate under closer public scrutiny than legislatures do, however, and they also tend to bring out in the delegates an unusually strong sense of public responsibility. This means that the excesses of the lobby are more likely to be restrained at conventions, while the services of the lobby such as affording useful technical as well as political information, are likely to be given full play.

It might be mentioned in passing that at least partial functional representation in constitutional revision is most likely to be secured under present circumstances through the creation of appointive constitutional commissions. Appointments to these commissions, however, seem to go largely to lawyers who may or may not represent points of view beyond those of their vocation.

A Legislative Committee

In California a resolution of the 1947 legislature, providing for appointment of ten assemblymen and ten senators to a Legislative Constitutional Revision Committee, provides also for an advisory committee of lay citizens. This large advisory group, which includes among others many of the interest group spokesmen who in any event would work with the revision committee informally if not formally, seems a realistic recognition that the people will insist on a functional voice in policy matters, as well as a regional or population voice. The lobby, contentious or constructive as the case may be, will be needed and should be heeded so long as popular ratification is the order of the day.

The psychological barrier to conventions is made up again of a number of attitudes. On the one hand there is the citizen who has the approach indicated in Kentucky: "If it was good enough for grandfather it is good enough for me." Related to this is the point of view reported from Missouri in the slogan: "Why rewrite the Bible?" There was an example of this in the Los Angeles press recently, where one newspaper argued that California did not need constitutional revision. After all, it said, the state has grown big (that's our chief criterion of success, of course) under the 1879 constitution, and certainly its 256 amendments have kept it up to date!

People Are Conservative

Another psychological obstacle, and probably the major one, is mistrust of the people themselves. That sounds strange in a democracy but it is true. This is simply to ignore history, however, for the record of constitutional change in this country shows that if there is one thing above all else calculated to bring out in the electorate a sense of cautious responsibility, it is the selection of delegates to a constitutional convention.

The people will not support moves for revision of basic law on trivial grounds, nor will they ordinarily approve a constitution that embodies matters currently regarded as radical or unsound. Although the written constitution itself was a radical and experimental device at the time of the American Revolution, today the people will not depart too markedly from the basic constitutional pattern established in any state. Professor McIlwain refers to constitutions as the "appeal fron the people drunk to the people sober,' and the public adopts a temperat attitude toward all aspects of constitution-making.

So, whatever the fears may be ir some quarters that constitutiona conventions may produce a documen tinged with pink instead of red white and blue, the principal psychological fact about such conventions is that they are constrained by the community and the dignity of their responsibility to be sincere, cautious and moderate. This, rather than ill-advised mechanical impediments to change, is the greatest check on unwarranted constitutional revision.

I am thoroughly in favor of provisions permitting the people to call constitutional conventions with reasonable ease and frequency. The people in each generation are entitled to solve their own political problems, or even to make their own mistakes, rather than to be saddled with the errors of the past or suffer from the consequences of the fact that no earlier convention, however distinguished its membership, possessed divine omniscience.

Not only, then, do most constitutional provisions for calling conventions require liberalization, but a decision of the people favoring a convention should be supported by a self-executing clause clearly setting forth the essentials involved in electing and holding the gathering.

This is stressed in the *Model State Constitution,*[1] and absence of

(Continued on page 144)

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[1] National Municipal League.

Convention or Commission?

New Jersey's constitutional revision experiences with popularly elected delegates and appointed group compared.

By **BENNETT M. RICH***

CONSTITUTIONAL revision is a live issue in at least a third of the states. In many the problem of how to obtain constitutional reform obscures, and in some instances seems to outweigh, the substantive issues.

One procedural device, the appointive constitutional commission, has been seized upon during the past few years by California, Georgia, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey and Tennessee as the means to achieve revision. This procedure is not new. The constitutional commission has been used for almost a century.

Ordinarily the commission has its origin in a resolution of the legislature authorizing appointment of a small group by the chief executive, or jointly by the governor and the legislature, to consider constitutional revision in whole or in part.

A variation of this procedure is for the governor on his own authority to appoint a commission. Michigan's 32-member commission of 1942 was appointed in this manner.

Another variation is for the legislature to act without reference to the governor at all. California's Legislative Constitutional Revision Committee of 1947, made up of ten assemblymen and ten senators, illustrates this type.

Proponents of the appointive commission cite an impressive list of advantages:

1. The commission is inexpensive.
2. It is small, permitting informal discussion and thorough deliberation.
3. Experts and outstanding public and private leaders of the state can be selected without being forced to seek election to a constitutional convention.
4. The commission is not so susceptible to political pressures and to logrolling as a convention.
5. It can work more expeditiously than a convention.
6. It can study more effectively the experiences of other states.
7. Since continuous sessions are not held the commission has greater opportunity to reflect on problems.
8. The final product of the commission is superior to that of a convention.[1]

It is the purpose of this paper to examine the case history of the 1941-2 constitutional commission in New Jersey and to compare its proposals to the new constitution drawn

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*Dr. Rich is assistant professor in the Department of History and Political Science at Rutgers University. He is author of *The Presidents and Civil Disorder,* a 1941 Brookings Institution publication. This article is based on Dr. Rich's address before the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, Nashville, November 14, 1947.

[1] See W. Brooke Graves, *American State Government* (3rd edition), page 76; Arthur W. Bromage, *State Government and Administration,* page 82.

up in convention at Rutgers University, June 12—September 10, 1947. New Jersey, incidentally, has had greater experience with the commission than any other state. Of 24 known commissions in fourteen states, seven were in New Jersey.[2]

The first constitutional commission in New Jersey was created by joint resolution in 1852, two decades before that of any other state. Its purpose was to amend the constitution "in its entire system of legal and equitable jurisprudence." This limited commission of three persons appointed by the governor failed in its objective.

Commission's Activities

The seven-man commission appointed in 1941 was composed of a county freeholder and a judge appointed by the speaker of the House, a state senator and the director of the Princeton Surveys, appointed by the president of the Senate, a state senator and a prominent legal and political figure appointed by Governor Charles Edison, and the editor of a leading newspaper, chosen by the six appointed members. The commission appointed a secretary and two assistants, one in public relations and one in research and drafting. All three non-members participated in discussions.

The commission first considered its approach to the problem, whether to propose a series of amendments or to draft a new document. Because of the number of amendments involved and the difficulty of working them into the old constitution, it was decided to draft a new constitution—notwithstanding the realization that authorization for preparation of a draft constitution was lacking in the law creating the commission.

The commission did most of its work at the University Club in New York, where the members spent Friday afternoons and evenings and Saturday mornings and afternoons over a three-months period in intensive study. It held no public hearings although it invited written suggestions and on a few occasions persons were asked to testify. Technical assistance was furnished by the Princeton Surveys. The commission report was issued in May 1942.

The legislature blocked the commission's suggestion that a public referendum be held on the question of permitting the legislature to submit a revised constitution at the general election of 1942. Instead, it held lengthy hearings and came to the conclusion that because of the war it was inadvisable to do anything.

A year later, as a result of pressure from Walter E. Edge, Republican candidate for governor, the legislature placed before the people the proposal that it sit as a constitutional convention. The proposal carried by a large majority in the general election of 1943.

The legislature then dusted off

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[2] New Jersey 1852, 1854, 1873, 1881, 1894, 1905, 1941-2; California 1929; Georgia 1943; Michigan 1873, 1942; Maine 1875; North Carolina 1913, 1932; New York 1872-3, 1890; Pennsylvania 1919-20; Rhode Island 1897, 1912; Tennessee 1946; Vermont 1908-10; Virginia 1927; Washington 1934; West Virginia 1929. In addition, commissions are presently at work in Minnesota and California.

the commission report and, after certain modifications, presented the proposed constitution to the people in November 1944. This constitution was defeated after a bitter partisan battle.

Governor Alfred E. Driscoll revived the issue and, in his inaugural address in January 1947, called for a limited convention, popularly elected. At the primary election on June 3 the people approved a convention and selected 81 delegates. The convention met at Rutgers University on June 12 and by September 10 had drafted a new document. On November 4, 1947, the new constitution was accepted by an overwhelming majority, to become effective January 1, 1948.[3]

Commission's Influence

In attempting to assess the impact of the 1941-2 commission upon the new constitution, it should be pointed out that not every proposal made by the commission and later made a part of the new constitution may fairly be attributed to the commission's influence.

New Jersey's constitution had been subjected to no substantial change since 1875, when a series of amendments were adopted. These amendments, incidentally, were proposed by one of the state's seven commissions, the only one, in fact, whose efforts were crowned with almost complete success.

In the years following 1875 the need for certain changes was more or less taken for granted. For example, the casual observer, as well as the student of government, tended to accept the principle of a longer term for members of the legislature. New Jersey stood out like a sore thumb in its retention of annual elections. Changes of this character probably would have been made under any plan for revision.

There can be little doubt, however, that the proposals of the commission of 1941-42 made a deep impression on the thinking of the 1947 convention delegates.

First of all, the language of the two in some respects is identical. The legislative article of the commission report recognized the right of labor to organize and bargain collectively. The Bill of Rights of the new constitution states that persons in private employment shall have the right to organize and bargain collectively, and that persons in public employment shall have the right to organize and make known their grievances through representatives of their own choosing.

The commission report's prohibition on the legislative election or appointment of any executive, administrative or judicial officers is carried into the new constitution almost verbatim, as are prohibitions on certain special laws.

The commission's recommendation that gubernatorial elections be held in odd-numbered years is carried over; so also are the clauses authorizing the governor to investigate state officers and to appoint all officers whose election is not otherwise provided by law. Numerous other instances might be cited.

But a follow-up of language is

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[3] See also the REVIEW, September 1947, page 452; October 1947, page 513; and December 1947, page 633.

obviously much less important than a follow-up of basic ideas. Here the influence of the commission is in some respects quite pronounced. Probably the most important carry-over is in the judiciary article where the basic principles of court unification and centralized administration were recommended by the commission. Vehemently denounced in 1942, these ideas were accepted without much argument in 1947.

The similarity in the drafts is not accidental, for the authors of the proposed judicial system in 1942 were to a substantial degree the authors of the judicial article in the new constitution. To the commission must go a major share of the credit for this, the most far-reaching change made by the new constitution. Five years of discussion, climaxed by extensive public hearings in 1942, 1943 and 1947, brought minor changes, of course—some good, some bad.

Executive Provisions

The commission set the stage also for administrative reform by giving the governor wide powers to reorganize the state's sprawling administrative structure. The challenge which they threw out was accepted only partially by the convention. The commission proposed that the governor be authorized to allocate, by executive order, all agencies among nine named departments.

The convention balked at this as being a usurpation of the legislative function and adopted instead the proposal that only if the legislature refused to act by a given time should the governor act. Even then he was limited to presenting to the legislature, in a special session, his plans for reorganization.

In the matter of appointing department heads also, the convention was unwilling to take the commission's advanced position. Rather than permit the governor to appoint single executives to head all departments, the convention made possible the preservation of certain politically powerful commission-governed agencies by providing that all departments should be headed by a single executive "unless otherwise provided by law."

The commission's proposals were in some cases more advanced than the corresponding provisions of the new constitution. For example, the commission's draft allowed the legislature to provide for absentee voting at any time. The new constitution prohibits civilian absentee voting by its assertion that the legislature may provide for absentee voting by the military in peacetime. Also the legislative council was spelled out by the commission while the new constitution is silent on the subject.

In a surprising number of instances the proposals of the commission were less advanced than the position adopted by the convention. Outstanding failures of the commission to represent the best thinking were its recommendations: (1) prohibiting a second term for the chief executive and (2) requiring limited biennial sessions of the legislature.

The commission repeated a mistake in the old constitution by proposing a definite sum, $1,500, to be paid legislators. It provided for the

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election of, the treasurer, as well as the comptroller, by the legislature. It named the departments among which the administrative agencies were to be allocated. It retained as constitutional officers the county clerk, sheriff, surrogate and coroner. The coroner, incidentally, is not mentioned in the new constitution.

The commission's proposal for amending the constitution was less advanced than the hesitating forward step taken in the new constitution.

In some instances the commission took no action at all despite obvious need. The $100,000 debt limitation was retained, for example, notwithstanding the growth of the state's budget from $100,000 in 1844 to $150,000,000 a hundred years later.

The commission is open to criticism for an undiplomatic display of political one-sidedness. Membership of the commission consisted only of anti-Hague representatives.

Hague Offended

When the report was released, the Hague faction took immediate offense at certain clauses which, they argued, were specifically designed to harass them. One would have overthrown a decision of the Hague-dominated top court, which seriously hampered the legislature in its efforts to investigate cities. Another would have denied a position on the new Supreme Court to Hague's son, by requiring ten years' experience as a member of the bar. At the time the report was issued he was a member of the top court, having been appointed by the previous governor because "it would please his daddy."

Perhaps the greatest weakness of the commission was in its failure to question, let alone attack, what were referred to in the recent convention as the "hot potatoes" of the constitution. The convention was prohibited by law from considering the problem of rural versus urban representation in the legislature—people versus acres. There was no prohibition upon the commission, but the problem was untouched. Nor was the true value tax clause disturbed. This requirement that property be assessed at true value had for years been a subject of intense controversy. The clause on gambling, which permitted big time betting at horse races yet forbade a church or firemen's bingo game, was unchanged.

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the commission report was something less than a complete overhauling of the constitution. It attacked vigorously and well certain of the basic weaknesses of the constitution. Much credit is due the commission for its work on the executive and the courts. On the other hand, its omission of important problems, its obvious effort to embarrass the Hague forces, its outdated proposals, its avoidance of controversial issues—all these must be placed to the debit side of its ledger.

On the credit side, however, in addition to the commission's substantive contributions must be recorded its educational value. The commission report was a challenge. It kept the revision issue alive. It set more people to talking about the constitution. It stepped up the educational campaign to make the people constitution-conscious. Had it not been for the commission, it is doubtful whether New Jersey would have a new constitution or one so far ahead of the old as it has today.

The weaknesses revealed in the commission report are not peculiar to New Jersey. In actual practice, few commissions measure up to expectations. Their members appear to be subject to the same prejudices and the same political pressures as the members of a legislature or a convention.

But beyond these natural human failings, the commission has one inherent and fatal weakness; its every act is measured in terms of what the legislature will accept. The members of the New Jersey commission realized full well the futility of making any recommendations whatever on some of the most controversial issues.

Convention Zealous

The recent convention was under no such handicap. Fired with an extraordinary zeal to produce a progressive constitution and put an end to seven years of bickering, the delegates worked vigorously and with an unusual degree of harmony. Then, having completed their task, they appropriated a considerable part of the money set aside for the convention to publicize the new constitution. More than that, the delegates themselves worked arduously after the convention adjourned to sell the new document to the people.

All this is beyond the appointive commission. The acceptance or rejection of its proposals is strictly a legislative matter. The commission can pressure the legislature by stirring up public interest through timely press and radio releases. The New Jersey commission did precisely that. Citizens' organizations helped out. But it was not enough. The fact that the commission must report to the legislature is almost certain to be an insurmountable handicap to thorough-going revision.

Nor do many of the advantages claimed for the commission stand up under analysis. A commission is inexpensive, for example, only if its efforts prove successful. The appropriation for the New Jersey commission of 1941-42 was only $5,000; the appropriation for the convention was $350,000. But the one failed; the other succeeded.

The ultimate tests of a commission are: (1) the quality of the final product and (2) the success or failure of the effort. Professor Dodd, writing in 1910, said that "the constitutional commission is useful under proper limitations as an advisor of the legislative bodies, but should not be employed . . . to make a complete constitutional revision through legislative proposal."[4]

Professor Dealey, writing in 1915, makes the much stronger statement that "as a substitution for a convention, for revision purposes, it has so far proved to be a flat failure."[5] There seems to be little reason to modify their pronouncements. A state contemplating over-all revision is courting disaster if it relies exclusively upon the commission.

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[4] Walter F. Dodd, *Revision and Amendment of State Constitutions,* page 264.

[5] James Q. Dealey, *Growth of American State Constitutions,* page 145.

The commission is not without merit, however. As a device for recommending incidental changes, especially those of a technical character, its record is better. Georgia illustrates the recent successful use of the commission as a means of effecting fairly numerous and important modifications short of a general revision. Governor Arnall, who writes glowingly of the commission, observes nevertheless that if a wholly new constitution were to be written, "the commission method would be undesirable and, perhaps, impractical."[6]

The commission has a second function, the importance of which has not been sufficiently appreciated. The commission can be of extraordinary value in stimulating public discussion of constitutional issues and of helping in the formation of policy. This was the one great value of the New Jersey commission. If the commission were freed of the fear of a legislative veto of its proposals, it would be in a position to perform a valuable service for the state.

This restriction could be achieved simply by an understanding that the commission was being created as a preliminary to, and not as a substitute for, a constitutional convention. The commission would then have an opportunity to raise the constitutional sights of the people and of the subsequent convention. This suggestion is predicated upon the hypothesis that the commission genuinely desires constitutional reform. That this may not be correct is demonstrated by Tennessee's disappointing experience in 1946 when the commission recommended that the legislature call a convention to revise only those limited sections of the constitution selected by the commission.

An Educational Device

Aside from its use as a device for recommending incidental changes, the chief asset of the commission is educational in nature. It can be used to explore the subject of revision, to examine the best thinking and experience of the country, to assist in stimulating popular discussion, and in formulating and crystallizing public opinion. If the commission is used to perform these services, rather than to act as a substitute for a convention, it can help the state take a firm step toward the ultimate goal of a modern constitution.

This, in the end, is what the 1941 commission did for New Jersey. To that extent the commission was a great success, although it failed in its immediate objective. In fact, it is proper to go even further and to say that the 1947 convention, with only three months in which to work, could not possibly have succeeded as it did had it not been for the commission and the five-year discussion of its work. Without the preliminaries a 1947 convention in New Jersey would certainly have needed many months and the outcome would still have been doubtful.

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[6] Ellis Arnall, "25 Study Georgia Basic Law," the Review, January 1944, page 12.

Blazing the Constitution Trail

Experience in six states proves value of well planned program of research to drafters of new state charter.

By **KIMBROUGH OWEN***

SINCE the trail-blazing achievements of the New York Constitutional Convention Commission, in its preparation for the convention of 1915, there has been a slowly increasing recognition of the importance of systematic preparation of materials for the assistance of constitutional conventions. Five subsequent conventions have been aided by systematic preparatory research.

For the Massachusetts convention of 1917-1918 a Commission to Compile Information and Data for the Use of the Constitutional Convention was appointed. The Legislative Reference Bureau in Illinois was charged with the collection and publication of data for that state's convention in 1919.

To prepare for the New York Constitutional Convention of 1938 Governor Lehman appointed a New York State Constitutional Convention Committee. For the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1943 the University of Missouri in connection with the Statewide Committee for the Revision of the Missouri Constitution prepared a series of manuals. For the recent New Jersey Constitutional Convention the Governor's Committee on Preparatory Research did valiant work.

The experience of these six conventions indicates the value of such preparation. With the tendency toward long constitutions, convention delegates need assistance in crystallizing major issues, and they need pertinent facts for an intelligent decision on those issues. Preparation means saving in time and consequently in convention costs, but most important of all it helps to produce a better constitution.

Although the organization, resources and scope of the activities of these committees and commissions differ widely, certain conclusions seem apparent as a result of their experience. These conclusions should prove of assistance to other states considering the revision of their fundamental law.

Nonpartisan Character. The most important single characteristic of the six groups was their nonpartisan nature. The preparatory commission is not designed as a steering committee or a pressure group. Its function is the collection and collation of factual material to facilitate the convention's work. The personnel of the commission and the material it prepares must reflect this attitude.

Time and Money. Although the Legislative Reference Bureau was used in Illinois, special committees of the governor in New Jersey and New York (1938), committees authorized by the legislature in Massachusetts and New York (1915), and a citizens group in Missouri, the differences in organization are not so important as are the common necessities of time and money.

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*Dr. Owen is assistant professor of government at Louisiana State University and director of research of the Louisiana State Law Institute. During the recent war he was assistant communications officer with the State Department's Courier Service, helping organize and maintain courier service in South America, Africa and Europe. This article is based on Dr. Owen's address before the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, Nashville, November 14.

Only for three of these six programs did the legislature provide initial appropriations. Almost all labored under stringent limitations of time. If the work of preparation is to be of maximum effectiveness, the legislature should recognize its responsibility for providing sufficient funds and the research agency should be given adequate time to do the job properly.

Matters to Be Considered

Type of Material. Substantial agreement is represented by the six groups as to the types of material most helpful to a constitutional convention. The commissions prepared certain general materials for all members of the convention and specialized materials geared to specific problems and designed to be especially helpful to convention committees.

General materials included copies of the constitution, annotated if possible. The Massachusetts committee, for example, secured for each member of its convention a copy of the constitution of Massachusetts printed from the original parchment, vest-pocket size, bound in limp leather, with a full index and blank pages for daily memoranda.

A copy of the federal constitution and a general statement of the nature of an ideal constitution plus a summary of criticisms of the existing constitution have frequently been provided for purposes of comparison and orientation. A constitutional history of the state or an analysis of the issues presented in the previous convention has also been considered helpful.

Perhaps more useful is the attempt to assist the convention in handling problems of organization and procedure as, for example, the 1915 New York commission's monograph on the constitutional convention, *Preliminary Work, Procedures, and Submission of Conclusions,* or the Missouri *Manual for the Constitutional Convention.* The tentative rules prepared for the 1947 New Jersey convention enabled that body to complete organization for work at its first meeting. The second type of material compiled concerned specific state problems: bills of rights; suffrage and elections; revenue, finance and taxation; the executive; the legislature; the judiciary; local government.

Method of Procedure. Apparently in all cases except that of Massachusetts the committee itself assumed the responsibility of determining the problems to be selected for study. In Massachusetts the topics for investigation were selected on the basis of a poll of interested organizations and of all candidates for the constitutional convention. The New York committee of 1937-38 was organized into six subcommittees, and each of these determined its own research agenda. Among all the states there was a recognition of the necessity of avoiding research for research's sake. An attempt was made to concentrate on the most important problems before the convention.

Three methods of presenting information to the convention have been employed. Both New York conventions were provided with printed volumes. The conventions in Illinois, Massachusetts and New Jersey were given bulletins confined generally to single subjects, ranging in number from 37 in Massachusetts and 35 in New Jersey to fifteen in Illinois. The Missouri manuals were a compromise between the printed volumes and the single bulletins.

There was general agreement that the function of the preparatory agency was the presentation of facts upon which the convention could make an intelligent decision, not the making of decisions for the convention. In the illumination of the particular problem, usually the criticisms of an existing institution were given, with historical background of the problem and the experience of other states. Alternatives were then discussed with their advantages and disadvantages.

The New York committee of 1938 appears to have provided the most comprehensive treatment of problems in this manner. The volume on the judiciary, for example, includes a historical analysis of the judiciary article of the state constitution, section by section, with pertinent provisions of former constitutions, debates in constitutional conventions, and even references to enabling legislation.

The second part of the volume is devoted to such special problems as rule making, age limits of judges, judicial review of administrative decisions, grand jury system and prosecution by indictment or information, capital punishment, the less than unanimous verdict in criminal cases, reorganization of the judicial structure, and the selection of judges.

The Massachusetts study of proportional representation may also be regarded as typical. Proportional representation is defined, a history of its development and progress in the United States is given, together with its advantages and the charges of its critics. Constitutional provisions of other states are included for comparison.

Personnel and Materials. The commissions were ingenious in utilizing free services and available materials. Services of university professors (particularly political scientists), governmental researchers and public officials and employees were extensively utilized at little if any cost. Comparative studies already available were borrowed or adapted in order to enable the greatest possible concentration on the problems of the state itself.

Aid During Convention

Activity During Convention. When the convention has assembled, the commission can still render useful service. To disband the staff is to sacrifice a source of great service to the delegates. Requests for information can be answered more readily by that organization than by specially organized convention staffs. The New York commission of 1915 was a model in this respect. It was continued throughout the duration of the convention. A close relationship existed also in Massachusetts and Illinois between the preparatory agency and the convention but this was not equally true of the others.

The experience of preparatory commissions is helpful in affording examples of organization and procedures. Of equal importance to those interested in constitutional revision, however, is the wealth of still useful material available in their publications. The discussion of general constitutional issues by the New York Constitutional Commission of 1915 in *The Revision of the State Constitution* contains materials pertinent to the problems of the present-day state. Elihu Root's discussion of "The Principles and Practice of Constitutional Revision," Henry L. Stimson's "The Principle of Responsibility in Government," Frank J. Goodnow's "The Adaptation of a Constitution to the Needs of a People," Albert Shaw's "The Problems of the Constitutional Convention," and W. F. Dodd's "The Constitutional Convention: Preliminary work, Procedure and Submission of Conclusions" should be read by everyone interested in constitutional revision.

The work of preparatory commissions is particularly helpful in connection with certain specific problems that will arise in the revision of almost any state constitution. All six commissions, for example, studied the executive budget, the initiative and referendum, the problem of county government, special legislation, civil service, and court structure. Other subjects upon which at least four of the commissions compiled data include the governor's pardoning power, frequency of legislative sessions, home rule, selection of judges, constitutional restrictions on municipal and state indebtedness, excess condemnation, judicial review of social legislation and municipal ownership.[1]

In view of this record, it seems unlikely that there will ever be another general revision of a state constitution without some systematic preparation. It cannot be too strongly emphasized, however, that it is the duty of the legislature to see that this preparation is started early enough, with enough money, to permit timely completion of a well planned and workmanlike job. Preparation for the three most recent conventions had to be started without provision by the legislature and neither the Missouri nor the New Jersey job received any appropriation. This accounts for obvious gaps in both and for the fact that some of the New Jersey monographs were not ready when the convention started.

Preparation for future conventions can be made progressively easier with a little more conscious cooperation on a national scale. As already noted, each preparatory commission has drawn heavily on the work of its predecessors. It is important, therefore, that reports of such commissions be printed in sufficient quantity to permit nationwide distribution to important libraries and individuals and organizations working on similar problems. Already reports of the 1947 Governor's Committee in New Jersey are almost impossible to get because the state apparently did not consider the importance of reciprocity in this field.

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[1] For a list of the New Jersey studies see the REVIEW, September 1947, page 475.

Another kind of cooperation might be supplied in increasing measure by national organizations. The National Municipal League, the Council of State Governments and the Library of Congress, for example, have long supplied bibliographical and other information and services to revision bodies. All such bodies need up-to-date texts of other state constitutions and comparative data on state administrative and judicial systems, legislative organization and procedures, current proposals for reform, etc.

The ultimate justification of preparatory research is, of course, its usefulness. Experience seems to indicate that a series of relatively short pamphlets is more likely to be used by busy convention delegates than a shelf of thick volumes. The same form of publication is also more helpful to the public which, in committee hearings and lobby, plays a necessary role in any convention. Most of the material prepared for a convention, especially that dealing with specific problems of fairly broad interest, should, of course, be made available to all interested persons and organizations. This will tend to raise the level of public understanding, avoid needless controversies and save the time of the convention.

CONVENTION ROAD-BLOCKS

(Continued from page 132)

such a self-executing provision leads to the situation which has developed in California at the present time. The people of that state voted for a convention in 1934. Since the legislature has failed to take the steps necessary to put the plan in motion, its provision for the present revision committee is the closest we have come to the implementation of that mandate. Our present procedure is better than nothing in the way of revision but it is a substitute procedure none the less.

We make much these days, and rightly so, of the importance of strengthening our democracy in an era of renewed external challenge. Certainly we must do this, and one effective phase of the program is to modernize the basic laws of our states instead of letting them be diluted with statutory content or permitting them to weaken from inapplicable and dead sections which do not apply in the atomic age.

As believers in democracy we should have sufficient confidence in our own people to give them the utmost freedom to decide when to have constitutional conventions and whether or not to approve the changes recommended. This is one sure way to combine the enduring fundamentals of the past with a dynamic adjustment to the needs of today. Constitutional flexibility is fundamental in insuring a system of government responsive to constructive suggestions and therefore impregnable in the face of subversive attack.

The Convention Goes to Work

President and one of the delegates to Missouri convention describe organization and methods used to draft constitution.

By ROBERT E. BLAKE and WILLIAM L. BRADSHAW*

Mr. Blake:

THE year I spent as president of the Missouri Constitutional Convention was the most intensely interesting year of my whole life. During that time delegates to the convention were engaged in weighing principles for the government of themselves, their children and their grandchildren.

The start was, in some respects, not propitious. The delegates had met almost as 83 strangers—with the usual mental reservations and suspicions that strangers have toward one another.

The situation was not improved by the necessity of electing officers. The result was inevitable—many members were disappointed by the result of the elections and became pessimistic. The atmosphere was made worse by the rivalries and jealousies growing out of the appointment of chairmen and members of committees. This atmosphere was reflected in the newspapers which began to blast the convention.

To the credit of the convention, the members rose above these petty things and settled down to the serious work for which they had assembled.

In just a few days organization machinery was functioning admirably. The promptitude with which committees launched into the serious, sober search for enlightenment was one of the major phenomena of the convention. The newspapers observed it. Members of the convention gradually became conscious of it—and began to take pride in the earnest manner in which they were handling and dispatching their work.

Early in the sessions the committee chairmen, in conferences, established certain guiding principles which assured a fine tone and level to proceedings. For instance, they resolved to have no secret or closed meetings. If there was any such I do not know of it.

The convention determined to try to get through with no limitation on debates—no gag rule—and, while it was difficult to hold to that resolution at times, it was kept. There was not a member of the convention who, at the end, could complain of not having had free and untrammelled opportunity to voice his views.

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*Mr. Blake was a delegate-at-large to the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1943-44, and was elected its president. He has been general counsel for the International Shoe Company since 1921 and a director of that company since 1929. In 1944 he received the $1,000 "Man of the Year Award" in St. Louis for community service. Dr. Bradshaw, dean of the School of Business and Public Administration at the University of Missouri, was also elected a delegate to the convention. Previous to its convening he conducted some of its research projects and authored two of the manuals submitted to the convention for aid in its deliberations. This article includes excerpts from the addresses of Mr. Blake and Dr. Bradshaw at the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, Nashville, November 12 and 14, 1947.

Many such things combined to produce and sustain a remarkably fine tone and morale in the convention. They contributed substantially toward what is generally agreed to be an excellent result.

When the convention met, each delegate knew of a dozen or so modifications or corrections in the old constitution which were desirable. It seemed that those matters—and perhaps a few others—ought to be handled in five or six months. It was perhaps fortunate that we did not know the magnitude of our job, which was to require twelve months of hard and diligent labor. We did not begin to get a conception of the size of the task until committees began to report recommendations.

Happily, this convention did not have a dominant or domineering group which was intent on "cramming things down the throats" of minorities. And so, while no member of the convention was able to endorse every provision of the new constitution without qualification, all were fairly well agreed that it was a typical result of the free but cumbersome processes of democracy—a sound composite of views, upon which all the people could agree.

On the opening day of the convention, the newly elected president ventured to sound a keynote. That keynote was "Brevity—brevity in discourse and discussion, brevity in time, and brevity in the document which we shall submit to the people." The convention accomplished all those things. The urge for brevity in discussion made it unnecessary for us to impose at any time a limitation on debate.

That the objective of "brevity in the document" was achieved to at least a degree is indicated by the fact that the old constitution was abbreviated in length by almost one-third. There were 37,000 words in the old constitution; there are not quite 26,000 words in the new.

Logical Arrangement

Withal, the new constitution has a far more logical arrangement of subject matter. In the old constitution, if one were concerned with taxation, he had to search through several different portions to find the provisions. In the new constitution all matters concerning taxation are collected together in the tax article.

This arrangement of subjects into articles where they logically belong had a material effect on one of the main problems of the convention, viz., whether to submit the constitution for adoption as a whole or submit it by separate articles. The old constitution divided the subject matter into fifteen articles, the new constitution into only twelve.

The convention decided without a dissenting vote to submit the document as a whole, not only because it felt the people would appreciate the simple task of voting for or against the whole document, but because if separate articles were submitted there was grave danger of getting a hodgepodge result.

If the people had chosen only certain articles of the new constitution, thereby leaving in effect some articles of the old, the various articles of the old and the new simply would not gear into one another because of the transpositions and rearrangements made.

Public Library
Kansas City, Mo

For example, the new article on education would be incomplete and unsatisfactory if the new article on taxation were not adopted; and the new article on taxation would be unenforceable if the new article on the executive department were not adopted.

When the members of the convention finished the part of the job that was primarily theirs—writing the new constitution—they recognized some obligation in connection with the second part of the job—securing its adoption. Accordingly, before adjourning, the convention set up an organization to gear in with whatever citizens' organizations might be formed. With few exceptions, members of the convention served in the educational campaign.

Dr. Bradshaw

As provided in Missouri's former constitution, each of the 34 senatorial districts in the state elected one Democrat and one Republican. The fifteen delegates at large were nominated by petition and elected on a nonpartisan ballot. By agreement, the Democratic and Republican state committees each endorsed seven candidates and both committees agreed upon an anti-new deal Democrat for the fifteenth candidate.

The secretary of state placed the fifteen names of this bipartisan slate at the top of the ribbon ballot, alternating Democrats and Republicans. The entire slate was elected over a number of independent candidates but their votes varied widely. Generally, the eight having the endorsement of the League of Women Voters and other nonpartisan groups ran some 30,000 ahead of the purely partisan selections.

The convention met on call of the governor on September 21, 1943, and organized, with the anti-new deal Democrat as president, a Republican as first vice president, and a Democrat as second vice president. These three officers appointed 26 standing committees, the 26 chairmen and members of each committee being equally divided between Democrats and Republicans. The convention staff was also divided equally by the two major parties. This bipartisan plan was intended to make the convention nonpartisan in its deliberations for there is no place in a state constitution for partisan provisions. Moreover, Missouri has been a doubtful state politically since the turn of the century.

Diversified Representation

Missouri is a diversified state and the 83 delegates reflected this. Since two delegates were elected from each senatorial district, all sections of the state were represented. The delegates belonged to at least twenty different business and professional groups. A bare majority were lawyers. One delegate had been president of the Missouri Federation of Labor for some 30 years and another president of the Missouri Farm Bureau Federation for nineteen years.

A great majority of the 83 delegates had held one or more public offices. Two had served in Congress and two in the constitutional convention of 1922-23. One had been governor, one state treasurer, one speaker of the Missouri House of Representatives, one mayor of St.

Louis and one a major general in the U. S. Army.

Ten had been members of the State Senate and fourteen of the House, some of them having served in both. A half dozen or more had been circuit judges. Some twenty had held one or more county offices and fifteen one or more city offices. All had been active in civic and political affairs in their local communities. A large majority had attended college and about half were college graduates. The majority were conservative, but constructive in their attitude. In general the more liberal delegates were older men, with long and able records of public service and without further political aspirations.

Committees Get Proposals

Following organization of the convention, a total of 377 proposals for revision of the constitution were introduced. Each was referred by the president to one of the twenty committees on revision. These committees held hearings open to the public and the press. No one was denied an opportunity to be heard.

Specialists were frequently invited to appear before a committee in order that members might have the benefit of their counsel. A hearing was often attended by several delegates not on the committee. Sometimes the crowd was so large that hearings were held in the House chamber. This was true of at least two hearings for negroes, one on the so-called nonpartisan court plan, one on taxation, one on conservation and one on highways.

Regular committee meetings were scheduled on the principal convention days for 9 A. M. and 2, 4 and 8 P. M. and special meetings were frequently held. Each chairman was supposed to file a report of each meeting with the president so his files would show the progress week by week. Most committees kept minutes and some chairmen distributed them regularly to members.

The hearings were excellent conferences or seminars on all phases of state and local government. Some organizations presented a broad program, for example, the League of Women Voters. Apparently their speaker for each committee was carefully selected and well prepared to discuss the problems before the committee. Other organizations, such as the Bar and Teachers Associations, had more limited programs, involving one article and related sections in other articles. These three groups stand out as those fully prepared when the convention started. Most organizations formulated their programs after the convention got under way.

Each proposal and each section of the old constitution received careful study either by a committee or by a subcommittee. A large number were rejected, but in each case the author was given an opportunity to be heard. No proposal was ignored or pigeon-holed.

Introduction of proposals and hearings continued until the Christmas holidays 1943. During the months of January and February 1944, most committee reports were formulated and filed. The principal work was then tranferred to the floor of the convention where each report

—or "file" as it was called—was considered section by section. The convention could adopt a section with or without amendment, or adopt a substitute, or reject it. This process completed the first reading.

The file was then referred to the committee on phraseology, arrangement and engrossment. It was the duty of this committee to revise and improve the language and to renumber and rearrange the sections whenever necessary or desirable. Its report was then presented to the convention for approval on second reading.

Document Accepted

The last step in the procedure was the third reading and final passage which required the support of a majority of the delegates, 42 votes. Only a majority of those voting was required on first and second reading.

After the third reading, the file again went to the phraseology committee, which then made its final report on arrangement of articles and sections. This report was adopted on the final roll call vote of the convention, with only two Democrats and two Republicans voting "no."

Some half dozen special committees were then announced for the purpose of finishing the work of the convention and to provide for submission of the proposed new constitution. The date of the special election was set for February 27, 1945, and the official ballot approved.

Provision was made for the printing and distribution of 500,000 copies of the proposed constitution and address to the people, and for official newspaper advertising. The necessary appropriation resolution was introduced, debated and adopted.

After disposing of various miscellaneous matters the delegates sang America, the chaplain pronounced the benediction and the convention adjourned *sine die*.

Following adjournment, the convention's executive committee held five meetings and sponsored a statewide citizens meeting in Jefferson City on December 5, 1944. At that time a citizens' "Missouri Committee for the New Constitution" was officially organized. Two of the four officers (president, vice president, secretary and treasurer) were men, two were women. Also two were Democrats and two were Republicans. These officers were given blanket authority to complete the organization and to conduct an active campaign. Headquarters were established in St. Louis, with bureaus on organization, publicity, and speakers.

The committee conducted what was undoubtedly the greatest educational campaign in the history of Missouri and the new constitution was adopted by a majority of seven to four.

Editor's Note.—For further information on the preparation and adoption of Missouri's new constitution see "Constitution by Convention," by Tess Loeb, the Review, January 1944, page 14, and "New Constitution for Missouri," by Tess Loeb, the Review, April 1945, page 165.

Letters to the Editor

Again, Students and Officials

To the Editor:

I have read Willard N. Hogan's contribution to the section on Citizen Action in the June issue of your excellent publication. His account of the rebuffs met by students in Kentucky counties does not conform with my own experience in New York State, where I and others with whom I am acquainted have received cooperation from county, town and other local, as well as state, officials beyond our reasonable expectations.

It is possible that this difference in experience can be explained in part by the differences in the attitudes of those conducting the studies.

The reaction of the students who begin a course in local government which I teach is frequently inclined to be one of suspicion of all things governmental and political. This attitude, plus abysmal ignorance of the problems of local officials, can well lead to something less than a warm reception in the offices of local officials. These officials, like other human beings, respond to courtesy, sincerity and genuine interest in their problems. I can well imagine that if students were investigating Berea College or Cornell University with attitudes and background comparable to those held in the investigations of county government cited in Mr. Hogan's letter, they would likewise fail to receive a warm reception.

This past summer I sent four letters of inquiry to four county treasurers in New York and received four replies by return mail giving the information requested in full. Other correspondence in the past has elicited excellent response. In the course of working for a doctorate several years ago, I spent several months in the offices of local and state officials. The ready willingness of officers and staff to answer questions and to meet extensive requests for information was a constant source of surprise to one who was at that time almost as unfamiliar with local government as the college students of today in Berea College and Cornell University. Other graduate students here have had similar experience.

Many local officials are interested in the results of the studies conducted from the standpoint of possible improvements in their own work. Most of them would rather do a good job than a poor one, and some are aggressively interested in improvements.

It seems to me that Mr. Hogan has indicated one important problem in his article: "that more than a general knowledge of county government can be gained only by observation from an inside vantage point or actual participation." My teaching efforts, and I expect Mr. Hogan's, have as one objective the encouragement of actual participation in government activities as actively interested citizens who are willing to give some time to local governmental problems or to take part as local officials.

E. A. Lutz

Cornell University

Lawyers in Politics

To the Editor:

I read with real interest the reprint of Murray Seasongood's article, "Should Lawyers Be Citizens?" It seems from the records that lawyers do not need any urging to get into political life and, to my way of thinking, it would be well for everyone if fewer were in elective or appointive political positions.

My reasons for stating this are: that lawyers have thus far had almost a monopoly in the legislative halls of not only the United States but also other countries; that they have not done a good job, as the present state of the world so loudly proclaims.

Here is an illustration of the preponderance of lawyers in politics. According to the 1940 census there were in the U. S.:

245,288 engineers, 177,643 lawyers and judges, and 162,649 physicians and surgeons.

According to Legislative Reference Service as of April 25, 1947, there are in the U. S. Congress:

	Senate	*House*	*Total*
Engineers	2	1	3
Lawyers	60	243	303
Physicians and Surgeons	0	7	7

A scientific instead of a legal approach to the problems of the world would probably make a better world for us to live in.

William Goldsmith

Woodcrest Construction Company
New York City

The Slothful Voter

To the Editor:

"Why Don't More Americans Vote?," an article by George H. Gallup in the *Reader's Digest* of April, taken from your Review of January '47, has been called to my attention belatedly.

Many answers have been published to this question; none of them the right answer.

More and more, nominations are made by political machines in each party. Almost without exception those nominees, knowing that they must serve their party machine big-shots for a place at the nation's political pie counter, serve their political masters instead of the nation's and the people's welfare after being elected.

More and more, voters in increasing numbers are becoming so disgusted and distrustful of their government that they are seeing no use in going to the polls, to vote for candidates selected by big-shot machine leaders.

We independents are fully aware that failure to vote on our part makes party machines, instead of the people, the governing force of our homeland. But we have not had "a government of the people, for the people, by the people" for many years.

Nor do we go to the primaries, because there we would have to call for a party ballot; a balloting between machine-picked candidates.

The present campaign for next fall's election is a fair example of the shadow-boxing being indulged in to confuse some, but not all, the people about responsibility for the astronomical heights to which the cost of living has risen. Thinking voters see no hope of living costs being reduced by government so long as politicians in both parties are more interested in their party's welfare than they are in the people's welfare.

W. H. Edwards

Gosport, Indiana

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Milwaukee Sponsors Radio Programs

City's Library Plans School for Candidates

MILWAUKEE'S common council is sponsoring three municipal radio programs. Begun last October, these tell Milwaukee citizens about their government. A special council committee determines subjects and participants for each radio show and has also been authorized to extend and modify the programs as it sees fit.

One of these programs, "City Hall News," is a five-minute broadcast of municipal affairs heard each evening at 6.15, Monday through Friday, over station WEMP. It is prepared by the municipal reference librarian. In addition to keeping the people more informed on local affairs, the program has had the indirect effect of increasing local news coverage on other stations.

"Mr. Milwaukee" is a biweekly, half-hour program broadcast every other Saturday at 11.30 A. M. over station WTMJ. The script is prepared by Gerald Caffrey, head of the Public Library's publications and exhibits department. The program opens with a brief address by the mayor, who reports on city activities for the past two weeks. Mr. Milwaukee, an anonymous citizen, then talks to two aldermen or public officials about a particular issue before the council. Usually the two are on opposing sides of the question. After this discussion Mr. Milwaukee interviews an administrative official who describes the work of his department. The scripts are very informal and written in an interesting style. Comments thus far have been favorable.

The third program is called "Your Common Council" and is broadcast every Saturday over station WISN from 5.45 to 6.00 P. M. On it two aldermen discuss informally, in round table fashion, an issue before the common council. The moderator is Norman Gill, executive director of the Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau of Milwaukee. At first, the aldermen were a little concerned about speaking extemporaneously over the radio, but experience has shown that this provides a great deal of interest.

Much time and effort of library employees have been spent in producing these shows, and no city should undertake municipal radio programs without recognizing the work they entail. The script writer for the WTMJ program spends roughly 40 hours on each script and a stenographer had to be hired to handle the additional work. Gathering news for the news broadcast is a daily task for the municipal reference librarian which requires some effort. In addition, outlines of "Your Common Council" program must be prepared and rehearsals held before they go on the air. All of these items are time-consuming.

It is too early to gauge the results of these programs. As is usually the case, citizen response is not very heavy. Their reception, however, has generally been good.

School for Politicians

With a record 356 persons seeking city and county offices Milwaukee has also started an experiment in candidate education—a "school for politicians."

Sponsored by the public library, the school is being held in the form of five election seminars conducted by nationally known experts on municipal problems. Invitations were mailed to all candidates for public office.

Over a third of the candidates have attended, and those considered to have the best chance of election have been most careful to be seen at the seminars. Both of Milwaukee's dailies have watched attendance carefully and printed lists of office-seekers present. Particularly close check has been kept on the twenty candidates for the seat of retiring Mayor John L. Bohn. In addition, about 200 interested citizens have attended the meetings.

Comprehensive reports of the material presented have been run by the newspapers on the day following each session and have been followed up with editorials.

Behind the series is the thought by public library officials that some of the more important issues in any campaign can be brought into sharp focus by experts on municipal affairs, that many of the candidates will take some of their campaign material from the seminars, thus spreading education concerning municipal affairs, and that those "newcomers" to office, of whom there promises to be a good number because of many retirements, will have some insight into basic, long-range problems of city government when they take office.

After an hour's lecture, the audience participates in a question-and-answer period. The sessions turned up new material on some of the hottest issues in the mayoralty campaign, such as traffic planning in relation to city planning and the effect of multiple boards, commissions and committees on administrative efficiency.

Walter H. Blucher, executive director of the American Society of Planning Officials, stepped directly into the current local controversy over the proposed construction of crosstown expressways in his seminar on "Plan Your City or Lose It."

Herman Pope, executive director of the Public Administration Service, threw the spotlight on Milwaukee's 62 boards, commissions and committees, which handle everything from administration of the harbor to the annual Christmas tree observance, in his talk on "General Administration." He brought into public view new doubts about the efficiency of this city's unwieldy system of electing 27 aldermen from as many wards, as well as its treasurer, city attorney, comptroller and mayor.

Titles of the other seminars are "Land Use and Housing," by Coleman Woodbury, professor of housing at the University of Wisconsin; "Public Works," by Donald Herrick, executive director of the American Public Works Association; and "Municipal Finance," by Carl Chatters, professor of public finance at Northwestern University. The last has special bearing on proposals to finance some $25,000,000 in public improvements through bond issues, on which the public will vote by referendum in April.

William L. Slayton
Municipal Reference Librarian
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Council-Manager Plan Developments

The council-manager plan was adopted in **Marshall, Missouri,** (population 8,533) at an election on February 3 by a vote of 1,160 to 843. It had been supported by six of the eight councilmen but opposed by the mayor. The new council will consist of five members elected at large for staggered three-year terms, on April 6, preceded by an elimination primary on March

23 if more than ten candidates are nominated. **Slater, Missouri,** (3,070) adopted the plan on February 24 by a vote of 638 to 534.

Waco, Texas, (55,982) adopted a charter amendment on January 31 providing for a "business manager" to be chosen by the city council. The vote was 2,548 to 2,409. Another amendment, adopted 2,747 to 2,525, establishes a council known as the board of commissioners, consisting of six members elected from wards, three being chosen each year. This board will elect one of its members as chairman and mayor, with voting power but no veto; it also will appoint the manager, attorney, secretary, recorder and the tax assessor and collector. Waco in 1946 voted to abandon the council-manager plan which had been in effect for 22 years.

Fair Lawn, New Jersey, (9,017) adopted the manager plan by a vote of 1,267 to 885 on February 24. A new council of five members will be elected on March 23.

The council-manager plan became effective January 30 in the city of **Nephi, Utah,** by virtue of a recently adopted ordinance.

Konawa, Oklahoma, adopted a council-manager charter on February 17 by a vote of 157 to 12.

The International City Managers' Association has added the following four municipalities, not previously noted herein, to its official list of manager places: **Bar Harbor, Maine**; **Harlingen, Texas**; **Madison, Florida**; and **Rouyn, Quebec.** The association also reports recent adoptions in **Kennebunk, Maine,** (3,698) **Antioch** (5.106) and **Claremont** (3,057), **California,** and **Bal Harbour, Florida.** The town and village of **Windsor, Vermont,** have been removed from the list because a selectman is also serving as manager.

There is an active manager plan movement in **Brunswick, Maine,** with Chamber of Commerce support.

Efforts have been renewed in **Islesboro, Maine,** for adoption of the manager plan at the March 1 town meeting.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Laconia, New Hampshire,** is engaged in a study of the council-manager plan.

The Plan E for **Boston** Committee has circulated petitions on a city-wide basis to show the desire of citizens to vote on adoption of Plan E (manager and P. R. council). The petitions are addressed to the Massachusetts legislature.

The Plan E for **Somerville (Mass.)** Committee recently held a meeting which was addressed by its president and chairman of organization work.

Petitions have been signed in **Nahant, Massachusetts,** calling on the legislature to permit a vote on the town manager plan at the annual town meeting in March.

The town manager plan is being studied in **Wellesley Hills, Massachusetts.**

A citizens committee has been formed in **Easton, Pennsylvania,** to try to obtain the manager plan for that city, following a mass meeting protesting higher taxes and increased salaries for the mayor and council.

Mayor H. Odell Weeks of **Aiken, South Carclina,** has announced appointment of a committee of city councilmen to make a study of the council-manager form of government with a view of submitting the question at the next city election.

In **Lake Wales, Florida,** interest in the manager plan is being shown, particularly by the Chamber of Commerce.

Fairmont, West Virginia, on February 3 defeated a council-manager charter 2,763 to 1,780; the total vote was about 25 per cent of the electorate. In the spring of 1947 the voters approved action for a new charter and a charter board was elected. Organized labor, particularly the United Mine Workers, opposed the charter drafted by the board, as did also various politicians of both parties. The proposed charter called for nonpartisan elections for council, whereas Fairmont now has a compulsory bipartisan system.

In **East Liverpool, Ohio,** a recently organized City Manager Charter Association has secured an estimated one thousand signatures to petitions to require a referendum on adoption of the manager plan. The signers, 250 more than needed, ask a vote within 120 days on organization of a fifteen-member commission to draft a new charter.

The League of Women Voters in **Warren, Ohio,** is studying the manager plan.

In **Kent, Ohio,** a five-man committee for the manager plan, sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce, is investigating various forms which the plan takes in different cities.

Councilman R. J. Wilkinson of **Huntington, West Virginia,** has conducted a questionnaire survey that indicates strong support for the council-manager idea.

The city of **Clare, Michigan,** will vote March 12 on adoption of a council-manager charter drafted with aid from the consulting service of the Michigan Municipal League.

On April 5 the voters of **Wakefield, Michigan,** will take an advisory vote on changing from commission to council-manager government.

Renville, Minnesota, will hold an election in March to determine whether it will change its form of government. Interest in the council-manager plan has been expressed.

After an unsuccessful effort last year a manager ordinance has been urged upon the council in **Sturgeon Bay, Wisconsin,** with the support of the *Door County Advocate.*

Citizens of **Kaukauna, Wisconsin,** are circulating petitions asking for a vote on the council-manager plan at the spring election on April 6.

A proposal for adoption of the manager plan was defeated in **Neillsville, Wisconsin,** on February 3 by a vote of 475 to 283.

The manager plan is being sought for **Trenton, Tennessee,** part of the support coming from the Chamber of Commerce.

The **Des Moines, Iowa,** Chamber of Commerce is interested in the manager plan.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Boonville, Missouri,** has asked for a report from a committee appointed by Mayor S. L. Jewett to investigate the manager plan.

Manager proposals were defeated in three Missouri cities: **Mexico,** February 16, 790 to 594; **Fulton,** February 18, 1,101 to 744; and **Cape Girardeau,** February 24, 2,349 to 1,301.

A proposal that the city employ a manager was defeated in **Mitchell, South Dakota,** on February 17 by a vote of 1,790 to 1,509. The situation was complicated by another proposal to change from the aldermanic to the commission form of government which was also defeated 1,853 to 1,417.

The manager plan is under consideration by the **Hollis, Oklahoma,** city council.

A manager proposal, vigorously opposed by the city government, was defeated in **Gothenburg, Nebraska,** on January 28 by a vote of 613 to 209. A Citizens' Committee has been formed to investigate the local government and the need for the manager plan.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce of **Grand Island, Nebraska,** is conducting a study of the manager plan.

A citizens' committee to draft a new charter for **Colorado City, Texas,** has been appointed by Mayor Peter Martin. The council-manager plan will be followed.

A Council-Manager Association has been formed in **San Antonio, Texas,** for the purpose of securing amendment of the city's charter to provide the council-manager plan.

A charter convention for revision of the **Delta, Colorado,** charter has indicated interest in the manager plan, to replace the commission form.

The **Englewood, Colorado,** *Enterprise* has urged consideration of the council-manager plan for that city.

A proposal for the council-manager plan will be voted on in **Manhattan Beach, California,** in April.

An election will be held in **Lodi, California,** in March on adoption of the manager plan and other recommendations resulting from a survey by the Public Administration Service.

A citizens' group in **Riverside, California,** is making a determined effort in behalf of the manager plan.

The mayor of **Whittier, California,** has appointed a committee of five prominent citizens to study the plan.

It is expected that a vote on the council-manager plan will be held at the April 6 municipal election in **Ketchikan, Alaska.**

Personnel Practices Analyzed in Florida Manager Cities

A survey of 28 Florida cities having the council-manager form of government, varying in size from 1,150 to 193,000 population, reveals a trend towards certain general practices now current in public personnel management.

Seven of the municipalities, including the six largest ones studied, have provided civil service boards with jurisdiction over all employees. In addition two municipalities have civil service boards for fire and police departments only, one uses a personnel board, and another has a trial board to which employees may appeal. In one of the cities a civil service board has been authorized but not fully organized.

The majority of these boards are selected and appointed by the city council or commission, although there is employee representation on five of them. On four of the latter, half of the membership is appointed by the city legislative body, the other half by employees, and the odd man chosen by the first two groups.

A central system of personnel records is maintained in eighteen of the cities surveyed. In six cities these records are maintained in the office of the civil service board. In the remainder the personnel records are supervised and maintained by the office of the manager, personnel director, auditor, finance director or city clerk. A system of efficiency ratings on personnel records is in effect and recorded on the cards of all employees in two of the cities, and on firemen and policemen in a third city.

Nine cities provide for the recruitment of employees with a merit system of examinations in the fire and police departments. Four of these recruit for all departments by merit examinations. Personnel boards administer the examinations in eight cities and in the other the city manager and the department heads supervise the plan.

In the remaining cities surveyed employees are appointed by the city manager, advised by the department heads, except that in five cases the department heads appoint their employees.

Position classification plans for all employees have been established in nine cities, although one of the plans is not yet in operation. Definite salary ranges for particular positions, classes and grades of employees are maintained in eleven cities, but such classifications are limited to fire and police departments in two cases.

Promotion by the manager is the practice in eight cities while promotion by separate department heads is effected in fourteen. Promotion through a combination of efficiency ratings, examinations and choice by department heads is used in five cities and one city promotes employees on the basis of written examinations only.

The problems of discipline and removal of employees is in the hands of the department heads in 22 of the cities observed. In 21 of these employee recourse through appeal to the manager is possible, and in eleven the employee may further appeal to a personnel board. Ten managers in these eleven cities expressed the opinion that the practice functioned successfully.

Employee retirement systems have been established in twelve of these cities, and three additional cities are in the process of establishing such plans. Practically all the employees of the cities are covered in six of the plans. In the other six only certain departments are included, usually fire and police departments. The average employee salary deduction is 3 per cent for cities surveyed and the average per cent contributed by the cities is four.

J. E. Dovell
University of Florida

Commission Studies Local Government in New Jersey

The New Jersey legislature has authorized a commission to study the structure of local government. The commission is empowered to investigate the laws governing the various forms and essential procedures of local government now in operation or available, the terms and conditions of their adoption by communities, to evaluate the actual operation of the forms now in use, and to obtain information on such matters in other states so as to suggest changes in New Jersey laws "to provide the fullest opportunity for local self-government consistent with the interests of the state as a whole."

Five members of the commission are appointed by the governor, two by the president of the Senate and two by the speaker of the House; the governor designates the chairman. An appropriation of $25,000 for staff and expenses is authorized.

Public Libra
Kansas City.

Twelve State Legislatures Meeting This Year

Legislative sessions have convened in five of the six states which have regular annual legislatures—Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island and South Carolina. California's annual session is scheduled to open March 8.

Regular biennial sessions are in progress in Kentucky, Mississippi, Missouri and Virginia. Louisiana's biennial session is scheduled to convene May 10. Other states with biennial sessions hold them in odd-numbered years.

The only special session scheduled for 1948 is Arizona's, which convened in January. Special sessions as yet unscheduled, however, are expected to be called in some other states.

Connecticut Helps Insure Its Employees

Connecticut recently became one of the few states that offer state-aided group life insurance to their employees. According to the Civil Service Assembly, full-time employees may buy $1,000–$2,000 policies, depending on their salaries. Employees will pay 60 cents a month for each $1,000 of insurance and the state will pay the rest of the premium. No age limit or physical examination is required.

Hawaii Statehood Awaits Further Investigation

As a basis for action by the Senate Public Lands Committee on the pending bill to provide statehood for Hawaii, the committee has directed Senator Guy Cordon of Oregon, chairman of the Subcommittee on Territories and Insular Affairs, to survey the operation of territorial government in Hawaii. According to the Council of State Governments, this will be the fifth congressional investigation of statehood for Hawaii since 1935 and the second Senate study. The 1946 and 1947 House committees unanimously recommended statehood.

Princeton Expands School of Public Affairs

An honorary sponsoring committee, consisting of President Truman, Mrs. Woodrow Wilson, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, ex-President Hoover and Bernard M. Baruch, and an active sponsoring committee of 39 prominent figures in business and public life, have been appointed by President Harold W. Dodds of Princeton University to advise the university in its plans to enlarge its School of Public and International Affairs as a living memorial to Woodrow Wilson, thirteenth president of Princeton.

To launch a graduate program and to strengthen the school's undergraduate work, the university is seeking to double the school's present endowment of $1,500,000 and secure $500,000 for a building to be known as Woodrow Wilson Hall.

Since its establishment the school has trained men for careers in government. One of the fundamental purposes henceforth will be to prepare other men for business careers who will be able to enter business with an understanding of the operation of government, the political processes and government objectives.

Midwest State Development Agencies Form Organization

The Mid-continent Council of Development Agencies was formed late in 1947 at a meeting of representatives of seven state planning and development agencies in Pierre, South Dakota. The purpose, according to *State Government,* is to facilitate the exchange of ideas and research findings among states that share a common economy and have similar problems of resources and industrial development. The present membership is made up of Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota and Wyoming.

University to Hold Institute for Teachers of Government

The School of Social Sciences and Public Affairs of the American University, Washington, D. C., in cooperation with the Washington Chapter of the American Political Science Association, has announced its second annual Institute for Teachers of Government and Administration, to be held in Washington June 13-26. The director is Lowell H. Hattery.

Conferences will be held with members of Congressional committees, officials of executive departments and agencies, representatives of major lobby groups and other persons who can contribute information that will enable the professor of political science and administration to make his classroom presentation more realistic.

Researcher's Digest . . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

For Better Government and Administration

Surveys of Departments Functions and Forms

A *BETTER Government for a Better City, a Study of Five Departments of the City of New York,* is the title of a 490-page report of a survey by the **Citizens Budget Commission,** undertaken at the request of Mayor William O'Dwyer. The survey was in charge of a special committee. Louis E. Yavner, former commissioner of investigation, directed the project.

The report indicates possible savings of some $30,000,000 if recommendations growing out of the investigation of the departments of police, fire, correction, public works and sanitation are carried out. It concludes that merger neither of the police, fire and correction departments nor of the sanitation and public works departments would be useful, but does indicate the desirability of merging certain functions such as automotive transport, building maintenance and medical services.

A major deficiency discovered in New York City administration is widespread failure to employ modern management techniques of planning, supervision and control. "Existing management services are undermanned," says the report.

President Robert W. Dowling of the Citizens Budget Commission emphasizes in his letter of transmittal that the faults disclosed in the report "have accumulated over a period of 50 years and many administrations."

A 156-page administrative and financial survey of Alameda County government, directed by Louis J. Kroeger, has been published by the **Alameda County (California) Taxpayers' Association.** The report makes detailed recommendations for improved administration of all departments and an overhauling of the county charter. It recommends dropping ten of eleven elective county officers from the present long county ballot and the integration of county administration under a responsible executive appointed by the board of supervisors.

Possible methods of securing a more representative board of supervisors are discussed; proportional representation is offered as "not an immediate, but a long-term recommendation" after "careful consideration and careful planning."

The **Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy,** D. Benton Biser, director, has issued a report on that city's Department of Welfare. The study, undertaken at the request of the mayor, comprises 84 pages, concluding with a fifteen-page summary of recommendations and observations.

Bureaus Investigate Forms of Local Government

Municipal Home Rule Charters in Texas, by Wilfred D. Webb, is a 54-page pamphlet issued by the **Bureau of Municipal Research of the University of Texas,** Stuart A. MacCorkle, director. Dr. Webb discusses the various forms of municipal organization as they are used in Texas and includes a chapter on the initiative, referendum and recall.

A bulletin from the **Woonsocket Taxpayers Association,** William H. Cunningham, executive director, discusses the pros and cons of the strong mayor-council form of municipal government.

The **Haynes Foundation** of Los Angeles has published *From Rural to Urban; the Municipalized County of Los Angeles.* This 33-page pamphlet is a brief adaptation, prepared by Robert F. Wilcox, of a more comprehensive study published by the foundation in 1946, *Los Angeles County as an Agency of Municipal Government,* by George W. Bemis and Nancy Basche. The report concludes with a series of recommendations looking toward a relationship between the county and other local governments described as "a borough type of organization." This would involve a new county charter which would reallocate local functions and bring county government closer to the people by establishing county buildings in each major division of the county.

The council-manager plan of government is praised by the mayor of Vernal and the manager of Tooele, both Utah manager plan cities, in two articles in *Utah Experience With the City Manager Plan,* issued by the **University of Utah Institute of Government,** G. Homer Durham, director.

The **Montreal Municipal Service Bureau,** Frederick Wright, director, has issued a brochure, *The Borough System of Government for Greater Montreal,* outlining in detail the advantages of that plan for Montreal. Designed to integrate the twenty separate municipalities now within the Montreal area, the plan is to divide the city itself into eighteen boroughs and convert the present six outlying municipalities into boroughs; the resulting 24 boroughs would each have a mayor and council; each would also send a delegate to the Metropolitan Council, which would be concerned with the government of the city as a whole. The brochure contains a number of articles and editorials supporting different aspects of the plan.

Three methods of consolidating local government functions—official commissions, contracts and volunteer organizations—are discussed by the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research,** Robert K. Sawyer, director, in another of its series of issues of *Citizens' Business* devoted to the metropolitan area.

Of Particular Value to Local Officials

"The annual town or city report is an admirable opportunity for informing the citizen about the financial status of his local government, acquainting him with its accomplishments, and providing him with an understanding of the problems faced daily by his town or city officials," points out Donald E. Dunn, executive secretary of the **Bureau of Government Research of the University of New Hampshire** in the first issue of its bulletin, *New Hampshire Town and City Notes.*

A number of towns and cities are putting out highly readable and well organized reports, but too many are still dull lists of figures and unrelated facts. Mr. Dunn shows how to make annual reports readable and inspiring by emphasizing services rather than individual officials and by using illustrations and simple graphs.

Garbage Collection Practices in Michigan Municipalities are presented in tabulated form in a bulletin of that title issued by the **Michigan Municipal League,** John H. Huss, director.

Tabulating Services, Part V in a series of reports on the organization, administration and management of administrative services of Los Angeles, has been published by the **Los Angeles Bureau of Budget and Efficiency,** Francis M. Cummings, director. Eighteen recommendations are made.

The **Bureau of Business and Econo-**

mic Research of the University of Maryland, John H. Cover, director, has published a report on *Building Activities in Maryland and Vicinity,* dealing with five Maryland cities, two counties and two urban districts and for comparison with Baltimore, Washington, D. C., Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. Seasonal variations, building codes, etc., are considered. A number of charts and tables are included.

The **University of Washington Bureau of Governmental Research and Services,** Donald H. Webster, director, in cooperation with the **Association of Washington Cities,** Chester Biesen, executive secretary, has published three comprehensive reports on municipal problems. They are: *Regulation and Control of Outdoor Advertising, Milk Inspection and Milk Standards in King County,* and *Regulation of Peddlers.*

Limitations upon the regulation of outdoor advertising and the principal types of regulations that have been employed are outlined; the texts of many actual sign ordinances and several model ordinances are included; there is a bibliography.

Milk inspection and standards are treated in an equally thorough manner; several model milk ordinances are appended.

The problems of regulating peddlers are discussed in detail; Washington laws relating to peddling are summarized; the peddling ordinances of sixteen Washington cities are included plus four other ordinances; and there is a table summarizing the peddling ordinances of all Washington cities.

An extensive two-volume *Survey of Public and Voluntary Recreation in Hamilton County, Ohio,* has been issued by the **Cincinnati Bureau of Governmental Research,** Calvin Skinner, director. It can be obtained for $1 plus postage. Maps, charts and a detailed explanation provide an inventory of all metropolitan recreational facilities. The bureau finds that public support of the recreation program lags behind the average of comparable cities while private support exceeds the average. To remedy this and the duplication resulting from an uncoordinated recreation program, a county recreation board is proposed to take over responsibility of all recreational activities.

Four recent issues of the **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau's** *Just a Moment,* Sidney Detmers, managing director, deal with city office expenses, the city's civil service system, the membership of the 1948 board of supervisors and city tax rates.

Educational Costs and School Administration

A research study on *The Teachers' Pay Situation in New Jersey,* by Homer E. Scace, research assistant, has been issued by the **New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce.** Teachers' salaries are analyzed in relation to the present high cost of living and are compared with the earnings of production workers, lawyers, doctors and clerical and professional workers.

An issue of *Citizens' Business* **(Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research)** compares Philadelphia's school costs per pupil with those of eleven other cities of over 500,000 population.

School costs in Hartford are outlined in an issue of *Taxpayers' Business* **(Hartford Governmental Research Institute,** Leslie M. Gravlin, director). Notes on the facilities and administration of that city's school system are included.

Reorganization of school districts is considered in two recent publications. Act 361 passed by the 1947 Pennsylvania legislature to provide for county-wide reorganization of school districts is described in a bulletin from the **State Division of the Pennsylvania**

Economy League. Consolidation of the present twenty school districts in Big Horn County, Wyoming, into two is recommended by the **Wyoming Taxpayers Association,** Percy F. Jowett, executive director, in a pamphlet containing much statistical material.

School costs receive further consideration in three other bulletins. An issue of *Comments* **(Lackawanna Tax Research Bureau)** lists all non-teaching employees on the Lackawanna, New York, school district payroll and their salaries for the first half of January.

The **Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research,** W. Earl Weller, director, analyzes the Rochester board of education teachers' payroll for September 1947, giving minimum, average and maximum salaries.

The teaching loads in Providence secondary schools in May 1946 and September 1947 are compared by the **Providence Governmental Research Bureau,** Robert E. Pickup, executive director.

Fiscal Problems—Local and State

A suggested debt-elimination plan for **Utica** is outlined in a bulletin from that city's **Municipal Research Bureau,** William R. Coates, executive director.

Its eleventh annual 101-page report on the finances of *County, City and Town Government in Tennessee* has been published by the **Tennessee Taxpayers Association,** William R. Pouder, executive secretary. Financial statistics and financial administration of local government in Tennessee are covered in the text and in extensive tabular summaries.

Another aspect of Tennessee local government is covered in *Sanitary Service Charges in Tennessee,* an equally thorough report issued by the **Tennessee State Planning Commission,** Hayden B. Johnson, executive director. The many tables summarize data on Tennessee water rates, sewer charges and garbage collection charges.

Capital improvement programs for Tennessee communities are discussed in a *Newsletter* from the commission.

Two bulletins from the **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research,** Alfred F. Smith, director, are concerned with the $134,000 increase in the cost of a street-widening project caused by a two-year delay, an inter-agency personnel program in the San Francisco area, and the critical financial situation of the Municipal Railway.

A third bulletin from the bureau presents the results of a civil service commission survey and an employers' council survey of clerical salaries. Still another issue summarizes the comparative tax rates of a number of cities.

Under the auspices of the **Bureau for Research in Municipal Government of the Harvard Graduate School of Public Administration,** Hans F. Abraham and Priscilla M. Greeley have prepared a 121-page digest of laws concerning grants-in-aid, with special reference to Massachusetts. As the authors say in their foreword, the study is "intended for reference only. It is hoped that students may find the material contained herein valuable as a starting point for reports dealing with selected aspects of grants-in-aid." Part I deals with federal grants-in-aid for conservation, education, welfare, health, employment security, public works, housing and military aids. Part II concerns state grants-in-aid in Massachusetts (no federal contribution) for conservation, education, welfare, health and public works. A glossary of terms as used in federal and Massachusetts law is included. The report is priced at $2.25.

Your Government, the bulletin of the **University of Kansas Bureau of Gov-**

ernment Research, Ethan P. Allen, director, has a comment by Deane Postlethwaite on the office of county treasurer in Kansas. It is concluded that the county treasurer, "the central figure in the local fiscal picture in Kansas," should have a broad knowledge of modern accounting methods and a keen sense of responsibility.

The **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research,** Loren B. Miller, director, in its bulletin, criticizes the issuing of sewer bonds by the city, concluding that a committee should be appointed to establish priorities in the city capital program.

The **Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research** in its *Monthly Letter* advocates ultimate replacement of the present board of assessors by one appointed expert. The bureau suggests further reforms which would eliminate the board of control, but it would preserve the city-wide point of view of the present controllers by having half the aldermen elected at large. In another *Letter*, the bureau argues against proposed legislation which would give the board of assessors the powers of a commission. The cost of Canadian government in 1944 is discussed in two recent issues of *Canadian Taxation* of the **Citizens' Research Institute of Canada.** Eric Hardy is director of both bureaus.

Need for More Money

Mississippi: Moneys for the Cities is the title of a pamphlet by Robert Baker Highsaw, director of the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Mississippi,** which has published the study. It concludes that "revenues in many Mississippi municipalities are not now sufficient to meet the present or expanding needs of the incorporated places" and that therefore sources of revenue must be found "which do not conflict with state and federal taxes, but which do permit municipalities to share in and tap their wealth most effectively."

How much will the state of Kansas spend in 1948 and 1949? That is the question asked by the **University of Kansas Bureau of Government Research,** in an issue of *Your Government.* The bureau points out how difficult it is to answer that question because the state has about two hundred separate funds, but does present a table showing the probable Kansas income and expenditure and unspent balances for the fiscal biennium from July 1947 through June 1949.

Harry S. Allen, assistant director of the **Nevada Taxpayers Association,** in an article, "Marked Money," published in the *Nevada Tax Review,* writes that today most of the public funds of Nevada are spent without legislative appropriations; this has been accomplished by constitutional amendments, legislative acts and day-to-day usage. His solution is to place as many accounts as possible "under the scrutiny" of the legislature and adopt a "modified system of earmarking" funds.

The **Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance** reviews the 1947 tax year in a recent issue of *The Wisconsin Taxpayer.* The organization, of which Paul N. Reynolds is executive director, has also issued the 1948 edition of its excellent handbook, *Taxes,* giving questions and answers on state and federal taxes levied in Wisconsin and including a state and federal income tax guide. It sells for 25 cents.

A recent issue of the **California Taxpayers' Association's** *Tax Digest,* Jessie K. Grant, editor, contains articles on state aid for local public works, the California tax system, state support of public schools, interim legislative committees and appropriations.

The *New York State Taxpayer,* William J. Embler, editor **(New York State Citizens Public Expenditure Survey)** devotes an issue to "an attempt to answer in advance many of the questions which citizens may ask" about Governor Dewey's budget message. The various sources of revenue and reasons for appropriations are set forth in detail.

The problems before **Philadelphia's Committee of Fifteen** appointed to study the city's finances are outlined by the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research** in *Citizens' Business.*

State Activities

The Record of the 1947 Minnesota State Legislature is the title of a pamphlet issued by the **Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research,** Harold L. Henderson, executive director, summarizing important 1947 legislation, classified by subjects: appropriations, taxes, state and local government, etc.

The Kansas Bureau of Investigation is described in *Your Government,* Bulletin of the **Bureau of Government Research of the University of Kansas,** Ethan P. Allen, director.

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Bureau Reports and Plans

Newark Bureau of Municipal Research, Henry W. Connor, director: report of 1947 activities and outline of 1948 program.

Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau, Sidney Detmers, managing director: outline of 1947 activities.

Colorado Public Expenditure Council, Fred Bennion, executive director: first annual report.

Richard A. Ware of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research and the National Training School for Public Service, in an article, "Training in Detroit for a Career in Citizen Leadership and Public Administration," in a recent *Notes and References* of the **Governmental Research Association,** describes the Detroit bureau's program to provide training experience for young people interested in public service careers.

Another *Notes and References* is devoted to an article by Henry K. Stanford, director of the University of Denver's Department of Government Management, on "Education for Citizen Leadership."

A system of in-service training specifically designed to fit public officials to assume tasks of increasing responsibility is described in a supplement to the *Borough Bulletin* of the **Pennsylvania Government Administration Service.** The courses, stressing both theory and practice, are conducted by the **University of Pennsylvania's Institute of Local and State Government,** Stephen B. Sweeney, director.

The Journal of Politics, published by the **Southern Political Science Association** in cooperation with the **University of Florida,** has inaugurated a series of reports explaining the activities of political science departments and associated organizations in southern universities. The series will appear in the department, "News and Notes," edited by Albert L. Sturm. The first deals with the University of Alabama—its Department of Political Science and Bureau of Public Administration.

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Strictly Personal

A recent issue of *Look* magazine applauded **Walter L. Pierpoint,** president and manager of the Association of Omaha Taxpayers and a trustee of the Governmental Research Association, as a person making "good news" for his work in reducing Omaha's debt and improving its municipal services.

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Women Voters on the March

Citizen Efforts Continue on All Government Levels

A COMPREHENSIVE study of interest to all those concerned with citizen participation in government is *Democratic Experience and Education in the National League of Women Voters* by Sara Barbara Brumbaugh.[1] "As a lay group," says Mrs. Brumbaugh in discussing the league, "it sensed and gave expression to the need of voters for continuous political education, and as an active political group it is in a position to bring political processes to bear upon its considered ideas. Moreover, the league has a somewhat professional relation to the problem of developing those understandings, attitudes and abilities which American citizenship implies. Since 1920 it has been conducting 'an experiment in political education,' national in scope, and has been making a study of the character such education should have."

Mrs. Brumbaugh gives a historical and descriptive survey of the organization, states its bases for the democratic outlook, and describes its educational processes, its philosophy of education and its work as a pressure group for good government.

The **National League of Women Voters,** Miss Anna Lord Strauss, president, is planning its biennial conference to be held in Grand Rapids, Michigan, April 26-30. At that time "Current Agenda" for 1948-1950 will be decided upon. More than 300 recommendations for the agenda have been received and analyzed by the national board. "They reflect a high degree of political awareness, a real sorting of values, and placing of first things first," says Miss Strauss in *Action,* the league's publication. Purpose of the league, as recited in *Action,* is "to promote political responsibility through informed and active participation of citizens in government to the end that 'government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth.' "

Know Your State, published by the national league, joins that organization's array of similar pamphlets, *Know Your Town's Future, Know Your School System* and *Know Your County.* Containing 35 pages, it is available at 25 cents. Another recent publication is *Uncle Sam's Finances—Federal Tax and Fiscal Policy* (31 pages, ten cents).

"National" held a college league conference at Chicago in February. There are 41 affiliated college groups.

The **League of Women Voters of New York (State),** Mrs. Malcolm E. Cummings, president, has made the financing of an adequate public education program its current agenda item. "Whether the money for schools is collected by the state or the locality, it is collected from the people through their taxes," says its *Monthly News.* "Therefore it is up to the people to take an interest in the financial problems involved in order to evaluate any legislation for state aid introduced in the 1948 session of the legislature." The league held its tenth annual legislative conference at Albany January 26 and 27.

The New York league reports organization of a college league at Cornell University. A hundred girls turned out at the "new-member" meeting and a pile of returned questionnaires indicates interest and an increase in the membership.

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[1] Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 115 pp., $2.10.

Municipal Dollar$ and ene (fifteen pages, ten cents), prepared by Pearl Bernstein Max, administrator of the Board of Higher Education and formerly secretary of the New York City Board of Estimate and Apportionment, has been published by the **League of Women Voters of New York City** as basic material for an educational project on New York City finances. Because every voter as well as every taxpayer must make decisions on the city's finances, the league feels this is an important project for 1948. In furtherance of this idea it held a citywide meeting late in January to discuss "The Care and Feeding of Our Billion Dollar Baby." Mrs. Donald Hutchinson is chairman of the Municipal Affairs Committee organizing the meeting.

The **Syracuse** league's radio program, "Syracuse Speaks," has a Hooper rating, reports the New York State league's *Monthly News*, on which it is faring better than is the nation-wide "Town Meeting of the Air" in the area it covers.

The **Fayetteville, New York,** league is writing a column for the weekly *Eagle-Bulletin*, which serves that city and the surrounding area.

Hoboken Activities

The **League of Women Voters of Hoboken, New Jersey,** where a citizen uprising recently succeeded in unseating the long-entrenched McFeely political machine, held a one-day citizens' conference on February 21 to discuss city affairs. Round table subjects included reorganization of the fire and police departments, finance, city planning, health and welfare, and public works. The conference concluded with the tenth anniversary dinner of the league, addressed by Spencer A. Miller, New Jersey's state highway commissioner.

The Hoboken league was one of the sponsors of a February 10 meeting addressed by Dr. Thomas H. Reed, municipal consultant, who had recently completed a survey of Hoboken's government. The league is presently conducting a poll of Hoboken citizens on their governmental affairs and citizen participation.

Another league in New Jersey, that in **Montclair,** conducted a series of discussions on local government during February. The first, held in cooperation with the **Montclair Forum,** on "The Commission Form of Government, Have We a Better Alternative?" was addressed by Harold A. and Kathryn H. M. Stone. As a sequel, three informal discussion groups were held at the home of a league member on "Problems of Local Government with Special Reference to the Municipal Manager Plan." Montclair is governed under the commission form.

The **League of Women Voters of Illinois,** Mrs. Walter T. Fisher, president, has established a public relations committee. There is a publicity chairman, radio chairman, and a public discussions chairman, all working under the general chairman of the public relations committee.

The Illinois league reports that it has six college groups throughout the state. The **Barrington** and **South Shore** leagues have established evening groups for members and others unable to attend daytime meetings. The South Shore group has completed a community public opinion poll on atomic energy. The **Mt. Vernon** league was instrumental in drawing up an ordinance creating a city plan commission which was adopted by the city council.

The *Bulletin* of the **League of Women Voters of Massachusetts,** Mrs. Ashton Sanborn, editor, talks of neighborhood discussion groups. The item, "Would you like to help in developing neighborhood discussion groups?", on a questionnaire sent to members from state headquarters, received more checks than any other. The **Weston** league, it is reported, nearly doubled its membership last year after reorganizing on a neighborhood basis. **Wellesley** was well satisfied with the results of hiring an outside expert to train its neighborhood discussion leaders. At the 1947 conference in **Newton,** the league's committee on neighborhood discussion groups agreed that such groups are "suited to the building and carrying out of the League of Women Voters' program."

The *Connecticut Voter,* organ of the **Connecticut League of Women Voters,** Mrs. Alexander Marcus, editor, carries commendations from the press on its series, "Who Runs Connecticut?" Recent articles in the series include "County Government in Connecticut" and "The Legislative Council."

The **League of Women Voters of Wisconsin,** Mrs. William A. Norris, president, in its bulletin, *Forward,* reports on an area conference on international trade held at Minneapolis last fall and attended by 125 delegates from Iowa, Minnesota, Illinois and Wisconsin.

Mayor John L. Bohn of Milwaukee has designated the **Milwaukee County league** as head of a "get-out-the-vote campaign," cooperating with newspapers and other organizations.

The **League of Women Voters of Minneapolis** is working actively for submission of that city's proposed new charter to the voters.

The **Gainesville League of Women Voters,** a new local group in Florida, has been conducting discussion groups on "Know Your Town." A mimeographed bulletin for the aid of discussion leaders sets forth the organization of the city, gives questions and answers on finance, health, etc. Emphasis has been on finance and zoning, major problems facing the community.

A History in Verse

The **Citizens Union of the City of New York,** in honor of its 50th anniversary[1] has published *1897-1947, A Half-Century of the Citizens Union—A Doggerel History of Our Activities to Date,* written by Eleanor C. Tanzer, the union's assistant secretary. Here is a sample—the conclusion:

CHAIRMAN AND CHAIRMAN EMERITUS
Schieffelin retired in 1941
As Chairman, but his work is never done
He's still on the Executive Committee
And takes an active interest in the city.
Childs, his successor, also ably bent
His energies to civic betterment.
CU's in things too numerous to mention
We worked on Constitutional Convention
In '38; we watch the budgets yearly
And help is sought by Councilmen sincerely.
We drew the law to help the absent voters,
Of bills to house slum dwellers we're promoters.
O'Dwyer receives our praise and criticism
With pleasant spirit, sometimes witticism;
Our plan for city airport operation
By Port Authority met no ovation
But later on the city saw the light
Adopting our idea at second sight.
Traffic congestion, too, we had a break in

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[1] See the REVIEW, January 1948, page 47.

Our plan for bus control at last was taken.
And so we plod our weary way unglam'rous,
For popular and other causes clam'rous,
Goo-Goos, perhaps, despite our best endeavor—
No matter what, CU goes on forever.

* * *

Aid for the Discussion Leader

It Pays to Talk It Over—"some notes and suggestions for group discussion leaders" (48 pages, 40 cents), has been published by the **National Institute of Social Relations,** Frank L. Weil, president. Discussed are such matters as how to sell your ideas, how to gather and organize material, leading the discussion and keeping it going and useful audio-visual aids.

* * *

For the Children

The **Citizens Committee on Children of New York City** has issued *Citizens Look at Their Health Services for Children* (15 pages), a report of the committee's Health Section, Dr. Donovan J. McCune, chairman, and *Citizens Look at Their Schools* (24 pages), prepared by the Education Section, Dr. Alice V. Keliher, chairman.

Philosophies — Work — Standards of Boys' Clubs (30 pages) has been published by **Boys' Clubs of America,** David W. Armstrong, executive director.

* * *

The Small Community

A summary of the fourth annual conference on the small community held at Yellow Springs, Ohio, appears in the September-October and November-December issues of *Community Service News,* publication of **Community Service, Inc.,** Arthur E. Morgan, president and director.

Virginia Publications

Recent editions of the **University of Virginia Extension Division's** "New Dominion Series" include *May Day Modernized—Citizens Council Works for Better Health and Finer Living,* the Story of how Halifax County, Virginia, dramatized the need for good health; and *Facts to Folks to Action,* a presentation of the organization and work of the Committee for Kentucky.

* * *

Readable Annual Reports Asked

"Let's have some interesting annual reports," says the **Seattle Municipal League's** *Municipal News.* "The city comptroller and county auditor both publish excellent annual reports on finances. While they honestly portray the financial operations—making no attempt to 'cover up' shortcomings—these reports are only interesting to students of city and county governments. Mr. Citizen cannot be expected to spend an enjoyable evening ploughing through the many statistical tables. . . . Great cities—and counties—are built not only by people who care but also by those who are informed."

* * *

Developing Citizenship

The **Citizens' Research Institute of Canada** and the **Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research** have issued similar bulletins titled "The Development of Citizenship." "The real antidote to unsound centralization and undue bureaucratic control," says the bulletins, "is the development and maintenance of virile local representative institutions. If citizens become conscious and expert in the use of their power in local affairs, they will be able, although with greater difficulty, to form intelligent judgments and make their will effective at so-called upper levels of government."

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Irish Dail Elected by P. R.

De Valera Party Loses to Coalition under Costello

FIANNA Fail, the party which has ruled Eire (Ireland) for sixteen years, failed to hold its majority in the Dail Eireann (Irish Parliament) in the election of February 4. Although it remained the largest party, electing 68 out of the 147 members to 31 for Fine Gael, the next largest, opposition groups—both conservative and more or less socialist—were united in desiring an end of Fianna Fail's leadership.

Accordingly, when the new Dail met on February 18, it defeated Premier Eamon De Valera of Fianna Fail by a vote of 75 to 70 and elected John A. Costello, of Fine Gael, by 75 to 68. Mr. Costello was attorney general under Eire's first prime minister, William Cosgrove, and is but the third man to hold the premiership.

Although during part of Mr. De Valera's sixteen-year incumbency Fianna Fail did not have a majority, ruling with support of political allies, Mr. Costello's is Eire's first coalition government in that a number of parties are represented in the Cabinet and share in the formulation of policy.

Elections to the Dail are conducted by districts each of which elects a number of representatives by proportional representation. The form of P. R. used is the single transferable vote, which is familiar in this country because of its use in a number of American cities. The system is also used for city and county councils and all other public elections of representative bodies in Eire.

Particular interest in the election arose in connection with the campaign of Clann Na Poblachta (Republican party), a relatively new party led by Sean McBride regarded as having socialist leanings. That party had obtained two seats in the Dail at recent by-elections and there was much speculation concerning the following it had gathered in the nation at large. It obtained only ten seats in the election of February 4, however, less than the small Labor party and less than a third of the strength of Fine Gael, the second largest party in the country.

The seats held in the Dail before and after the election by the various political groups are compared below:

Party	*Before February 4*	*Election of February 4*
Fianna Fail	77	68
Fine Gael	28	31
Labor	8	14
Clann Na Poblachta	2	10
Clann Na Talmhan	11	7
National Labor	4	5
Independents	8	12
	138	147

New German Proposal Provides for P. R.

The "German economic administration" proposed by American and British Military Government authorities last January 8, after a two-day conference with German political leaders of the American and British occupation zones, would double the size of the present 52-member Economic Council and provide for its selection by the various state parliaments on the basis of one member for every 375,000 persons. Such selection would give representation in proportion to the strength of political parties in the various states. There are eight states in the two-zone area, which is beginning to be unofficially referred to as "Bizonia."

In addition to the proportionally representative Economic Council the proposed Bizonia economic administration would include an upper chamber of sixteen members with certain limited veto powers and also a chief executive official elected by the Economic Council and approved by the upper chamber. He would choose a cabinet with the approval and subject to the control of the Economic Council. This plan of executive management responsible to parliamentary rule was chosen in conformity to European practice in spite of some pressure by American authorities for a chief executive whose cabinet members would not be under legislative control, according to a report in the New York *Herald Tribune.*

A list system of proportional representation, generally similar to that under the pre-Hitler Republic, is used to elect parliaments in the American and French zones. In the Russian zone the forms of the old P. R. election laws have been revived, but the partisan curtailment of publication facilities and civil liberties by occupation authorities has prevented any full proportional representation of the parties and interest groups.

British participation in the Bizonia proposal involves some modification in the attitude of British authorities towards P. R., for their initiative was largely responsible for the provision of a novel, not necessarily proportional, system in the British zone instead of the pre-Hitler proportional system. If the British hybrid system was designed to be more favorable than the proportional system to the establishment of a two-party system, it has failed in that respect: the elaborate election reports compiled in 1947 by the American Military Government, covering all of Germany, show that the concentration of votes in the larger parties was slightly greater in the American and French zones where P. R. was in use.

An example of the non-proportionality of the improvised system of the British zone is the election in Hamburg described in the 1946-47 Annual Report of the British Proportional Representation Society. A certain number of councilmen were elected by the voters, who voted (with X's) for as many candidates as were to be elected from their district. Then the remaining seats were allotted to each party, from a separate reserve list of candidates in proportion to their "pool" of votes made up, according to the British Society's report, of "the difference between the votes of each of its successful candidates in the various wards and the votes secured by the highest unsuccessful candidate, whether of the same or another party," plus "the votes of all its unsuccessful candidates throughout the electoral area." This last feature was intended to provide some representation to minorities.

In Hamburg each of 21 wards elected four councilmen directly. There were 18 to 27 candidates per ward, with a grand total of 467, who, except for 15 independents, were entered by seven parties. With only 43 per cent of the vote the Social Democratic party's candidates took 76 of these seats (90 per cent). The Christian Democrats, with 27 per cent of the total vote, took all four seats in one ward and half the seats in two wards (10 per cent). Two other parties with 28 per cent of the vote between them obtained no representation.

There were 26 seats to be filled by the novel feature of the British zone system described above. Seven of these went to the already heavily over-represented Social Democrats, who were permitted to count almost half their votes at this stage of the election. The Christian Democrats obtained eight of the second-round seats and two other parties obtained seven and four respectively. Even after the slight allowance for minority representation the Social Democrats obtained 75 per cent of the representation with 43 per cent of the votes.

Close Vote against P. R. in South Australia

A bill to establish proportional representation as the provincial electoral system in South Australia was defeated last November upon second reading in the province's House of Assembly by seventeen votes to sixteen. The bill would have divided the state into six electoral districts of approximately equal population, each electing the same number of representatives by proportional representation.

A great deal of the debate on the bill turned on the fact that in South Australia, by virtue of wide disparity in the population of districts, the rural population generally receives from four to six times the representation of urban citizens.

Speaking for the prevailing side, Mr. R. W. Pearson said: "Looking after my district entails considerable trouble and it would not be fair to the electors to increase the size of it. Country people in this state are entitled to the ratio of representation which they enjoy. . . . Proportional representation would destroy that advantage which the country has as against the metropolitan area."

Such arguments might justify giving every representative of rural voters several additional secretaries or assistants to maintain contact with his scattered constituency, but hardly such exaggerated parliamentary power. On this point Mr. W. MacGillivray said in introducing the bill:

"Doubtless I shall be asked whether country people are not entitled to more representation than those in the city. I could never understand why they should be, and I have been a country man all my life."

The vote followed party lines. The party with the majority in the House of Assembly is identified with the political interests of the rural districts.

W. M. Southam, Correspondent Extraordinary

Wilson M. Southam of the *Ottawa Citizen*, a leading figure in the Southam chain of Canadian newspapers, died on August 24 of last year. His going deprived the Canadian P. R. movement of its most active and effective leader since Ronald Hooper, of St. James, Manitoba, had to discontinue his fruitful volunteer work as secretary of the Canadian P. R. Society some years ago.

Mr. Southam performed a unique service through a wide correspondence. Keeping in close touch with political developments throughout the world, he kept up a constant bombardment of the principal figures involved with letters pointing out how an accurate method of representation could help them. In 1943 he distributed widely a pamphlet of his own preparation on the application of P. R. to the problems of world government.

Mr. Southam's *Citizen* was well named. He and it were citizens of the world. Their penetrating editorials and special articles helped to keep democratic principles to the fore in his nation's capital and exerted an influence far beyond his country's borders.

G. H. H.

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Houston and Harris County Merger Debated

Other Communties Discuss City-County Consolidations

THAT all of Harris County, Texas, which includes the city of Houston, should be one large city is the recommendation made by the November term of the grand jury at its final meeting late in January.

"While every law enforcement agency in Harris County seems to be in energetic, conscientious and efficient hands," said Foreman Jesse George in the jury's report, "We must take note of the duplication of effort and of records and the resultant waste motion in a community such as Harris County when each city or town has its mayor and council and its separate police department.

"Thought should be given to the advisability of knitting Harris County into one political unit with one mayor and one police department. The result would be greatly increased over-all efficiency at greatly reduced expense."

This recommendation would mean, were it adopted, the merger of twelve cities in addition to unincorporated villages and communities.

While not prepared at this time to recommend a complete merger of the city and county governments, the executive committee of the Houston Tax Research Association has announced its intention to make "careful studies of the 61 separate governmental agencies and see if efficiency can be improved or maintained at a lower cost without infringing on the democratic rights of the people," reports its executive secretary, William E. Davis, Jr. Nine advisory committees will undertake the research and analysis.

Interest in city-county consolidation in Harris County has recently gained impetus from discussion of the unit system of road consolidation, which has been making headway in Texas counties.

The city of Atlanta and Fulton County have secured the services of the Federal Bureau of Investigation to plan the merger of their identification bureaus. The plan anticipates that the county will perform all identification work for city and county while the city will be responsible for radio communications for both governmental units.

An ordinance creating the Northern Virginia Regional Planning Commission has been presented to Arlington, Fairfax and Prince William Counties and to the towns of Alexandria, Falls Church, Fairfax and Herndon. The commission would begin operation as soon as three units of government adopted the ordinance. It would have only advisory powers, and its fields of study would include zoning, road systems, sewage treatment, schools, hospitals and penal institutions. It would be financed by member units in proportion to population. A similar regional planning body, the Lower Peninsula Planning Commission, was established by six units in the Newport News, Virginia, area in 1944.

The 1947 session of the South Dakota legislature authorized county commissioners to purchase and operate firefighting equipment in cooperation with townships and municipalities within the county boundaries.

Three Colorado Counties Cooperate on Health

In Colorado, Adams, Arapahoe and Jefferson Counties have formed a Tri-county Health Department. The department is beginning immediately on a survey of sanitary conditions in the three counties.

These three counties already have a Tri-county Regional Planning Commission (see the REVIEW, December 1945, page 585).

Citizens of Santa Clara County Seek Charter Revision

The Citizens Charter Movement of Santa Clara County, California, was organized at a dinner attended by some 150 people on February 2. It hopes to secure adoption of a new county home rule charter by November 1948. One of the group's first moves was the appearance of some 30 civic leaders, led by Assemblyman Robert C. Kirkwood of Saratoga, acting chairman, before the county board of supervisors. The group requested the board to take a stand on whether it will place the question of electing a board of freeholders (charter commission) on the ballot.

Giving impetus to the movement for a home rule charter—Santa Clara County is the largest unit still operating under the general laws of the state—is the recommendation of the 1947 grand jury that the board of supervisors employ a county manager to supervise the county's $25,000,000 annual business. The jury reported that its investigation of county administration discloses that "there is no central authority on our county's management. There is no one to whom any employee can turn or to whom any citizen may go for action outside routine matters."

Progress is being made also in the field of intergovernmental relations. The Santa Clara County Council on Intergovernmental Relations recently published *A Survey of Public Buildings in San José* and *A Basis for Better Intergovernmental Relations.* One concrete development has been an agreement between city, county, state and federal governments to develop a government center in which all levels of government will participate.

Census Bureau Reports on Finances of Large Counties

The United States Bureau of the Census has taken the 56 counties having a 1940 census of more than 250,000 persons and subjected their finances for 1946 to critical analysis in its recent publication, *Large County Finances in 1946* (twelve pages).

The tables in this report reveal that during their fiscal years ending in 1946 the governments of these counties experienced sharp increases in both general revenue and general expenditure. Compared with 1945, their total revenue was greater by 14.1 per cent and expenditure by 13.9 per cent. Their debt decreased 4.6 per cent.

In 1946 the 56 populous counties covered by the report accounted for three-tenths of the general revenues of all county governments and for nearly two-fifths of all county debt. Of the 116,000,000 persons being served by county governments, according to the 1940 census, 33,000,000, or 29 per cent, live in these large counties.

The $567,000,000 in general revenue received by the 56 largest counties during 1946 was 14.1 per cent more than the $497,000,000 collected in 1945. Taxes yielded $320,000,000 in 1946, 6.2 per cent more than in 1945. The property tax provided $315,000,000, the yield of all other taxes imposed being less than $5,000,000. Aid received from other governments—predominantly state governments—amounted to $167,000,000, as compared with $137,000,000 in 1945, an increase of 21.9 per cent. Revenue from charges and miscellaneous sources was $80,000,000, an increase of 36.4 per cent over the $58,000,000 collected in 1945.

Capital outlay more than doubled, rising to nearly $29,000,000 in 1946. The increase, shared by 41 of the 56 counties, reflects chiefly the fact that the 1945 amount was abnormally small because of war-induced shortages. Outstanding gross debt of the 56 largest counties dropped in 1946 by $26,000,000, or 4.6 per cent, to $533,000,000.

A companion report, *Summary of County Government Finances in 1946*, is in process.

Missouri County Analyzes Its Almshouse

The Jasper County, Missouri, Tax Economy Association recently completed a detailed survey of the operation of its almshouse.[1] To secure comparative data, it conducted a survey by questionnaire of almshouse operation in 40 Missouri counties. The data collected included the number of employees, annual expenditures, total income and number of inmates.

The survey revealed that the cost per person cared for varied in the 33 counties that responded from a low of $56 to a high of $751 for the year 1946. It indicated that the median cost was approximately $333 per resident, that the average almshouse was slightly more than half full, and that 27 of the 33 institutions produced a part of the food consumed.

A study of the ten-year record of the Jasper County almshouse revealed that the number of county wards in the institution had decreased from 85 to 37 but that the cost per inmate had more than doubled. The report emphasized waste of fuel and inadequate records as serious weaknesses in administration. It criticized continued operation of the farm since able-bodied persons no longer took up residence in the almshouse.

Since the comparative statistics revealed that per capita costs increased as the number of inmates declined, the report recommended that Jasper County take advantage of the provisions of the new constitution to cooperate with other counties in almshouse operation. Since the building of a district almshouse for ten or less contiguous counties after an affirmative vote in each seemed impractical at this time, the report recommended that as an intermediate measure Jasper County enter into a contractual arrangement with another county whereby the wards of both counties would be cared for in one institution. This could be done without a popular referendum.

Counties Seek Freedom from 'Smog'

With plenty of California sunshine as its goal, Los Angeles County has started a comprehensive anti-smog program under recent state legislation authorizing creation of a Los Angeles Air Pollution Authority which will have power to license all businesses and industries that generate noxious fumes. Private homes are excepted. Penalties will be imposed through revocation of licenses.

County-wide smoke control also was authorized last year by state action for the metropolitan areas of Milwaukee and Pittsburgh.

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[1] *Administrative Survey of the Jasper County Almshouse,* Carthage, Missouri, February 1948, 21 pages.

Taxation and Finance . . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Increased New York State Budget Sought

Governor Submits Request for Eight Hundred Million

ON JANUARY 30 Governor Thomas E. Dewey submitted his executive budget for 1948-49 to the New York State legislature. It provides for expenditures for general state and local assistance purposes totaling $753,543,000, earmarking an additional $47,750,000 of income taxes and cigarette taxes for service on veterans' bonus bonds as authorized by constitutional amendment last November. The total of $801,000,000 exceeded the budget adopted for 1947-48 by $148,000,000.

Of the total, $331,000,000 is requested for strictly state purposes including debt service, $422,000,000 is for assistance to local units including aid to schools, and $47,750,000 represents earmarked revenues dedicated to payment of veterans' bonus bonds. For fiscal 1947-48, expenditures are estimated at $317,000,000 for state purposes, $390,000,000 for local assistance, and $5,000,000 to be set aside for the veterans' bonus fund.

The governor estimated that no new revenues would be required to finance the state-local budget. Under the veterans' bonus amendment, however, a one cent per pack increase in the state cigarette tax has already become effective while the rate for personal income taxes will be raised 20 per cent for the same purpose. The income tax increase means that whereas the taxpayer has previously deducted 50 per cent from his tax as computed at prewar rates—the device adopted by the legislature instead of a reduction in rates—now only 40 per cent will be deducted in computing the tax payable. Whereas the personal income tax yielded $114,000,000 in fiscal 1946-47 and is estimated to produce $137,500,000 for 1947-48 (including $2,500,000 for the bonus fund), for 1948-49 the yield is expected to be $186,000,000, divided $155,000,000 at the regular rate and $31,000,000 from the 20 per cent increase dedicated to the bonus fund.

Indicative of the extent to which rising costs have made themselves felt in the budget is the dwindling of surplus revenues. In 1946-47 receipts exceeded expenditures by $58,700,000. Although 1947-48 revenues are expected to exceed original estimates by $42,000,000, expenditures will exceed appropriations, cutting the budgeted surplus for the year from $4,300,000 to $1,800,000. For 1948-49, receipts are anticipated to exceed expenditures by $5,100,000.

New Jersey Governor Asks New Revenues

Governor Alfred E. Driscoll of New Jersey on February 2 submitted to the legislature a budget totaling $151,000,000, $6,000,000 below that for the current year. At the same time he asked a $46,000,000 cut in payroll taxes for unemployment compensation and proposed new tax increases totaling $37,000,000 for other purposes.

The proposed new revenues include a cigarette tax of three cents per pack, estimated to yield $14,200,000; a tax of $1.50 per $1,000 on gross receipts of business, estimated to produce $19,500,000; an increase of one and a half cents per gallon in the tax on beer, estimated to provide an additional $1,800,000; and an increase in the state's share of pari-mutuel betting from 4 to 5 per cent of the first $50,000,000 for each track each season, estimated to yield an additional $1,500,000. The increased revenues would go $10,000,000 to school districts and $1,000,000 to cities and counties for highway purposes. The other $140,000,000 asked in the budget was for "normal expenditures," including nearly $18,000,000 for capital improvements.

Roanoke Appeals Realty Decision

Constitutionality of the Roanoke, Virginia, real estate transfer tax, held invalid by the local court, will be determined by the Virginia Supreme Court, which has agreed to hear the city's arguments to set aside the lower court verdict.

The tax was imposed by the city in April 1947, at the rate of $1 on each $100 or fraction thereof of the value of property transferred from one owner to another. Estimated to produce $60,000 annually, the city had received nearly $53,000 when a test case was brought by the Roanoke Real Estate Board. Judge Dirk Kuyk of Roanoke Hustings Court ruled that the tax was an ad valorem property tax and as such violated the uniformity clause of the state constitution.

New York City Valuations Raised

New York City's tentative assessed valuations for 1948-49, announced the end of January, total $17,684,000,000, an increase of nearly $746,000,000 over 1947-48 valuations. The new valuation exceeds slightly that for 1939-40 and is the second consecutive increase, the 1947-48 valuation having been lifted just over $1,000,000 above 1946-47.

Of this year's increase of nearly three-quarters of a billion dollars, $436,000,000 was for equalization, $142,000,000 for new construction other than utilities, $37,000,000 for improvements to privately-owned buildings, and $74,000,000 for improvements to utility property.

City Forest Furnishes Money for Schools

Profits from the municipal forest owned by Troy, Maine, have enabled the city to finance the rebuilding of schools. The experience of Troy is typical of a growing number of cities which have started municipal forests, frequently on tax delinquent land, the American Public Works Association reports.

Over two thousand municipal forests in the country are protecting city watersheds, providing wild-life conservation areas and producing timberland for cities on a sustained yield basis.

The idea of municipal forests originated in Europe. An 8,000-acre tract belonging to the city of Berne, Switzerland, valued at $2,000,000, yields an annual income to the city of $300,000. Seattle, in this country, has one of the largest municipal forests, with 83,000 acres under long-range development.

Larger Pay Checks for City Workers

Wage and salary increases to help employees meet inflated living costs are still being granted by cities this year, according to a report by the Municipal Finance Officers Association. Percentage increases and increases of a flat amount monthly or annually are each represented.

In Cleveland the mayor agreed to grant pay raises to municipal employees which will cost $2,100,000 this year. Fire and police personnel received a yearly increase of $240 plus six new holidays to be added to the

(Continued on page 184)

Local Affairs Abroad . . . . . *Edited by James E. Gates*

Britain Revives Parish Council

Newly Organized National Association Holds Meeting

LONDON recently witnessed a gathering of 2,000 villagers, men and women, who were delegates to the first conference of the newly formed National Association of Parish Councils. They had come from the remotest parts of England and Wales to discuss the problems of that smallest unit of government, the parish council, and to give a demonstration of its existence and vitality.

Townsmen usually associate the parish with a country parson and some local churchgoers. It must have seemed strange to them then that Mr. Herbert Morrison, leader of the House of Commons, left a cabinet meeting in order to address a gathering of parish councillors. The Minister of Education was there, too, and Lord Justice Scott, a leading judge of appeal, left his court for the day to preside over the conference as the first chairman of the new association.

The key to this lies in the peculiar place the parish occupies in the constitutional and political framework of England. At the decline of the feudal system the parish was an ecclesiastical unit; it was responsible for the upkeep of the church and soon for poor relief as well. Expenditures and taxes were voted, and the churchwardens were elected in a democratic way by the parish meeting. But more and more duties were heaped on these earliest and smallest democratic units of self-government, until they were unable to carry the burden and fulfil their tasks efficiently.

The industrial revolution and the "age of reason" saw a strong central control imposed on reformed local authorities. This almost completely strangled the parishes, their powers being transferred to greater units, to central departments, county councils, boroughs and district authorities. The parish remained a unit in ecclesiastical life; but even when the parish council was re-established and given some limited powers by the local government act of 1894 it did not recover its former vitality.

One obstacle was the continuous exodus from the country towards industrial centers.

Another obstacle to an effective revival can be found by comparing the parish council with those continental local authorities which have a tradition of self-government. On the continent, generally speaking, the "universality principle" determines and restricts the activities of local authorities. In other words, they may do practically anything that legislation does not forbid, or anything not transferred to other authorities.

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In England, on the other hand, local authorities are allowed to do only what legislation has expressly authorized. In many cases they do not even know the full extent of all their powers scattered through the statute books.

The new Association of Parish Councils will help to put that right. It is now making thorough inquiries into the needs of parishes; it intends to promote legislation to implement their powers and put all the necessary information at their disposal.

Another difficulty of the parish council is that its financial resources are extremely limited. In a number of countries, local authorities draw their revenues from the local income tax and other direct taxations. But English parishes may levy taxes of only fourpence (eight cents)—or in certain cases eightpence (sixteen cents)—on the pound (four dollars). That means roughly 1.7 per cent—or 3.4 per cent—of the rents paid on premises. This will not go very far.

The new association will try to increase the taxing powers of parish councils and facilitate borrowing, and the Minister of Education has assured the conference of both his moral and financial support. With his assistance, as well as that of other departments, parish councils may well get the necessary grants for playing fields and reading rooms, recreation grounds and village halls.

In Britain new social life is growing up in the villages. The parish councils are considered to be the very cells of democratic education and the interest of the young generation is being attracted to them. Beyond all political doctrines it is dawning upon all concerned that "without local communal institutions a nation can give itself a free government but it has not the spirit of freedom." So Alexis de Tocqueville said more than a hundred years ago, and it is just as true today.

Pierre Dobbert

Is There a Future for Local Government?

In his comments upon an address entitled "Is There a Future for Local Government," by Professor F. A. Bland, the Secretary of the Local Government Association of New South Wales, A. Mainerd, remarked:

"Professor Bland argued that local government, with its belief in local responsibility and local diversity of operation and administration, was incompatible with centralized control and administrative uniformity, that the trends toward centralization would ultimately leave to local government only the chores of administration, with the substance of power concentrated in state instrumentalities and central authority. Unless this trend be reversed by the devolution of more powers to local government, the early end of local government as a local institution was inevitable. . . .

"What is the background of this trend toward the creation of more and more state instrumentalities in preference to the granting of greater powers to local government? In my judgment, it is a failure by those responsible to appreciate the work of local government and its essential place in a democratic community. . . . With the growing complexities of our daily lives and the need for urgent satisfaction of community wants, there is an impatience in some quarters with the working of the democratic system and a turning toward authoritarianism. . . . Local government has . . . . found itself unable to adjust its organization and structure to meet urgent public needs. This weakness is inherent in the system, but it must be faced and resolved. . . .

"The destiny of local government is as it should be—largely in its own hands. Given vigorous and united leadership by local government, the people will support it and the future of local government will be assured."

Britain Takes Final Steps on Social Security

The National Assistance Bill is the final step in the British government's comprehensive scheme of social security, divided into five parts: (1) Family Allowances Act, 1945; (2) National Insurance (Industrial Injuries

Act), 1946; (3) National Insurance Act, 1946; (4) National Health Service Act, 1946; and now (5) the National Assistance Bill. There may also be a sixth enactment regarding the public care of children.

The object of the National Assistance Bill is to accomplish the final breakup of the poor law and to round out the government's schemes of social services which are finally to come fully into operation as of July 5, 1948. Any consideration of the bill must be in connection with the other acts. Its financing, too, can be considered only in connection with the Local Government Bill, which contemplates a proposed complete recasting of financial relations between the Exchequer and local authorities.

There are two main features of the new bill, as indicated in the preamble:

(1) A single comprehensive service of national assistance under the National Assistance Board;

(2) Provision of residential accommodation for the aged, the infirm and others who require care and attention with special welfare services for certain handicapped persons. This is to be a local government function entrusted to the councils of counties and county boroughs, with a local rate charge subject to some Exchequer assistance in respect of new buildings.

All local government responsibility for the relief of destitution is to give place to the new national assistance which will take the form mainly of financial aid to those persons whose needs are not otherwise met by national insurance or other source.

The new unified state service of national assistance will replace:

(1) Unemployment assistance now paid by the Assistance Board to insurable unemployed persons not qualified for benefit or whose benefit is insufficient for their needs;

(2) Supplementary pensions now paid by the board to old-age and widow pensioners;

(3) Domiciliary assistance now paid by local authorities to registered blind persons;

(4) Tuberculosis treatment allowances now paid by local authorities on behalf of the Exchequer to certain persons suffering from pulmonary tuberculosis;

(5) Outdoor relief now paid by local authorities.

There are those who would say that this is the final phase in an evolutionary process which, though slow, has been steady. Originally, and prior to the Reformation, the care of the poor and needy was left entirely to private charity, in which the church took a prominent part. In the days of Queen Elizabeth the foundations of the existing poor law system were built, and the burden of maintaining the destitute was placed upon the parish in which they lived. In 1834 Boards of Guardians came into existence and the burden was removed from the parish to a union of parishes. In 1929 it was transferred to the counties and the county boroughs. At each stage the burden has been moved to a wider area and with this new bill the country seems to have arrived at the final change, from the local to the ultimate central authority.

England Reports on Local Government Publicity

The British Ministry of Health has recently issued its Interim Report of the Consultative Committee on Publicity for Local Government. The report is in part a summary of monthly discussions held during the major portion of 1947. The committee discussed aims and methods, services available through the media of information centers, press, exhibitions, public meetings and films, and a tentative program of films to be produced by the Central Office of Information is outlined.

Relations between local councils and the local press are considered at length, good will on both sides being necessary if there is to be established full information on the one hand and accurate reporting on the other. Civic news sheets were considered to be unsatisfactory as a substitute for a working relationship with the press.

The committee concludes that very large sums could not be usefully spent on centralized publicity for local governments: that, in the main, local government publicity must be undertaken locally, must be developed from the bottom up, and cannot be forced into a general mold applicable to all cities. Needed is improvement and extension of all the channels of communication of local government to the public which it serves.

Merger of Hospital Boards Discussed in North Auckland

Excessive hospital rates have brought to a head the problem of amalgamation of several hospital boards in the Northland of New Zealand. An inquiry was conducted recently at which there seemed to be general agreement that better service would be the result of such a merger. There was a feeling, however, that there might also be a surrender of local autonomy, that district hospitals would lose local support and would tend to lose their identity in the larger organization. It was agreed that the most important aim was improvement of the hospital service but that local authorities would be happy if certain local autonomies were retained.

Costs of Municipal Services Increase in Canada

Although between 1933 and 1946 the cost of municipal debt service and the cost of public welfare declined in Canada, the savings have been more than eaten up in other activities. There was a net over-all increase of 14.4 per cent in service costs for the period. The distribution was as follows:

Service	*1933*	*1946*	*Per Cent Increase*
	(millions of $)		
Schools	73.4	100.0	36.2
Public Welfare	53.9	44.6	—17.3
Highways, etc.	22.7	46.0	102.6
Protective service	78.6	104.6	33.0
Debt charges	91.5	71.1	—22.2
Totals	320.1	366.3	14.4

Housing and Town Planning Congress to Meet

The nineteenth International Congress for Housing and Town Planning will be held at Zurich, Switzerland, June 20-26. According to a preliminary program issued by the International Federation for Housing and Town Planning, subjects for discussion will include financial aid to housing, national and regional planning of town and countryside, housing progress and methods employed to promote it, and the financial relation of planning to ownership. An exhibition of Swiss housing and planning will be opened during the congress and visits in and around Zurich are being planned for delegates.

Books in Review

Public Utility Regulation. By Herman H. Trachsel. Chicago, Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1947. x, 538 pp. $5.

A very complete and well documented statement of the history and methods of the regulation of privately owned utilities in the United States, written with textbook clarity and objectiveness and with obvious authority. Controversial issues are faced coolly but briefly; e.g., the old question of whether regulatory commissions should sit back like courts and wait for complainants to submit and sustain their complaints or should take over the burden of initiating action and accumulating proofs. Its wealth of facts and instances make it a reference classic.

The author concludes: "There is a wide variation in the extent and effectiveness of control which the states have provided. A dozen or so can be rated as having strong commissions and are doing a creditable job of regulating. The others range from very mediocre regulation down to none at all for some of the important utilities. . . . The original conception of the commission as an aggressive administrative agency representing the public interest must be revived. . . .

"The principle of assessing the costs of regulation against the utilities which are regulated appears to be entirely just and equitable. It places the cost of regulation squarely upon those who benefit from it. Experience has shown that the commissions which obtain a substantial part of their funds from assessments against the utilities have fared much better than those depending to a greater extent upon legislative appropriations.

"Furthermore, direct assessments have had a very good effect on the utilities themselves. If the funds of the commissions are definitely limited, there is an advantage for a company to prolong the hearings and investigations as long as possible in order to exhaust the funds and bring an end to the investigation. When the costs are assessed against the utilities, they know the funds will not be exhausted and that the investigation can continue as long as necessary at their expense. The utilities have been quick to realize this situation and are therefore much more willing to make the rate reductions and in other ways meet the requirements of the commissions."

Richard S. Childs

The Citizen and Government. By John A. Hawgood. London, Nicholson and Watson, 1947. 128 pp. 6s.

This author takes the dismal science of politics as currently seen in England and illustrates it with many photographs and isotypes in color to turn it into swift reading for the laity. Diagrams are frequently much clearer than words. It should make a vivid textbook for a high school student.

The little book deals entirely with the phenomena of the voters in relation to their government, the open field for speculation on human nature, mass psychology and the mechanism of the ballot. The English voter only votes now and then for a single officer —member of the municipal council or member of Parliament—so the problem is vastly simpler than in a country like ours where the voter may face a ballot that demands expression of 50 choices.

Nevertheless, it is interesting to see what the conditions are that an informed student finds to bewail. He is disturbed, for example, about the frequency of elections with only a 30 per cent turnout of voters. This happens to be a common figure in Dayton, Ohio, for instance, which has been getting good government for a third of a century, nevertheless. Perhaps it is not a calamity if those who don't care stay away, despite the risk of getting fooled if one section of the public gets unexpectedly animated when the rest are languid.

The volume deserves examination for its graphic technique as well as for its interesting revelations of the mysterious ways of British voters.

R. S. C.

New City Patterns. The Analysis of and a Technique for Urban Reintegration. By S. E. Saunders and A. J. Rabuck. New York, Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1946. 205 pp. Illus. $8.

Scattered throughout with half-tone illustrations and diagrams, this work is devoted to a discussion of the organization of metropolitan planning commissions and the methods they must follow to insure that each new improvement fits into a predetermined plan. Much attention is given to parks, greenbelts and playgrounds as well as community shopping and parking areas. Emphasis is placed on the necessity for through highways. The book is practical and realistic and should appeal not only to the planner but to the interested layman.

Housing and Citizenship. A Study of Low-Cost Housing. By George Herbert Gray. Foreword by C.-E. A. Winslow. New York, Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1946. xiv, 254 pp. Illus. $7.50.

This is a thorough-going survey of all phases of the housing problem. The author has as his thesis that healthy and responsible citizenship is dependent on adequate living accommodations for the masses. He analyzes the factors which have brought about present housing conditions in U. S. cities and presents a plan for future low-cost development. He also discusses housing in England, Holland, Russia, France and the Scandinavian countries. The volume is well illustrated with some 47 full-page plates and numerous graphs and tables.

Democratic Government and Politics. By J. A. Corry. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1946. vii, 468 pp. $3.75.

In this volume the author presents a comparative view of the governments of Great Britain, the United States and Canada as a background for discussing recent developments in democratic government and assessing their significance, as well as for analyzing the politics of democracy.

The Small Community Looks Ahead. By Wayland J. Hayes. New York 17, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1947. xii, 276 pp. $3.

A thoughtful review of small community phenomena, with some interesting and well described cases of how small rural communities sometimes go to seed and how some of them were revived to help themselves. A readable contribution to community psychology.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Airports

General Principles of Airfield Snow Removal. Washington, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Civil Aeronautics Administration, 1947. 24 pp.

1947-48 Federal Airport Program. Washington, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Civil Aeronautics Administration, Office of Airports, 1947. 144 pp.

Regulations for Administering Federal Airport Act. Washington, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Civil

Aeronautics Administration, 1947. Variously paged.

Building Codes

Information on Sources of Material for Use in Preparing and Revising Local Building Codes. By the Building Code Correlating Committee. New York 17, American Standards Association, 1947. 31 pp.

Civil Rights

To Secure These Rights. The Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1947. xii, 178 pp. $1.

Directories

Delaware State Manual—Official List of Officers, Boards, Commissions and County Officers 1948. Dover, Delaware, Secretary of State, 1948. 62 pp.

Directory of Territorial Agencies and Officers, Territory of Hawaii. Honolulu 10, University of Hawaii, Legislative Reference Bureau, 1947. iv, 59 pp.

Housing

Out of Balance. 1946-1947 Annual Report. Memphis, Tennessee, Housing Authority, 1947. 32 pp. Illus.

Industrial Development

Partners—Industry and the Tennessee Community. A Guide to Community Industrial Development. Nashville 3, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1947. 44 pp. $1.

Parking

Factual Guide on Automobile Parking for the Smaller Cities. Washington, D. C., Public Roads Administration, 1947. Variously paged.

Full Summary of Report Analyzes Pasadena's Critical Parking Needs. Pasadena, Automobile Parking Association, 1947. 15 pp.

Parking Primer for Pasadena. Pasadena, Automobile Parking Association, 1947. 12 pp.

Planning

American Planning and Civic Annual. A record of recent civic advance in the fields of planning, parks, housing, neighborhood improvement and conservation of natural resources, including addresses, discussions and round tables presented at the Citizens Conference on Planning, held at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, April 28, 29, 30, 1947, and the papers given at the National Park Conference held in Washington, D. C., April 1, 1947. Edited by Harlean James. Washington, D. C., American Planning and Civic Association, 1947. ix, 214 pp. $3.

New York State Postwar Public Works Planning Commission—Final Report. Albany, the Commission, 1947. 144 pp.

Residential Areas. An Analysis of Land Requirements for Residential Development 1945 to 1970. Cincinnati, City Planning Commission, 1947. 137 pp.

State Government

The Government of New Mexico. By Thomas C. Donnelly. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1947. vi, 330 pp.

North Carolina—The State and Its Government. By Paul W. Wager. New York, Oxford Book Company, 1947. iv, 124 pp. 67 cents.

Taxation and Finance

The Federal Reserve System—Its Purpose and Functions. Second Edition. Washington 25, D. C., Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, 1947. 125 pp.

Governmental Accounting. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association. *Municipal Finance,* Feb. 1948, 32 pp. 50 cents.

State Sales Tax Activity; State Tax Study Commissions; Total Tax Collections in 1946. New York, Tax Institute, 1947. 7, 11, and 8 pp. respectively. 25 cents each.

State Tax Collections in 1947. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1947. 10 pp.

State Tax Legislation in 1947. New York 7, Tax Institute, 1947. 36 pp. 50 cents.

Summary of City Government Finances in 1946. Washington, D. C., U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1947. 11 pp.

Traffic Safety

Toledo Traffic Code. An Ordinance No. 37-38, Enacted Feb. 5, 1948. Toledo, Commission of Publicity and Efficiency, 1948. 48 pp.

Winter Accident Prevention. Report of Committee on Winter Driving Hazards. Chicago, National Safety Council. 1947. 23 pp.

Transit

Transportation Greater Winnipeg 1946; Transit Greater Winnipeg 1946. Preliminary Reports—Part of Metropolitan Plan for Greater Winnipeg. Winnipeg, Metropolitan Planning Committee and Winnipeg Planning Commission, 1946. 41 and 43 pp. respectively.

TAXATION AND FINANCE

(Continued from page 176)

annual furloughs. White-collar employees will get a $180 annual raise if they earn under $3,000 a year, or an increase of 6.5 per cent if they are paid more than $3,000 annually.

The Pittsburgh council earmarked $1,200,000 for municipal salary raises effective in January. Largest increases went to employees receiving $2,000 a year or less. Employees paid $3,000 or more received a flat $150 annual increase.

Chicago's record budget for 1948 includes pay increases of 8.5 per cent for municipal employees earning less than $5,000 a year, plus raises averaging $300 a year for higher paid employees.

All city employees in Omaha have been given a flat $15 per month wage boost. The increase will affect approximately 1,260 workers—civilian, police and fire personnel—and will cost the city an estimated $250,000 this year.

Taking action to eliminate inequalities in municipal pay scales as well as boost salaries, East Orange, New Jersey, passed an ordinance effective this month revising salaries on the basis of civil service recommendations.

Employees of Pueblo, Colorado, have received a 20 per cent salary increase. Miles City, Montana, workers have been granted a $25 monthly pay boost retroactive to July 1.

In Denver the average monthly pay of municipal employees increased during the past year from $136 to $186. Further pay increases for 1948 are being considered.

Seventeen cities, meanwhile, were continuing cost-of-living adjustment plans which provide for automatic pay adjustments at least once a year proportionate to fluctuations in the consumers' price index computed by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Among these cities are Madison, Wisconsin; Duluth, Minnesota, and Portland, Oregon.

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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

What It Takes to Win

THE general apathy of citizens toward public affairs is always disquieting but as long as it is possible to discard officials or change the fundamental form of government our self-governing system is safe.

Apathy stems from lack of information. An informed citizenry is an aroused, participating citizenry.

As inflation diminishes the value of the dollar and tax bills go up, the taxpayer is likely to gripe. If his griping is reckless, he might stampede officials into false and foolish economies. But if it prompts him to examine the governmental operations in a constructively critical manner, he can exert pressure to cut out needless waste and for more efficient methods.

It is stupid, for example, to discontinue garbage collection, as one community recently did, to keep the tax bill down. Garbage must be collected. Householders now have to hire the haulers themselves. The monthly bills add up to more at retail than the old wholesale rate charged on the tax bill. Even more serious is the difficulty of controlling an operation so closely connected with public health.

Citizen demand for better local government is more intelligent, mature and constructive than it has ever been before. Despite the many shallow distractions, people are willing to examine proposals thoughtfully and they are more than usually able to understand that a sound, sensibly organized government tends to assure good results and to be more responsive to intelligent popular will.

People throughout the country were both shocked and thrilled when ex-GIs of Athens, Tennessee, resorted to their guns to throw out a predatory county political machine. That is about where the headlines stopped telling the story. But what happened after that? Any fair-minded person who reads the article on page 196 of this issue telling of the solid subsequent achievements of these patriots will recognize that the armed revolt by the men of Athens was no reckless, ill-considered act. They were and are sorry they were forced to resort to violence to preserve the liberty for which they had fought in the armed forces. But it would still be difficult to demonstrate that self-respecting Americans could have done otherwise. And it would be difficult to find a more responsible, solid post-revolution performance than the organized citizens of McMinn County have scored.

The customary way of casting out political dictatorship is typified by another article[1] which describes the success against great odds of the independent voters of the old city of Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

The Portsmouth story is especially significant because, although the Good Government Committee had to cope with just about the whole book of dirty political trickery, it followed the National Municipal League's recommendations and warnings right down the line—and won.

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[1] See page 188.

That's what it takes to help people decide wisely on a proposed basic change: a strong and representative sponsoring committee (for, unfortunately, many people vote on the basis of who is for and who is against a proposition), an organization of unpaid volunteers, full and adequate information on what's wrong with the *status quo* and what can be done about it, meetings, a house-to-house canvass that will get out the vote.

In McMinn County and Portsmouth, as in many other places, the voters adopted the council-manager plan, a system which has demonstrated that it can make things more difficult for the politician and easier for the good citizen to control.

These are success stories. In Fairmont, West Virginia, by way of contrast, a thorough job of education was not done. The plan was defeated and a local editor commented:

"The political organizations sometimes fail to get out their voters in large numbers but they always do a better job than the nonpartisan organizations."

McMinn County, Portsmouth and scores of other victories this year prove him wrong. And in Mexico, Missouri, where the manager plan also failed of adoption recently, the editor took a more clear-eyed view. Setting his sights on another campaign next year and, if that fails, the following year, he said:

"We salute the recent no-vote campaigners. They worked harder than we yes-voters. So they won."

'No One Will Lose His Job'

WHEN the mayor of New York recently directed the analysis division of the budget bureau to study all departments with a view to cutting costs he promised that, no matter what economies were found possible, no city employee would be discharged.

That's a remarkable and reckless promise. Payroll accounts for something like 70 per cent of the city's budget. Some public employees may be surplus or unqualified; indeed, in any activity, public or private, this is almost certain to be the case.

The recently appointed new city manager of neighboring Yonkers, by way of contrast, quickly tested the qualifications and physical fitness of employees of the over-manned public works department. Those who failed to pass muster were promptly separated from the payroll.

How can a chief executive of a municipality, in the face of the perilous financial situation ahead for nearly all cities, do his duty today without requiring everyone to carry his own weight? Is it fair to all the people or to the capable employees to carry dead wood?

Americans are not an unkind people. They have means of providing for people who must be "taken care of." There is no genuine kindness in the discredited political tradition of "taking care of" drones and incompetents on the public payroll.

An Old City Goes Modern

325-year-old Portsmouth, New Hampshire, whips old-line politicians in stirring campaign to win manager charter.

By **FRANKLIN E. JORDAN***

FEW cities in the United States have adopted a council-manager charter against greater odds than did Portsmouth, New Hampshire, on November 4 last year. In fact, veteran politicians said privately among themselves that it couldn't be done. Portsmouth's professional gamblers were betting eight to one it was impossible.

Portsmouth had all the usual opposition of both political parties, including the common phoney "front" organization called the Citizens Committee for Better Government which appeared just before the election and disappeared right afterwards.

There were the usual lies, half-lies and general misrepresentations regarding the council-manager plan and its success elsewhere, including the familiar "dictatorship" cry. Portsmouth's proposed charter was misquoted, the usual attacks on the sincerity of the sponsoring group were made, and character assassination of individual members was attempted.

All this was normal and expected, thanks to the warnings given by the National Municipal League. Portsmouth, however, had seven added hurdles:

1. The governor of the state led the opposition against the charter and even campaigned in person at polling places on election day. The governor owned the local radio station which put a blackout on political news during the campaign.

2. The mayor of the city, who led the underground opposition of the other party, was an attractive and highly popular woman with pretty daughters who helped her campaign.

3. The proposal was buried in a long and complicated regular municipal election ballot where politicians counted on its being overlooked.

4. A finance commission referendum was added to the ballot beside the council-manager proposal, admittedly to confuse the voters.

5. Portsmouth's padded 17,000-name voter list was invalidated just two months before the election and every citizen had to be reregistered as well as new ones registered. Great inertia had to be overcome in order to have any vote at all for the proposal.

6. Opposition became "all out" when two nearby cities—Dover and Claremont—adopted council-manager charters during the Portsmouth campaign. Politicians said they had learned their lesson and it would not happen here.

7. Finally, the proposal faced the unprecedented requirement that it must be adopted by a majority of the voters voting any part of the ballot—not merely a majority of

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*Mr. Jordan, public relations consultant, was campaign manager for the Portsmouth Good Government Committee whose campaign for the council-manager plan he describes. Mr. Jordan was a newspaper man for fifteen years, with the Boston *Post,* the Boston *Transcript* and other New England papers; from 1940 to 1947 he was managing editor of the Portsmouth, New Hampshire, *Herald.*

those voting on the council-manager question. This was the politicians' ace in the hole because all previous experience showed it couldn't be done.

Amateurs Organize

Against the opposition's array of professional experience, money and talent was a little group of about a dozen amateurs—prominent citizens fed up with years of mismanagement, inefficiency and graft under the ancient mayor-council form of government. Their principal asset was an unswerving determination to win and that was enough.

Fortunately, the national trend was with them and the Dover and Claremont adoptions helped more than they hindered. Fortunately, too, J. D. Hartford, publisher of the Portsmouth *Herald*, was with them and went all-out in the campaign. No newspaper has ever done more for the council-manager cause.

National Municipal League instructions for conducting a council-manager campaign were followed and they can be heartily recommended down to the last paragraph. Its literature was used in quantity. Every means of reaching the public was used, from house-to-house canvasses to newspapers, radio, car cards and posters. A volunteer committee of more than a hundred workers really worked—street by street, block by block.

The difficult was accomplished, the impossible took a little longer.

Election day saw a turnout of 7,250 out of 8,600 registered voters—the largest in history. Voting on the proposal itself made the council-manager charter an easy winner—3,529 to 2,225 opposed. This was the largest majority in favor of the plan in any New Hampshire city. Incidentally, the campaign committee had figured that with the governor living in Portsmouth, with Portsmouth one of the shire municipalities of the state, there was a politician-controlled vote of about 2,000 in opposition, regardless of what it did.

On election day politicians recognized the large turnout of new faces—particularly so many women brought out by Portsmouth's on-the-job League of Women Voters—as a bad sign. By the time the polls closed they were glumly but privately admitting defeat.

When returns from all the wards but the governor's home ward were in, the proposal appeared to be a winner even with the majority voting proviso. But at 2.30 A.M. when the governor's ward finally reported, the final figures showed the proposal had failed by 97 votes to secure a majority of all the voters voting.

Happy politicians started collecting their bets.

The sponsoring committee felt sure the plan had won, however. This ward which had made such a poor showing was the one in which many of the sponsors lived, in which there were the most volunteer workers, and in which much of the work had been done. The returns just didn't make sense.

The National Municipal League had warned that council-manager proposals have been "counted out" election day, and immediately the committee made plans for a recount.

There the politicians had their

final ace in the hole. There is no provision in the New Hampshire law for a recount on a referendum. Such a law had been proposed but had not come before the legislature. The politicians said it couldn't be done.

Recount Granted

The committee obtained the services of Mayland Morse of Concord, however, an extremely wise and skilled attorney who worked closely with the campaign manager. They argued that while there was no law which said a recount could be held there also was no law which said one couldn't be held.

The decision was up to the Portsmouth city clerk, who was the daughter of the highly popular woman mayor who had led the underground opposition. The mayor, however, Mrs. Dondero, had been defeated on the ballot by the Republican nominee and, since her term was ending, this opposition was now on the fence.

Politicians made all sorts of offers and attempted to prevent the city clerk from declaring a recount. Attorney Morse, however, was able to convince her that "common sense and justice" demanded a recount and she granted it.

The recount showed that 93 votes in favor of the council-manager plan had been overlooked in the governor's home ward by election officials of his party, who said they were "tired" because of counting the heavy vote. These 93 votes, with changes in other wards, gave the plan a win by 46 votes.

The Good Government Committee did not make the mistake of folding up but urged good citizens to run in the special election December 9 for the council under the manager charter. It did err, however, in endorsing ten persons for the nine positions with some of its selections based on vote appeal rather than ability, as the committee now realizes. It hopes that civic groups in other cities will profit from this error.

The political opposition was not dead, however, and just previous to the council election there appeared an anonymous card which, except for the names listed, was almost a duplicate of the Good Government Committee card of endorsees. Gullible voters were told that the Good Government Committee had changed its endorsements.

Fortunately, this list included a few good men inserted by the politicians for window dressing and the voters showed good judgment by picking the best.

The council elected included four Good Government Committee endorsees—an attorney and former municipal court judge, a physician and two businessmen, all prominent in the community and highly respected.

Mayor Dondero showed her strength by being elected to the council, receiving the highest vote on the ticket of 52 candidates. The Republican nominee who had beaten her by fifteen votes in November was also elected, as was one of his teammates, a prominent business man who had been on the governor's staff but whose brother was on the Good Government Committee.

Another Republican (this historic seaport city is 90 per cent Republican) was a business man, deputy sheriff and former chairman of the Republican city committee, conceded to be honest and fair. He opposed the governor on many occasions.

The final member was swept in by the "phoney" endorsement card and was a member of the state legislative delegation which had tried to sabotage the proposal by the majority of voters requirement. Since his political career has been noted for going along with the majority, however, his election is not considered to be particularly harmful.

Seven of the nine new council members own and operate their own commercial or professional businesses and are substantial taxpayers. Three experienced politicians on the council, including the leaders of each party, provide balance. According to old-time residents, it is the best council in the history of the city.

Manager Selected

Unfortunately, the council's choice of mayor was the Republican nominee who had won the November election. This had some merit but Good Government members had hoped it would not be anyone prominently identified with either the governor's or the mayor's party.

To insure the council's selection of a good city manager the Good Government Committee urged that every city manager in the nation be notified that Portsmouth was in the market. Again, the local newspaper cooperated, sending out letters. As a result the committee had a choice of about 50 men, many of them excellent. Some were even from larger places where the manager had a yearning to get back to the northern New England countryside.

The unanimous selection made January 31 by the council was Edward Peterson who was city manager of Middleboro, Massachusetts, for ten years. An engineer, MIT graduate, who supplemented that with law at Suffolk University, Mr. Peterson appears to have just the background that Portsmouth needs. He managed several Maine towns and was a municipal finance expert for the state of Maine. He has handled utilities (Portsmouth has a water system), he was an officer in the sanitation corps of the army and knows his health and sewage problems. In sum, his twenty years of previous experience seem to fit him to earn the $8,000 which Portsmouth voted to pay him. It is a $2,000 raise for him and a challenge! He took over on February 16.

One of the results of the council-manager charter most in evidence right after its adoption was the zeal—never shown previously—with which the hold-over superintendent of streets handled snow removal. While other cities were snowbound, Portsmouth's streets were cleared and sanded as they had never been before. Just the idea of the council-manager plan seems to work miracles!

Two Fellows Named Dick

One, businessman—inventor of manager plan, finally honored in own birthplace through other's campaign.

By **KARL DETZER***

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ONE day 45 years ago a boy named Dick, having come of age, walked down to the polls in New York with his father and got into trouble with his first ballot. Twenty-seven years later another young fellow named Dick was fired by the city editor of a paper in Elizabeth, New Jersey, and started to hitch-hike home to Vermont.

These two seemingly unrelated events resulted last November in a community celebration in Manchester, Connecticut, when that city installed the council-manager form of government. The two Dicks had brought it about, though strangely enough this was their first meeting.

The Dick who encountered trouble at the New York polls was born in Manchester and now is Richard S. Childs, the man who first dreamed up the council-manager plan. The other Dick is Richard Martin, director of the Connecticut State Water Commission, and the man chiefly responsible for Childs' birthplace belatedly adopting the Childs idea—number 800 in the list of American communities to substitute businesslike structures of government for loose-jointed, ramshackle setups by electing a board of city directors who appoint a city manager.

That first ballot made a deep impression on Dick Childs. He had gone to the polls well alerted to the issues and, as he thought, well prepared. But to his dismay his unfolded ballot revealed nineteen offices—and, beyond the top four, he knew nothing about any of them. Shamefaced, he voted blindly for anybody labeled Republican—an 80 per cent uninformed ballot!

But he found as he walked home that his father did not know any more than he did, that such blind voting was universal. He came to an unusual conclusion about it, namely, that it was not the voters' fault; it was the fault of the system—the ballot was too long and the structure of government too complex to constitute a workable mechanism of democracy.

As he knew, the voter in England needed to choose only one councilman from among two or three candidates in a city election, all other British officeholders except members of Parliament being appointed civil servants.

In America the confused citizen faced scores of names for dozens of offices. He voted not only for councilmen and mayors, but for treasurers, constables, justices, coroners, highway commissioners, sewer superintendents and dog catchers. About most of the candidates he knew noth-

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ing, and his choice was voting a straight party ticket or stabbing his pencil at names of unknowns running for offices that he understood only vaguely.

Childs became a New York business executive and talked with many practical politicians and also professors of political science. Then he wrote a pamphlet called *The Short Ballot* outlining the principles of what today is called the council-manager plan. Woodrow Wilson, Elihu Root, Charles Evans Hughes and other prominent Americans were impressed and went to work for it, but the politicians scoffed.

Birth of Manager Plan

As talk about it grew, they fought stubbornly against it. They knew that simplifying politics would break the power of local political machines, would mean the end of their control of a multitude of obscure little elective offices. They recognized that, as Childs put it, "the long ballot is the politician's ballot; the short ballot is the people's ballot."

To apply the principle to municipal governments, he proposed a strong simple structure—a small city council of five elective members who would appoint and control a professional city manager who would control all other municipal employees like a superintendent of schools under a school board. That was in 1911, a period when progressivism was in the air, and Childs' pamphlets and releases were well received.

Sumter, South Carolina, tried it first, in 1912, after Staunton, Virginia, had experimented with a "general manager" added to its old-fashioned setup. It spread to other small and medium-sized places until in 1914 Dayton, the first large city, made a spectacular success. Now in all but a few states there are municipalities governed by some form of the Childs simplified formula.

It was not Dick Childs, however, but the other fellow named Dick who spearheaded the fight in Manchester—42-year-old Richard Martin. He never would have got to Manchester if, hitch-hiking home to Vermont after being fired, he hadn't stopped off to see an old friend who was assistant state editor of the Hartford, Connecticut, *Courant*. The editor was hunting a new correspondent to cover the news in nearby Manchester.

"Want a job for a couple weeks?" he asked.

"I need a dollar," Dick Martin said, "and a meal and a clean shirt."

"In that case you're hired," the editor said. "Run over to Manchester and fill in while I look for a regular correspondent."

Martin went for the two weeks, and still lives there. When later the *Courant* recalled him to work in Hartford he soon found excuse to return to Manchester, this time to the local *Evening Herald*. Manchester was and still is a pretty town, full of white old houses in broad lawns. Its people earned their living making soap, silk and working in the state capital ten miles away.

Dick Martin found it steeped in tradition. Townsmen didn't seem to care how inefficient their town government was as long as it remained the same form instituted by their revered ancestors.

As a reporter Martin attended

town meetings which, he discovered, too often turned into fruitless debate. He also covered the regular meetings of the community's governing body, the board of selectmen. He prepared for these chores by reading the town charter from cover to cover, a task few politicians or other citizens had attempted in recent years. It was a venerable document, precisely suited, Martin thought, to a small village in the horse-and-buggy era, but Manchester now was a manufacturing town of 20,000 people.

Having digested the charter, Martin knew when the selectmen did not follow its provisions and he had the effrontery to point out the error of their ways, errors which had become a habit during the years. The startled selectmen asked what he meant and he replied by quoting the clause in the charter.

Old Charter Inadequate

The city fathers were tolerant and amused. It would be impossible these days to abide by every line of the old charter, they explained.

"If you can't abide by the charter, why don't we get a new one?" Martin demanded. That question and its cold reception started him on a ten-year campaign.

Unlike most municipal reformers, however, he lacked a dramatic weapon. The town fathers were honest, law-abiding citizens. There was no suggestion of corruption. Martin could not rally voters with a plan to throw the rascals out—there weren't any rascals. Besides, he wasn't sure what type of government was best for his adopted town. So he began to read up on modern local government, soon found the business-formula of Manchester's native son, Dick Childs.

Determinedly, Dick Martin went to work. Week after week in the *Herald* he ran news stories on the inadequacy of the town's charter and its way of doing public business. He printed exactly what happened at sessions of the board of selectmen, showing how little they accomplished, how it was necessary for them to evade the charter, written for another era. He even had the temerity to point out occasionally that these sessions were wasteful of tax dollars.

Then one evening, after he had been particularly annoying, the harassed selectmen solemnly passed a ruling barring impudent Reporter Martin from future meetings. He printed that story, too.

It was the turning point. Citizens began to ask questions. If the board didn't want reporters present, particularly reporters like young Martin who seemed to know so much about their government, wasn't it about time to do something?

What they did was elect Dick Martin to the board of selectmen in 1936. He now had a vantage point from which to pursue his campaign for the Childs plan. But the voters who had put him in office did not relish his suggestion when they discovered that the new type of council would supplant the selectmen and outlaw their good old town meeting.

"You see," Martin says, "I didn't actually belong. I'd been there only a few years. People were friendly, but they didn't want a stranger to come in and tell them how to do things better."

Martin left the *Herald* in 1937

but continued his agitation and the newspaper crusade was carried on by Alan Olmstead, editorial writer on the *Herald*.

Week after week the paper was filled with accounts of what happened at town meetings and sessions of the board of selectmen, how participants wasted time in argument over unimportant details and small sums of money. How eager citizens demanded things which were impossible under the outmoded charter. How the town was bumbling along, without proper budgets and no control over expenditures, with no planning, no idea of what the future held in store. And all this time the town was growing in population to better than 30,000.

Martin asked Tom and Ronnie Ferguson, owner and managing editor of his old paper, to sponsor a charter campaign. They invited twenty business and professional men to a dinner-meeting to launch the project. The date was Monday, December 8, 1941.

The attack on Pearl Harbor, the previous afternoon, spoiled the plan, and it was not until after the war that the undiscouraged reformers could get back to work.

And then one evening two and a half years ago, Dick Martin attended another town meeting. It was a particularly futile session. Irresponsible citizens were having a field day, talking to their hearts' content. There were important matters to be settled but no one had a chance to bring them up. As the evening wore on, the crowd of several hundred became restless. The chairman had trouble keeping order. At 11 o'clock Dick Martin stood up.

The noise subsided. When Martin spoke he usually had something to say worth hearing. This night he made a single brief remark.

"Ladies and gentlemen," his big voice filled the room. "There is a better way of running a $2,000,000 a year business."

Campaign for Manager Plan

Martin sat down. Next day the whole town knew the story. Olmstead wrote an editorial. The town agreed. Charlie House, a young lawyer whose family had been active in local affairs for generations, joined Martin's crusade and was drafted as chairman of a charter revision committee. Martin had prepared a suggested draft of a modern charter tailored to Manchester's needs. The charter commission worked over it with the help of experts, keeping the public informed of progress. The citizens listened and again agreed. The proposition was adopted last June, overwhelmingly, by a two-to-one vote.

So Manchester now has a board of directors like any other big corporation. And a general manager responsible to that board. And a plan to control expenditures and to modernize the school system and to establish a town recreational program. It has broken with tradition and started planning for tomorrow just as its ancestors did when they held their first town meeting three centuries ago.

GI Revolt Wins Manager Plan

McMinn County, where veterans fought to preserve sanctity of ballot, replaces machine rule with modern government.

By EDMUND R. LINGERFELT*

THE people of McMinn County, Tennessee, have been both praised and censured for resorting to violence during the night of August 1, 1946, to rid themselves of a political dictatorship that had become altogether intolerable and to recapture the right to vote and have their votes counted as cast.

So much has already been said and published about that unhappy incident that I greatly dislike to even mention it and would not except that it seems necessary to an understanding of the organization of the people for good government and the subsequent reorganization of the county under a new manager charter.

Over a period of at least two decades prior to that time, the government of McMinn County rapidly deteriorated into the most intolerable sort of machine rule, consisting of control of elections by force, intimidation, and "counting" ballots behind closed doors; squandering the county's resources through incompetent and inefficient administration and graft; and through inordinate abuse of Tennessee's system of fee compensation for peace officers and magistrates' courts.

Prior to this period, county revenues and expenses were relatively small and county offices were sought as much for the honor of public position as for the compensation involved, but under the "machine" the income of public officials skyrocketed. The "take" of the sheriff is believed to have reached as much as $75,000 a year with deputies, JP's and others in proportion.

Citizens protested to the state courts in the form of election suits but the "machine" always won. Indictments for election law violations were secured before federal grand juries and verdicts of guilty were returned by juries in federal district court, but the value of the effort was nullified when the court imposed fines of only two cents where heavy fines and imprisonment were justly due and were possible under the law. A history of the unsuccessful court struggle was presented to Congress by Congressman John Jennings, Jr., in most emphatic terms and is a part of the *Congressional Record.*

Historically, there are liberties dearer to the American people than life itself, and these had been violated and denied the people of McMinn County for an entire decade. As previously stated, relief had been sought through both state and federal courts but without avail. Pleas for the aid of executive agencies likewise went unheeded. No avenue was left but revolution. Consequently this course was chosen reluctantly but with determination.

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*Mr. Lingerfelt is executive vice president of the McMinn County Good Government League. He was formerly county superintendent of schools in McMinn County, city manager of Elizabethton, Tennessee, and director of WPA projects for the Tennessee State Department of Education's Emergency Division. This article is based on his address before the National Municipal League's Conference on Government, November 14, 1947.

The machine was driven from power in a night-long gun battle in which many were injured but no one killed. The ballots which had been carried to the county jail for counting were destroyed in the confusion, but the election commission, using the vote cast in precincts where reasonable order had been maintained, declared the GI candidates elected. An interim government was established by a mass meeting to function *de facto* until a *de jure* government could be restored through resignations and appointments legally made.

Citizen Group Organized

The need for a citizens' organization, in which the people could join hands to work constructively for honest and efficient government and to serve as a bulwark against the recurrence of machine rule, was immediately apparent, as attested by the minutes of a meeting of ex-service men held on August 13, 1946, which contains the significant statement that:

> It was the opinion of the ex-service men present that a non-partisan organization, comprised of interested citizens throughout the county, should be formed in order that it would never again be necessary to overthrow vicious, corrupt machine government in McMinn County by force or otherwise.

That group invited a selected list of business and professional men of Athens to meet with them to plan the formation of such a citizens' group, and hurriedly sought the advice and assistance of the Tennessee Taxpayers' Association, the Cincinnati City Charter Committee and other similar organizations. Numerous meetings were held in which plans were evolved and a constitution was drafted for the proposed organization.

Briefly the plan adopted called for community meetings to be held simultaneously in sixteen strategically located centers with a member of the central committee serving as chairman. Radio equipment was provided at each meeting place and a program fully explaining the movement and its purposes was broadcast from one of the centers by local radio station WLAR to the other fifteen meetings.

After the broadcast each meeting resolved itself into an action group, conducted such further discussion of conditions and needed remedies as it chose and elected, by democratic procedure of its own choosing, a predesignated number of representatives to serve as directors of the countywide organization.

All sixteen communities responded to the call for a mass meeting, all meetings were well attended, and all elected representatives as requested. These elected representatives met at the county seat the following evening and organized by adopting a constitution which named the organization The McMinn County Good Government League and declared its purposes in six items:

> 1. To make a careful study of the functions and finances of the county government as a basis for determining county policies and programs of improvement to be fostered by the league.

2. To keep the public fully informed of conditions currently existing in all phases of the county government, and particularly of all proposed measures which the league will insist be initiated and carried out for the benefit of the county.

3. To scrutinize and keep under surveillance the public acts of all officeholders of McMinn County.

4. To encourage all citizens to vote in all city, county, state and national elections, and to strive in every possible way to assure that all elections shall be free of coercion, intimidation or display of force, that ballots shall be publicly counted in the presence of all who care to be present and that the precinct results be announced as soon as counting is completed.

5. To cooperate with other organizations whose aims and purposes are consistent with those of the league.

6. To promote further, by mutual effort, through nonpartisan means, the greatest possible efficiency in the administration of the affairs of McMinn County by its legally elected and appointed officials.

One year of effort to effect these purposes resulted in more concrete accomplishment than the most optimistic dared hope might be the case.

Almost immediately the league succeeded in securing an appropriation of funds for an audit of the fiscal records of the county by a firm of certified public accountants and for a county survey by the Tennessee Taxpayers' Association.

The audit revealed numerous shortages and irregularities and brought to light serious weaknesses in the system of record-keeping in most county offices and the fact that there was no general accounting system of any sort. Efforts are now being made to recover funds from ex-officials.

A survey by the Tennessee Taxpayers' Association was made and the major features of its recommendations were incorporated in a legislative program formulated by a league committee, with the assistance of the Tennessee Taxpayers' Association, the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Tennessee and other interested agencies. This program was enacted into law by the 1947 General Assembly and is now effective. It consisted of two measures:

First, a bill to provide an inferior court for McMinn County, known as a Court of General Sessions, to divest justices of the peace of their judicial functions and to vest the same in the Court of General Sessions. This dealt a death blow to the "fee grabbing racket" from which the county had suffered. The judge and clerk of that court are paid salaries for their work and all fines and costs accrue to the county treasury.

Manager Plan Provided

Second, a county reorganization bill established a council-manager form of government in which is vested the policy-making and administrative functions formerly exercised by the quarterly county court, various boards, etc. This provides the county with what students of government consider the best form of local administration that is possible under the restrictions of the constitution and general statutes of Tennessee.

Those who drafted the bill and their advisers were urged to incorporate in the measure every feature and provision permissible under the state constitution and general laws that could contribute in any way to good, efficient and effective government. Nothing was written into the bill and nothing omitted from it because of any necessity to compromise with or appease any group or faction.

County Reorganized

Major features of the reorganization bill include a nine-man council vested with all the legislative and policy-making authority over the affairs of McMinn County that it is possible for the legislature to confer; a chief administrative officer, appointed by the council to serve at its will and responsible to it for all administrative and executive functions; three directors of departments appointed by the county manager and responsible to him for the proper functioning of their departments; and such other subordinate employees as may be required from time to time to perform properly, efficiently and effectively the work and services authorized by law and appropriate actions of the council. A carefully devised system of budgeting, purchasing and accounting under the direction of a trained and experienced public accountant is mandatory.

All these and various other reforms too numerous to mention here render this one of the most comprehensive pieces of legislation of its kind on record.

The constitutionality of the measure, recently attacked in the courts, has been upheld by Hon. Glenn W. Woodlee, chancellor of the Twelfth Chancery District of Tennessee, in an opinion rendered January 29. The suit has yet to be reviewed by the State Supreme Court but it is believed there is little possibility that the chancellor's decision will be reversed. Until this litigation is favorably resolved the full effectiveness of this reorganization cannot be realized.

Despite the fact that this is an impressive array of gains, we are acutely aware of the unfinished nature of the task and the dangers that lie ahead. These gains were scored during a time of enthusiasm following a period of extreme tension and crisis. Although great effort has been made to publicize every step it is too much to expect that what has been done is either fully understood or adequately evaluated by the electorate and yet that is the test it must undergo at the 1948 election.

The immediate problem is one of gaining the greatest popular understanding and approval of the things which have been done and to secure the election of honest and capable people to man the various posts of responsibility in the government. Great emphasis has been placed on the extreme importance of the selection and election of honest and capable officials.

The second purpose which the league has set for itself, as enumerated above, is to keep the public informed regarding the local government, and particularly the league's program for its betterment. This has been attempted through a column in the local daily newspaper, in which all sorts of information regarding the government and its activities have been presented with interpretive comments.

Civic Group Publications

An annual report was published by the league at the close of its first year, outlining its history, purposes, accomplishments, future program, creed and philosophy of government, and its position on political parties. A copy of this report was mailed to every rural box holder and delivered by carrier to every home and business place in the towns.

A report on the government and administration of McMinn County[1] includes an official directory of agencies and officers with pertinent data regarding duties, tenure, salaries, etc.; a brief history of the county with data regarding its area, resources, industry, etc.; facts about public roads, schools and other public facilities and services; and a summary of county income and expenditures for the year for all purposes. This report was given wide distribution as a part of the program to keep the public informed.

The people of McMinn County displayed great courage in facing machine gun fire to rid themselves of as corrupt and vicious a political machine as ever ruled an American county; they organized their nonpartisan Good Government League to safeguard the gains that were made and to work constructively for better government; but whether that interest can be sustained, or whether it will give way to lethargy and indifference, only time can tell. The reforms thus far achieved give us renewed confidence that never again will a selfish minority gain control of our good county.

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[1] *Know Your County Government,* First Annual Report on the Government and Administration of McMinn County, Tennessee. McMinn County Good Government League, Athens, Tennessee. December 1947.

Three Oil Towns Become One

Rise above local jealousies and technical difficulties; set pioneering pattern for contiguous places of nation.

By **FRED HARTMAN***

THE rise of the chemical industry to boom proportions in the post-war era along the Houston ship channel, and the birth of a new industrial city of more than 21,000 along the banks of the same channel just before it makes its way into Galveston Bay, have been highest of high spots in recent months in southeast Texas.

It is the purpose of this article to tell the story of the Tri-Cities of Texas which until January 24, 1948, acted as a laboratory experiment in human relations. A study of problems faced and solved by this new community is in itself a liberal education in municipal government.

The Tri-Cities—Goose Creek, Baytown and Pelly—for most of the past 30 years have been three prosperous towns that all but surround the 2,600-acre plant of Humble Oil and Refining Company where 7,000 employees are engaged in processing oil. For years these three places struggled along as separate municipal entities with Goose Creek and Pelly incorporated and Baytown loudly claiming to be the second largest unincorporated city (7,500) in the nation.

The history of each of the three cities is a chapter in the saga of Texas oil. Baytown and Goose Creek were two miles apart. Goose Creek and Pelly were separated by a drainage ditch over which neither exercised sovereignty. Goose Creek Stream—a lazy little bayou—separated Baytown from Pelly. Pelly was once Goose Creek until a few citizens moved away one night, taking the post office with them.

In the consolidation process Pelly annexed Baytown, and the three communities became Pelly on February 15, 1947, when the consolidation was finally voted. And then eleven months later a council-manager charter was adopted which, among other things, changed the name of the city to Baytown. And while all of this was going on, the three communities for years had been state-chartered as the Goose Creek Independent School District. The lives of residents of these three municipalities were so closely entwined that it is hard to understand why they had to wait more than 25 years before the citizens finally agreed to consolidate their city governments.

The first town of Goose Creek came into being before World War I with discovery of the fabulous Goose Creek oil field. A well, called "Sweet 16" on the Sweet lease, was a 1917 gusher and it sired a boom town. Goose Creek was first a typical oil-field town, most of the time axle

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*Mr. Hartman, editor of the Baytown, Texas, *Daily Sun*, a resident of the Tri-Cities for seventeen years, has been in the newspaper business for over two decades. His editorial column, "Sun Slants," was a contributing factor to the success of the consolidation movement and adoption of the council-manager plan described in his article.

deep in mud. Nearly 2,000 shallow wells were quickly punched. Very soon the derricks were so numerous Goose Creek moved away to another site, and the city was incorporated in its present location in 1918.

Left without a name, and for awhile without a post office, the original townsite of Goose Creek became the incorporated city of Pelly in 1922, named for its first mayor, F. T. Pelly.

Birth of Baytown

About the time Goose Creek was laid out a group of Texas oil men bought a tremendous nearby rice field and began to build a refinery. A company housing section and the stores needed to care for the workers signaled the birth of Baytown, as well as the present Humble Oil and Refining Company, an affiliate of Standard of New Jersey.

It was a rocky road these cities traveled from the point of view of government. Goose Creek forged ahead and by 1928 had become a home rule city with its own charter and a council-manager plan of government. The city was only three-fourths of a square mile in area with a population that grew steadily upward from the 5,000 it took to qualify for a special charter.

Goose Creek grew into the business hub of the community, but the other two communities also had their business districts and flourished, too, with the semi-monthly oil refinery pay checks the big money crop. Goose Creek in the 1930's began to expand geographically, but the Pelly city limit was a wall over which an annexation ordinance could not leap. All of the expanding had to go on in other directions.

Pelly put up a game battle in the race with Goose Creek, but it was usually second in a field of two. Citizens of Pelly, most of them the veteran residents of the area, never quite got over Goose Creek taking the post office "off into the prairie." During the depression Pelly's only bank (ironically chartered as the Goose Creek State Bank) found itself in evil days, and the first thing Pelly knew its financial institution had been taken over by a Goose Creek bank and moved away too.

Pelly proudly held to one distinction. The million-dollar Robert E. Lee High School of the Goose Creek Independent School District was located within its limits. Goose Creek even tried to annex the high school campus before a district court injunction halted the effort.

Pelly was the larger geographically, but much of the land values were far below those in the more compact city of Goose Creek. As early as 1929 an effort was made to consolidate Goose Creek and Pelly (Baytown being a remote two miles away and not considered in the project). This effort failed at the polls and both municipalities took hitches in their belts and resolved to go their separate ways.

Another ill-conceived consolidation effort fizzled in late 1944. It was sponsored by the Tri-Cities Junior Chamber of Commerce. This time the citizens of Goose Creek voted a charter amendment that provided for Pelly to become a part of the larger city, but the citizens of Pelly polled within 20 per cent of their possible total vote to turn their backs on the consolidation proposed by the young men.

Within a year, however, a plan of consolidation conceived by City Attorney Shannon L. Morris of Pelly planted a tree that finally bore fruit. Pelly by then claimed a population of 5,000 and on December 7, 1945, it voted itself a home rule city replete with charter. One of the terms of the charter provided for annexation of contiguous and unincorporated territory by commission action. The polls closed that day at 7 P.M. and a few minutes later a special meeting of the city council was held to canvass returns of the election.

Pelly Annexes Baytown

The new commission's first action was adoption of an ordinance annexing the "contiguous and unincorporated" section of Baytown. Baytown was 50 per cent bigger than Pelly in population. It had no city government; the only semblance of municipal control was vested in three waterworks districts, each under special state charter. There were many citizens of Baytown who realized that consolidation was a MUST of the future, but they decided to resist annexation by Pelly even though it was explained to them as only a legal step in the ultimate consolidation of all three towns.

The Baytown water districts retained legal counsel and sought to stop final passage of annexation on the ground that the water districts had certain rights granted by the state which no outside municipality could legally assume without permission. The Baytown position prevailed in a lower court and was upheld by a Texas court of civil appeals. Meanwhile, Pelly had been joined in the litigation by larger cities of the state which would have been precluded from ever enlarging their municipal boundaries in the face of state-chartered water districts in their suburbs. The State Supreme Court reversed previous decisions and held Pelly's action to be legal and in the public interest.

Almost a year to the day after passage of the Pelly ordinance on first reading, the court decision was handed down. This was the end of Baytown legally, but rigor mortis definitely did not set in. The Goose Creek city commission stepped into the scene and set a consolidation election for February 15, 1947. So did Pelly—for the same day. Under Texas law when two cities vote to consolidate the larger in population takes over the smaller. Consolidation carried in both cities by wide margins. Baytown people, of course, voted in Pelly.

In addition to the official question of consolidation, there were two straw votes taken at the same time. One was on a name for the new city, the other on whether a commission should be set up to write a new city charter. Consolidation carried. Baytown was the name chosen for the new city and the citizens expressed themselves in favor of a new charter. The majorities were decisive, too, but the big question remained: Would Goose Creek take over Pelly (plus Baytown) or would Pelly (plus Baytown) take over Goose Creek? Neither city commission would budge. An agreed admission by Goose Creek that it was the smaller failed when the city commission called it "municipal suicide."

Both city commissions finally

agreed to ask the federal Bureau of the Census to come in and take a special count to settle the question, with the winner to pay and the loser to pass into oblivion. The final score was:

Pelly (plus Baytown)	11,030
Goose Creek	9,928

Within 45 days a new Pelly city council had been chosen. Pelly's diminutive mayor, popularly considered the smallest in Texas, defeated both Goose Creek's mayor, the tallest in the state, and the president of a Baytown water district. Incidentally, Pelly's mayor owned a drug store in Pelly and previously had worked in both Baytown and Goose Creek. The five-man commission was made up of two Pelly holdovers, two from Goose Creek (one elected and one appointed to fill out a term after a resignation), and one elected from Baytown. This action came in April 1947.

New Charter Drafted

One of the early acts of the mayor was appointment of a fifteen-man committee to draft a new charter. Business men, professional men and refinery workers made up the committee, and they worked five months preparing a charter that provided for a strong city manager with wide administrative powers to work out the multiple problems that consolidation had intensified.

Ninety days after reorganization of the government, the city council retained as manager Bill N. Taylor, prominent and experienced manager of several Texas cities, to unify all operations and make consolidation a reality instead of a mere legal fact. The various police departments were quickly reorganized into one and the three volunteer fire departments quickly formed a central unit operating out of three stations under a single chief.

The charter committee called the manager into its deliberations in an advisory capacity. The committee reported "ready" with its charter by September of last year. Before a date for the election could be set, however, the city attorney raised a legal point that proved a barrier in the path of the new charter. He ruled that the work of the charter committee was illegal because the group should have been elected and not appointed.

The members of the charter committee agreed to submit themselves as candidates on a platform of the charter they had written. Before the ink was dry on their announcement an opposition ticket was in the race. It was headed by the mayor who had appointed the original charter committee in the beginning and it opposed many of the strong city manager provisions. The voters upheld the original charter committee by another decisive majority.

The duly elected charter commission was formally given the oath of office to give legality to its charter. Then, in a move for harmony, the group rewrote several of the bones of contention in the new charter. The principal change was deletion of a clause that would have provided criminal prosecution for a member of the city council seeking to influence the city manager in his administrative duties or in supporting appointment of any person for a public position over the objection of the city manager. This charter was adopted by voters on January 24, 1948, and now a new Baytown emerges two years and a month after the first move toward consolidation was made.

Plans for the Future

A $10,000,000 construction program of industrial, commercial and residential building is in progress in the city. Included are a new dock, public buildings, a street improvement program and a 400-home housing project.

Every piece of taxable property in the new city will be analyzed by a firm of tax engineers during the coming year in an effort to equalize the tax burden. The city manager's search of the tax records of Goose Creek and Pelly revealed that basic tax values on real estate and improvements had not been changed since 1932.

The city is operating during its first year on a pinched budget of $455,137 produced on a tax rate of $1.86 per $100 on tax values of about $10,000,000, and from income of five waterworks systems now being operated as one. The consolidated bonded debt rests at $1,587,750. Phenomenal growth of the city and the tax equalization program are expected to double the city's values for taxes within a calendar year.

The legal ramifications of the consolidation of the various agencies were many and varied—and inevitable. They all may be settled within a very short time when the attorney general of Texas is asked to approve a $130,000 bond issue voted by the people to finance a swimming pool and bath house. Approval of the bonds by the state and by nationally prominent bond attorneys will be tantamount to approval of all action incident to the unification effort.

Baytown is already an internationally known seaport with 40 per cent of the tonnage leaving the port of Houston originating at the Baytown Humble docks.

Within the next decade the new city is expected to take its place among the first twenty cities in Texas and to have a big part in the continued industrial development of the rapidly expanding Texas Gulf Coast.

This consolidation represents a pioneering job which might well turn out to be of considerable value to contiguous communities throughout the country. It is a case where narrow neighborhood provincialism has been overcome by a group of civic-minded people who realized that, by merging their interests, they could accomplish far more than by muddling along with three independent municipalities in which local jealousies rather than a united effort prevailed.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Manager Plan Continues Its Record Growth

Four New Hampshire Towns Bring State Total to Ten

FOUR New Hampshire towns voted on March 9 to adopt the town manager plan as provided for by state legislation. The towns, with their 1940 population, are **Newport** (5,304), **Littleton** (4,571), **Lancaster** (3,095) and **Meredith** (2,192). This brings the total of manager communities in New Hampshire to ten, whereas six months ago there was only one. In three other towns the plan was defeated by narrow margins on March 9: **Bethlehem,** by 11 votes out of 351; **Belmont,** by 16 votes out of 214, and **Bristol,** by a single vote.

In the four towns adopting the plan advisory committees of citizens were created to assist in obtaining a competent manager, to determine his salary and to meet with the selectmen and the manager at least once a month. Such a committee is reported to have worked well in **Conway** when the manager plan was adopted in 1946 but was opposed by the selectmen.

The citizens of **Brunswick, Maine,** (8,658) voted 1,703 to 1,596 to adopt the manager plan at their town meeting on March 8. **Farmington** (3,753) and **Islesboro** (718) in the same state also adopted the plan at March town meetings. **Newport** and **Tremont** defeated town manager proposals.

Holton, Kansas, (2,885) adopted the council-manager plan in March.

On March 9 citizens of **Lodi, California,** (11,079) adopted the council-manager plan by a vote of 1,022 to 679.

Santa Cruz, California, (16,896) adopted a council-manager charter on March 2 by a vote of approximately 2,500 to 1,000. The total vote was about 35 per cent of the registration. The charter will go to the state legislature for approval. Election of the seven-man council is expected to occur in May. The previous charter was adopted in 1911.

The **Hawthorn, California,** city council, which adopted a city manager ordinance last November, appointed a manager in January.

Marietta, Georgia, now has a city manager, recently appointed.

A movement for the town manager plan is under way in **Lisbon Falls, Maine.**

At elections in Vermont on March 2, **Montpelier,** the capital city, retained the manager plan by a vote of 1,017 to 394, out of a total registration of about 4,000. The town of **Manchester** also retained the manager plan, 341 to 91. The town of **Dorset** voted against a proposal to adopt the manager plan, 111 to 51.

The town of **Bennington, Vermont,** voted at the town meeting in March to have legislation prepared, "designed to charter a governmental unit to be composed of any one or more of the municipal governments now operating within the limits of the town of Bennington which may vote to join such unit." The town and village of the same name, contained within the town, have shared a manager for some time.

In **Medford, Massachusetts,** where the manager plan (Plan E) goes into effect in January 1950, the Plan E Civic Association is conducting a membership drive and an educational campaign to give citizens a more comprehensive idea of the new government.

Public hearings before a **Massachu-**

setts legislative committee considering a bill to permit **Boston** to adopt Plan E (city manager and P. R. council) brought out enthusiastic support for the plan and also bitter opposition. Over 300 people attended the hearing where supporters of the plan spoke, and about 75 attended when opponents held forth. Hearings on a bill to permit a vote on Plan E in **Somerville** this fall also produced much discussion.

A report on a survey of municipal government in **Springfield, Massachusetts,** by J. L. Jacobs and Company, includes a recommendation for the manager plan and P. R., as well as consolidation of 30 departments into ten and cooperation with governments of neighboring municipalities in the interests of metropolitan planning and rendition of various public services.

Despite opposition of present selectmen, there is a movement for the town manager plan in **Templeton, Massachusetts.**

The voters of **Amesbury, Massachusetts,** defeated a proposed town manager charter on March 8.

At a town meeting in **Ipswich, Massachusetts,** on March 1 it was voted that legislation providing the town manager plan be drafted, presented to the legislature and, if passed, submitted to referendum.

Enabling legislation to permit **Rhode Island** communities to adopt specific forms of local government, including the council-manager plan, has been drafted for presentation to the legislature. The **Newport** Charter Revision Commission is especially interested in the proposal which would permit adoption of the manager plan.

The **Woonsocket, Rhode Island,** *Call* and the local Taxpayers' Association are actively working for governmental improvement and emphasizing the manager plan.

An official commission to consider consolidation of the town and the borough of **Wallingford, Connecticut,** has recommended a mayor and "advisory" council to be chosen by a "meeting" made up of a representative for each 500 voters and ten elected at large; but the council-manager plan is being advocated by citizens as a much better idea.

An executive manager for **New York City** has been urged by Henry Bruere, former director of the Bureau of Municipal Research and former city chamberlain. He would retain the Board of Estimate, however, with the mayor a powerful member.

The **Pennsylvania** State Chamber of Commerce stated on March 10, in a report on taxation: "The city management plan in itself undoubtedly would help to lower costs and improve efficiency."

The council-manager idea is gaining headway in **Bloomfield, New Jersey.** Charles O. Heckel, former councilman, recently urged the manager plan with a council elected at large.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce of **Henderson, North Carolina,** is campaigning for the manager plan.

Camden, South Carolina, is planning an election on the manager plan as successor to the present aldermanic form.

The council-manager charter for **Richmond, Virginia,** previously adopted by an overwhelming vote in that city, was unanimously approved by the House of Delegates and by a 34 to 5 vote in the Senate after relatively minor amendments. The bill was signed by Governor Tuck on March 5.

A manager charter for the village of **Avon Lake, Ohio,** is under consideration by the Kiwanis Club and other organizations in connection with a possible future change to city government.

A bill in the **Kentucky** legislature to permit the city commission in second class cities to remove a manager by majority vote without showing cause was unanimously adopted by the Senate in unprecedented haste upon the urging of the floor leader, Senator R. P. Moloney of Lexington. The House of Representatives followed suit by a vote of 76 to 4 on March 2.

Purpose of the bill is to permit the city council of **Lexington** to remove summarily the present manager, appointed by the outgoing administration. The Court of Appeals ruled on February 20 that the manager could not be removed without cause by less than four members of the city council. The bill has been attacked by supporters of non-political council-manager government. The Louisville *Courier-Journal* declared that "too many city halls believe they can get by with a city manager and politics, too."

An election on November 5, 1946, in **Nicholasville, Kentucky,** resulting in adoption of the manager plan, has recently been declared by a state court to be void because of improper wording of the question on the ballot.

In **Trenton, Tennessee,** a council-manager proposal was defeated on February 24 by a vote of 336 to 89.

The **Mississippi** legislature has passed an act, now signed by the governor, enabling cities of more than 30,000 to adopt the council-manager plan by popular vote. The bill was originally drawn to apply to cities of 21,000 and more—**Hattiesburg** and **Meridian**—but was amended to include only the latter. Meridian citizens have organized a sponsoring committee to secure signatures to the necessary petitions (20 per cent of the qualified voters) and to conduct a campaign for the plan's adoption.

Clare, Michigan, votes on a council-manager charter April 5 and **Coldwater** will do likewise May 24.

A proposed council-manager charter for **St. Cloud, Minnesota,** was defeated February 20 by a vote of 3,992 to 2,376. About half the registered voters participated.

In **Willmar, Minnesota,** the charter commission has unanimously voted to recommend a council-manager type of government to the voters.

A charter commission in **Fergus Fall, Minnesota,** is reported as strongly in favor of the manager plan.

As a result of petitions filed in **Wisconsin** cities, votes on adoption of the council-manager plan are scheduled for April 6 in **Sparta, Watertown, Rice Lake, Eau Claire** and **Tomah,** as well as **Kaukauna,** already reported. Interest in the plan has been expressed in **LaCrosse** and **Richland Center.**

Columbia, Missouri, is attempting another council-manager move by proposed adoption of a modified manager charter under home rule. A petition for election of thirteen charter commission candidates has been filed with the council.

The Junior Chambers of Commerce of **Kirksville** and **Malden, Missouri,** are deeply interested in the manager plan.

On March 9 **Excelsior Springs, Missouri,** voted 770 to 580 to retain the council-manager plan.

An active campaign for a commission-manager form of government, under state law, is under way in **Monroe, Louisiana,** with active support from the League of Women Voters, service clubs, etc. A popular vote on the subject has been called for and is expected soon.

Petitions have been circulated in **Crete, Nebraska,** asking for an election on the question of adopting the manager plan.

A campaign is under way in **Garden**

City, Kansas, for adoption of the plan, with the support of the *Daily Telegram.*

A manager charter for **Greenville, Texas,** which has been drafted by a charter commission, is expected to be submitted soon to the city council and then to the voters.

A movement to obtain a popular vote on the manager plan for **San Antonio, Texas,** not later than May is in progress.

The **Delta, Colorado,** charter convention has voted three to one for the manager plan.

After ten months of research the Citizens' Committee on Municipal Affairs in **Napa, California,** has recommended the manager plan to the city council along with other recommendations.

A manager proposal will be voted on in **Oceanside, California,** on April 13.

Monterey Park, California, will vote at the April municipal election on a proposition for the council to engage a manager. The council decided on March 2 to submit it to the people.

A popular vote on adoption of the manager plan will be held in **Manhattan Beach, California,** on April 13.

The *Sun-Star* of **Merced, California,** has undertaken a campaign of educational publicity for the manager plan which is to be voted on in that city in April.

A revised council-manager charter is in course of preparation in **Long Beach, California,** where the plan has been in effect since 1921. It is hoped that the city council will submit it to vote later this year.

In **Portland, Oregon,** the American Veterans' Committee is urging a change from the commission plan to council-manager government and the circulation of petitions calling for a popular vote on the subject in November.

The Municipal League of **Tacoma, Washington,** has asked the city council to call an election of a board of fifteen freeholders to draft a new city charter. The manager plan is considered as a possibility, but the league is not taking a position on the matter.

A special committee of the **Yakima, Washington,** Chamber of Commerce has reported, after a study, that it found it difficult to obtain arguments in opposition to the manager plan.

Twenty of the 21 city managers in **Oregon** attended a two-day meeting at Portland, February 14-15. A week later 53 **California** managers met at Santa Monica for three days, half the time being given over to discussion of the manager's job and the remainder to various city problems.

New Charter Vote in Denver Denied

District Judge Robert W. Steele has ruled in Colorado that to obtain a further referendum on a new charter for Denver[1] it will be necessary to circulate new petitions calling for a vote on the question at a special election. A popular vote on a newly drafted charter was taken on May 20, 1947, resulting in defeat. It was contended that the law required successive conventions and elections until a charter is approved, but Judge Steele decided that such provisions, in Article XX, Section 4, of the state constitution applied only to the first charter, and that the calling of an election on the question of a charter convention is now governed by Section 5, in which the provisions mentioned are not incorporated.

The decision may be appealed to the State Supreme Court.

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[1] See the REVIEW, December 1947, page 634.

Special Legislation Studied in North Carolina

A commission created last year by the North Carolina legislature is making a study of methods of dealing with the problem of local and special legislation. On the basis of its investigation it is to recommend such additional constitutional provisions as are thought necessary to restrict such legislation and authorize home rule for localities. Its study includes an investigation of the results of similar efforts in other states.

Villages Consider Merger When Debt-free

Now that a debt-free condition is in prospect for the "Twin Villages" of Carthage and West Carthage, New York, renewed attention is being given to the advantages of consolidation. West Carthage has no debt; Carthage paid its last water bonds in 1947 and expects to eliminate all debt not later than 1951.

Redevelopment Plans for Philadelphia

The Philadelphia City Planning Commission has certified ten areas for redevelopment to the Redevelopment Authority of that city as a step toward revitalization of worn out and uneconomical neighborhoods. Various other steps will be necessary before actual redevelopment starts. The Planning Commission will provide the Redevelopment Authority with land use studies and specific plans for the area; meanwhile the authority will be enabled to make some studies of other matters in the area and hold initial conferences with prospective developers.

The ten areas cover approximately 4,300 acres, containing nearly 51,000 dwelling units, with a population of about 164,000 persons.

Preliminary certification was agreed upon in keeping with a policy of having the public and city council advised of progress along the way of rehabilitating some of the substandard spots within the city. In this way, the public and officials will have an opportunity to advise and help shape the plans for redevelopment as they materialize rather than, as the redevelopment act specifies, wait until public funds have been expended on complete plans and a program worked out with redevelopers. There are various portions of these areas where improvement and rehabilitation are needed first.

The ten areas were selected as a result of a city-wide survey of housing and environment which has been under way for several months. This survey, based on the scientific technique of the American Public Health Association, shows factually the location of substandard housing conditions and the areas which contain serious blight.

Many of the worst areas of blight and substandard housing, as indicated by the survey, are not as yet included. Because of the housing shortage it was decided to designate the areas where the most practical start can be made and where redevelopment can be accompanied by important scheduled public and institutional improvements.

In most cases the rebuilding will be done by private interests who may be builders, housing corporations or such large-scale developers as insurance companies. The redevelopment act provides the way for private capital and public agencies to work together for city betterment. The city, through the Redevelopment Authority, is enabled to acquire worn-out structures and badly planned land for rebuilding according to an appropriate plan for the neigborhood and the whole city.

Under the act suitable housing must be available for the families that would be temporarily displaced. The Planning Commission stated that since most of these families are in low income groups, there will have to be an accompanying program of public housing through the Philadelphia Housing Authority.

Institute for Urban Land Use and Housing

Columbia University, New York City, is fostering research on the problems of the nation's housing and development of urban communities by establishment of the Institute for Urban Land Use and Housing Studies.

Dr. Ernest M. Fisher, professor of urban land economics at Columbia, has been appointed director of the institute. Working with him will be a board of university experts in economics, architecture, sociology, law, business and other fields, comprising the institute's administrative board. An advisory board will be headed by Henry Bruere, president of the Bowery Savings Bank, New York City. It will include Elliott V. Bell, superintendent of banks, New York State; Walter H. Blucher, executive director, American Society of Planning Officials, Chicago; Commissioner Howard S. Cullman, chairman, Port of New York Authority; two insurance company officers and two title company officers. A grant of $100,000 for the work of the institute has been awarded by the Rockefeller Foundation.

One of the major purposes of the institute is to combine the resources and techniques of the several fields of studies which can contribute to the understanding of the nation's housing problems and the trends which influence growth of our centers of population. New York and surrounding communities will be only one of the areas of study. Results of the investigations will be published as they are completed.

Another basic aim of the institute will be to facilitate the training of graduate students in the techniques of investigation and the processes of analysis of land use and housing problems.

Schools and departments of the university which will cooperate include the Schools of Law, Architecture and Business; the Departments of Economics, Sociology and Public Law, and the division of Housing and Planning.

Veterans' Preference Legalized in 21 States

Veterans' preference in the civil service is now recognized by law in at least 21 states, according to information gathered by the National Civil Service League from states whose merit systems apply to a substantial portion of state employees.

In eleven states disabled veterans get a 10-point preference in examination for original appointment, while non-disabled veterans receive a 5-point preference. In California, Kansas and Michigan the corresponding bonuses are 15 and 10 per cent. In Kansas a 15-point preference is limited to veterans who have a disability of at least 15 per cent, while in Michigan a 15-point preference is given only to veterans who are more than 50 per cent disabled.

All Ohio veterans get a credit of 20 per cent of their earned examination rating in the computation of their final score, while all ex-servicemen of Pennsylvania get a 10-point preference and are placed at the top of the eligible list.

New York veterans who pass state examinations are placed at the head of the eligible list with disabled veterans first.

Illinois veterans who pass examinations and who "possess the business capacity necessary for the proper discharge of the duties" of the position in question are placed at the head of the eligible list for original appointment.

In Maryland, the extra points given veterans may count toward attaining a passing grade in the state civil service examination. Other states follow the practice of adding the preference points to the earned passing mark in the examination.

Preference laws of seven states—Colorado, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, Ohio and Pennsylvania—apply to municipalities within the state as well as to the state service.

Amendment to Simplify California Constitution

The California legislature's Joint Interim Committee on Constitutional Revision has been working on a report to the 1949 legislature, including proposed amendments, one of which would shorten the constitution, adopted in 1879 and amended 256 times. Assemblyman A. W. Robertson, chairman, urges that state administrative agencies be incorporated into a distinct department coordinate with the legislative, executive and judicial departments. He stated that "a large number of these agencies are specifically provided for in the present constitution, which takes many pages of text to state, while many others are created in and governed by statutes." He believes that an administrative agencies branch could be dealt with in a few pages as against 40 to 50 pages of the existing constitution.

Administrative Internships for New York Schools

An experimental program has been developed by the New York City public school system calling for selection of eight interns for positions of high school principals and eight for assistant superintendents. Measures are to be taken to eliminate favoritism and to provide equal opportunity to members of the teaching staff.

Interns are to receive day-to-day experience in administrative and supervisory positions. Their success in handling these assignments would determine final selection for the administrative positions.

The superintendent of schools and the board of examiners will administer the internship program, for which an appropriation of $54,300 has been included in the proposed 1948-49 school budget. If the experiment is successful the program may be extended to other administrative and supervisory positions.

Correction.—In its editorial entitled "And Then There Were Twelve!" (January, page 3) the REVIEW was in error in listing Bath, Maine, as one of twelve cities still having bicameral councils. Bath adopted a council-manager plan charter in 1947 which provides for a unicameral council of fourteen members.

Researcher's Digest . . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Rising Costs and Tax Bills Get Attention

Facts and Views on Budgets, Debts, Accounts, Assessments

THE **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research,** Loren B. Miller, director, has been discussing the city's budget. An issue of *Bureau Notes* deals with the "City Budget Crisis," noting that the current deficit is an indicator of a grave situation. A series of graphic analyses, entitled *Budget Backgrounds,* deal with the cost of government, city revenues and appropriations, city operation and maintenance and the department of public works.

Budgets are also considered in issues of the following publications: Allegheny County 1948 budget, *Newsletter,* **Pennsylvania Economy League's Western Division,** Leslie J. Reese, director; Buffalo and Erie County budgets, *Just a Moment,* **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau,** George G. Sipprell, managing director; next Hartford budget, a comparison and explanation, *Taxpayers' Business,* **Hartford Governmental Research Institute,** Leslie M. Gravlin, director.

The New Jersey Taxpayers Association, A. R. Everson, executive vice president, has released an article in pamphlet form whose purpose is "to assist the ordinary taxpayer . . . in interpreting municipal and county budgets which under law must be published in local and county newspapers." The article, entitled *A Taxpayer Views a Municipal Budget,* explains each item found in the average budget.

Two recent issues of *Citizens' Business,* **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research,** Robert K. Sawyer, director, note that the city's gross and net bonded debts were reduced in 1947, thus reestablishing the long downward trend in those debts which was broken in 1946.

The **Massachusetts Federation of Taxpayers' Associations,** Norman MacDonald. executive director, predicts in its *Taxtalk* that the state's bonded indebtedness will rise to about $130,000,000 this June, stating that a large part of this increase is due to the borrowing of $75,000,000 to pay veterans' bonuses.

In a series of bulletins on bond issues to be voted on in Milwaukee in April, the **Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau** of that city, Norman N. Gill, director, analyzes a number of permanent improvement programs.

Constitutional debt and tax limitations are discussed in an issue of *Comments* of the **Lackawanna (New York) Tax Research Bureau.**

Local and State Expenses

The operating cost of Iowa cities receives attention in the *Iowa Taxpayer* **(Iowa Taxpayers Association,** Joe L. Long, executive secretary). Using a number of tables showing detailed expenditures of the 44 cities of Iowa having more than 5,000 population for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1947, the association concludes that their operating costs have risen almost 14 per cent over the preceding fiscal year.

Costs in smaller Iowa cities are up 15 per cent, according to another issue of the *Iowa Taxpayer.* A table showing the comparative total operating and per person costs of the 71 Iowa cities of less than 5,000 population for the years ending March 31, 1946 and 1947 is included.

The "present financial crisis" of **Springfield, Illinois,** is dealt with in a summary of a report of the **Special Citizens' Committee** appointed by the city council of Springfield to examine current revenues and expenditures and study ways and means of obtaining additional revenues for the city. The summary was prepared by the **Springfield Chamber of Commerce** and the **Sangamon County Public Expenditure Council,** and is entitled *Your City Has Everything But—Money.*

A fifteen-page pamphlet containing financial data on Providence has been published by the **Providence Governmental Research Bureau,** Robert E. Pickup, executive director. Providence city finances and school salaries receive attention in a bureau bulletin.

A recent issue of *Citizens' Business* **(Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research)** compares patrolmen's salaries and working conditions in thirteen large cities.

Salary and wage data of municipal employees in Michigan cities of over 10,000 population in 1946-47 are covered in a recent tabular report issued by the **Michigan Municipal League,** John H. Huss, director.

The reasons for rising state expenditures are outlined by the **Arkansas Public Expenditure Council,** Sam Hays, executive director, in an issue of its *You and Your Government.*

The *North Dakota Taxpayer* of the **North Dakota Taxpayers Association,** Archie H. McGray, secretary, devotes an issue to a financial report of North Dakota counties for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1947.

Schools Cost Money, Too

"Our Schools Have Lost Purchasing Power Since 1940" is the subtitle of a bulletin, "School Finance Today," an issue of *The Public and Education* published by the **National Education Association of the United States,** Willard E. Givens, executive secretary. According to the association, "the only cure for inequality and denial of educational opportunity is federal aid for public education," distributed in a manner that continues local and state control of the schools.

School finances are tabulated in *Taxpayer,* **North Dakota Taxpayers' Association.** Detailed figures for each county are given, together with a summary.

Public School Expenses and State Aid in Connecticut's 169 Towns and Cities is a 21-page tabulation issued by the **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council,** Carter W. Atkins, executive director. For each locality, figures for 1943 through 1948 are shown on "total resident average daily membership," and total and per pupil net current expenses and state aid.

The **Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico,** Rupert F. Asplund, director, reports in its *New Mexico Tax Bulletin* that the Educational Survey Board of New Mexico is to make a comprehensive survey of New Mexico public education, covering state, county and district organization and administration; curriculum and instruction; teacher personnel; school buildings; transportation; school financing; and higher education. Preliminary findings will be released in May and the final report next October.

School expenditures in 1946-47 in New Mexico are summarized and public welfare costs are tabulated in another *New Mexico Tax Bulletin.*

State Aid and Taxes

The **Woodbury County Taxpayers Conference,** James L. Barclay, executive secretary, in Sioux City, Iowa, compares the amounts paid into the state treasury by residents of the county with the amounts received by the county in the form of state aid, observing that the former are some $2,000,000 more than the latter.

The **Missouri Public Expenditure Survey,** Edward Staples, executive director, has released a brochure considering two proposed plans of state aid to municipalities. The publication advocates adoption of a permissive income tax plan rather than the alternative state subsidy plan.

The **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council** computes the possible yield of an individual income tax for Connecticut in its *News and Views.*

The Jasper County Taxpayer summarizes the provisions of the Missouri state intangible tax and state income tax. The bulletin is published by the **Jasper County Tax Economy Association,** Gerald N. Hardy, executive secretary, in Carthage, Missouri.

Municipal revenues are discussed by Jo Bingham, research senior of the **Tax Foundation,** in an article in that organization's *Tax Review,* "Home Revenue for Home Rule."

The upward trend in California fiscal matters continues in property taxes, cost of relief and support of the public schools, according to articles and tables in issues of the **California Taxpayers' Association's** *Tax Digest,* Jessie K. Grant, editor.

The **Chicago Civic Federation,** Harland C. Stockwell, executive secretary, discusses the probable 1947 Chicago tax rate, estimating it as $2.874 per $100, in a recent bulletin.

New cigarette taxes and rate changes are summarized in a supplement, published by the **National Association of Tax Administrators,** to the annual digest of tobacco tax laws of the **National Tobacco Tax Association.**

Duluth taxes in 1948, salaries in public schools and bonded debt are statistically summarized in a bulletin from the **Duluth Governmental Research Bureau,** Harry R. Reed, executive secretary.

The **Utah Foundation,** Stanley J. Stephenson, managing director, has issued a twenty-page booklet consisting of tables comparing property taxes in sixteen western states for selected years from 1925 to 1946.

Three tables covering 1947 Colorado county levies for all general purposes, a comparison of 1947 and 1948 property taxes on homes of $3,000 assessed valuation and Colorado 1947 old-age pension payments are presented in a *Colorado Taxpayer* of the **Colorado Public Expenditure Council,** Fred Bennion, executive director.

Taxes—property tax assessments and state and local tax relations—are discussed in two bulletins from the **Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research,** W. Earl Weller, director.

Assessment of real estate in New Haven is discussed in detail in an issue of *Council Comment* of the **New Haven Taxpayers' Research Council,** Merle W. DeWees, executive director.

Budgeting and Accounting

The **Institute of Local Government of Pennsylvania State College,** H. F. Alderfer, director, has developed a new accounting and budget control system, which has already been adopted by about 50 Pennsylvania boroughs. Consisting of 82 ruled, printed forms in a loose-leaf binder, it is designed to aid borough officials without accounting training to keep an accurate set of borough accounts. Further information may be secured from the institute or from the Pennsylvania Municipal Publications Service, State College, Pennsylvania.

The **Pennsylvania Economy League's State Division** advocates a uniform fiscal calendar for Pennsylvania in an issue of *Topics.*

The allotment plan of budget control is advocated by the **Pennsylvania**

Economy League's Western Division, in a *Newsletter* entitled "No One Struck it Rich—An Editorial Comment on Taxes and Budget Methods."

Adoption of a uniform system of accounting by Canada and its nine provincial governments is recommended by the **Citizens' Research Institute of Canada,** Eric Hardy, director, in a recent open letter.

Law Enforcement and Other Service Problems

The **Portland (Oregon) City Club,** Margaret Clarke, executive secretary, has issued two bulletins on public problems in Portland and Multnomah County. The first, concerning law enforcement, concludes that "gambling, prostitution, bootlegging and other forms of vice have been carried on openly and notoriously throughout the city for a period of several years past" and makes several recommendations for law enforcement. The appendices summarize the relevant laws and other information. The second is a study of juvenile delinquency in the Portland area. After a thorough review of the situation the report concludes with, among others, general recommendation that Oregon law be revised in order to incorporate many of the features of the California Youth Authority Plan.

The **St. Louis Governmental Research Institute,** Victor D. Brannon, director, has published *The St. Louis Police Department—A Resurvey.* The report is a thorough treatment of all divisions of the police department, with the special purpose of comparing present conditions to those outlined in the survey of the department made by the institute in 1942. The summary notes that the department has made much progress since 1942, but lists the recommendations then made which have been only partially adopted or not adopted at all.

The **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of California** (Berkeley) has released *The Crime Problem in California—A Selected Bibliography,* by Dorothy C. Tompkins. The sixteen-page booklet is priced at 50 cents.

The **Municipal League of Seattle,** C. A. Crosser, executive secretary, sent out questionnaires to officials in a number of large cities on their methods of handling taxicab licenses. It has recently issued a bulletin summarizing the replies.

The **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research** has devoted two issues of its *Bureau Notes* to a poll it conducted on Detroit citizens' evaluations of city and state officials, five city service departments and the state liquor administration.

Snow removal in Buffalo is described for the benefit of other cities in an issue of *Just a Moment,* **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau.**

A recent **Tennessee State Planning Commission** *Newsletter,* Charles L. Crangle, editor, concerns local public works planning: garbage disposal (the sanitary land fill method is advocated for small municipalities), water rates, sewer lines and local hospitals.

The **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research** has published a 32-page report on *Repair of Sanitation and Highway Equipment* by Robert K. Sawyer, bureau director. Undertaken as part of the Cleaner-Philadelphia study, the report discusses the Philadelphia situation in repair of such equipment, shows how ten other large cities in the United States are handling the problem, appraises repair procedures in general, and finally makes eleven recommendations for Philadelphia designed to expedite repair and maintenance of city sanitation and highway equipment. The report is summarized in a recent number of *Citizens' Business,* the bureau's bulletin.

John W. Edwards, research assistant for the **League of Kansas Municipalities,** has an article in the league's magazine, *Kansas Government Journal,* John G. Stutz, editor, on "Public Recreation in Kansas," a survey of programs, budgets, methods of operation and activities carried on by city and school recreation commissions. The same issue carries a tabulation by counties of Kansas sales and use tax collections in 1947 with residue uses.

A recent issue of *Your Government,* bulletin of the **University of Kansas Bureau of Government Research,** Ethan P. Allen, director, discusses the growing public health services in Kansas and the office of county attorney.

An Administrative Survey of Indigent Health Service, Maricopa County, Arizona, is a report covering the period January 1, 1943, to November 30, 1947, issued by the **Arizona Tax Research Association,** S. A. Spear, managing director. In general, the report covers expenditures and administration of the indigent department and the county convalescent unit, with tables and graphs showing comparisons throughout the period. A number of recommendations are made.

Small Government Career Service: A Manual for Maryland is the title of a 56-page study by Claire Bracken, research assistant at the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Maryland,** of which Joseph M. Ray is director. It covers all customary aspects of the subject and includes a comprehensive bibliography and recommendations by the author.

The city council of Philadelphia has by resolution extended the city's **Committee of Fifteen** until December 31, 1948. The committee made its first report on March 1, the date on which it was originally to expire. It is composed of ten citizens and five members of the city council, all appointed by the mayor and the president of the council. Its research work has been divided among the **Philadelphia Committee of the Pennsylvania Economy League,** Charlton F. Chute, director (analysis of work operations of city and county departments and a study of the Bureau of Police by J. M. Leonard, police consultant of the league); the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research** (determination of how much additional revenue can be collected under existing laws and ordinances); and the **Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce** (study of amount and method of increasing compensation for city and county employees). A summary of some of the results of the committee's work is given in a recent issue of the Bureau of Municipal Research's *Citizens' Business.*

Some State Concerns

Problems of the Public Service is the proceedings of the section of that name of the Twelfth Annual Institute of Government in 1947, published by the **University of Washington Bureau of Governmental Research and Services,** Donald H. Webster, director, in cooperation with the **Division of Adult and Extension Services** of the university. The 70-page pamphlet is divided into two broad fields: "Government and Organized Labor" and "Program of Assistance for Smaller Units of Government." The former considers labor legislation, labor's responsibility to government and labor-management relations in governmental agencies. The latter covers the Washington State Personnel Board, the Division of Municipal Corporations, Washington state real and personal property tax and management possibilities for local units of government.

"In general, the personnel practices of the Nevada Highway Department are good; the payroll policies, however, bear close appraisal," concludes an article on the highway branch of Nevada's government in *Nevada Tax Review,* **Nevada Taxpayers' Association,** Dryden Kuser, director. The article includes tables comparing salaries and positions with those in other departments. A standard classification of positions and pay scales is advocated.

A single retirement system to serve all South Carolina's state and local employees is advocated by Christian L. Larsen and Conrad Cowan in their study, *South Carolina Public Employee Retirement Systems,* published by the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of South Carolina.**

The **Missouri Public Expenditure Survey** has released an outline of the information it presented on veterans' bonus proposals at a hearing held by the judiciary committee of the Missouri Senate.

Bureau Reports and Plans

Newark Bureau of Municipal Research, Henry W. Connor, director: 1947 annual report, including a list of eighteen bureau studies issued during 1947.

Dade County (Florida) Research Foundation, John F. Willmott, executive director: first annual report of the board of directors; work done during 1947, work planned for 1948.

Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce, William H. Book, executive vice president: annual report for 1947; the report includes an outline of the extensive activities in the field of governmental research in which it has been engaged along with its other work.

The **Utah Foundation** in Salt Lake City, Stanley J. Stephenson, managing director, is sending out a questionnaire to its members asking what they think about its reports and how they can be improved; sent with a return envelope, the questionnaire also asks members to suggest topics for future reports.

The **Governmental Research Association,** G. Gordon Tegnell, secretary, has printed talks delivered at its 1947 conference: "It Is Not True . . ." by Dr. Charles A. Beard, and "A Forward and Backward Glance," by Henry Bruere, president of the Bowery Savings Bank. Both are contained in one pamphlet.

The **New Jersey Constitution Foundation** in Trenton has been issuing a series of bulletins written by Robert C. McManus entitled *Constitution Box Score* and designed to explain and publicize the problems involved in carrying out the provisions of the state's new constitution.

The place of the civic research organization in the community was discussed by Dr. Edwin A. Cottrell of the **Haynes Foundation** in a speech, "American Citizen Action," which is summarized in a bulletin from the **California Taxpayers' Association.** The speech was delivered at the association's recent annual meeting. Dr. Cottrell listed under ten headings "the real purposes and activities" of all such organizations.

Studies and projects in process by **Kansas City's Department of Research and Information** are listed in a recent issue of that city's *City Manager's News Bulletin.*

A bureau of governmental research has been established in **Syracuse, New York.** The project has been supported by Robert G. Soule, president of the city's **Chamber of Commerce,** and other civic leaders. The Syracuse *Post Standard* advocated it editorially; the *New York State Taxpayer* reported in its February issue on the dinner at which the bureau was organized.

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Louisiana Students Hold Constitution Convention

High School Pupils Draft Basic Document

THE **Second Annual Students' Louisiana Constitutional Convention** met at Northwestern State College in Natchitoches on February 6-7. This convention was the result of a desire on the part of the social science department of the college to encourage the study of government by high school students.

The department's choice of a constitutional convention to accomplish this purpose was based on two factors:

1. The 1946 legislative session authorized the Louisiana State Law Institute to draft a proposed new constitution for Louisiana. Because of the institute's work in this connection, and the consequent publicity given to the need for revision, the college felt this was an opportune time for such a project.

2. The high schools of Louisiana were required last year, for the first time, to teach a course in civics. There existed a scarcity of both trained teachers and useful material for such a course. The college felt that its program would help relieve the shortage of both.

What we hoped to do, first of all, was to interest principals and teachers in starting a program of intensive study of the constitution. This might be done in the eighth grade Louisiana studies, in high school civics and history classes, or as a separate activity. Letters were sent to the principals of the 450 high schools throughout the state, followed by personal visits to key schools in each of the 64 parishes.

To aid teachers in starting the program, we prepared an adaptation of the outline of the constitution used by the Louisiana State Law Institute which divided the constitution into six headings: Bill of rights; legislative branch; executive branch; judiciary; finance, revenue and taxation; local government units. Specific references to the Louisiana constitution and to the *Model State Constitution* of the National Municipal League were given for each division.

The plan called for each school, or each group in the school, to select one of these subdivisions for concentrated attention. A list of suggested topics or questions for each subdivision was compiled from statements by prominent Louisiana men in the field of government on provisions of the constitution which should be revised. For teachers a list of useful available material on the study of Louisiana government was compiled.

About the last of November 1947, all schools that had returned the card enclosed in the first letter, and which had not been visited, received a second letter asking teachers not to wait for a visit but to try to put the program of intensive study of the constitution into effect soon.

To aid in this we enclosed the material mentioned above and went into considerable detail as to how it might be used in training students as delegates to the convention.

From time to time we also sent a news letter to each school and to each teacher indicating interest in working out the project. This letter was compiled from news stories of speeches made by important persons regarding the specific needs for constitutional revision and items of interest from schools working on the project.

We interested 94 schools in conducting a definite program of study in preparation for the 1948 Students' Louisiana Constitutional Convention. Of this number 40 schools registered delegates, 246 delegates actually attending the convention.

The convention was in session two days, February 6 and 7. It consisted of three general sessions and two long periods of committee work. Entertainment—a basketball game, swimming and a dance—was fitted into the program. The college was aided by three leaders of the movement for constitutional revision, one from the Louisiana State Law Institute and two from the Louisiana League of Women Voters. One of these spoke at each of the general convention sessions.

Committee Work

At the first general session details of the convention program were explained, student officers nominated and committee assignments made. At the second, student officers were elected and installed, and at the final session these officers presided while reports from each of the six committees were presented, discussed and voted on.

The real work of the convention was done in committee sessions where the groups were small and discussion free. There was a committee for each of the six divisions of the constitution. To make sure that the groups had a definite program, the agenda of each contained specific constitutional questions. Visiting faculty advisers, members and students of the College's social science department met with each committee to advise and supply needed material.

By the close of the final committee session, Saturday morning, the student chairman and secretary of each committee had prepared a report of the resolutions approved by its group. These reports were consolidated in mimeographed form and each delegate had a complete copy for the final general session Saturday afternoon. Student interest was high in the discussion of these reports, resolution by resolution, and evidence was clear that the students knew what they were talking about.

Because of response to the Second Annual Students Louisiana Constitutional Convention it has been decided to make this program a regular part of the college activities. The three to four times as many schools participating in the program this year as compared to 1947 has convinced us that it was wise to extend the invitation this year on a statewide basis. We have also been convinced that the high school students of Louisiana are interested in their state government and will study its workings if the program is presented to them in a constructive manner.

Charles G. Whitwell
Northwestern State College
Natchitoches, Louisiana

Campus Convention at University of Hawaii

In connection with efforts in Hawaii to secure statehood, the **University of Hawaii** will hold a campus constitutional convention during May to acquaint students with the steps involved in drafting a constitution, reports the Hawaii Statehood Commission. Elections have been held for 41 student delegates to represent the four major islands of Oahu, Maui, Kauai and Hawaii, each candidate actually being a resident of the island for which he stood. Nominations were made by petitions containing twelve or more signatures.

Commenting editorially on the mock

convention the Honolulu *Star-Bulletin* said: "This is not only evidence of the keen interest which the young citizens of Hawaii are taking in its political form and future but fine assurance that the students of our territorial university are preparing themselves for their political duties when campus days are over."

High School Citizens Study Local Government

"The **(New Haven) Junior Town Meeting of the Air** is stimulating student thinking on current affairs in the competing schools and, of equal importance, it is bringing information, debate and enlightenment into the homes of the students as well as into the homes of the listening audience," says Ina Vestal in a report to *The Connecticut Voter* **(League of Women Voters of Connecticut).** Over Station WELI on Sunday afternoons interested, well informed teen-agers discuss vital problems of the day: Should there be price control? Should the Connecticut sales tax be repealed? The idea was that of Mrs. Nelson Rostow of the **League of Women Voters of Greater New Haven,** who formed an advisory committee of representatives of seven organizations to implement the program: **American Association of University Women, New Haven Junior League, New Haven Teachers' League, Parent-Teachers Association—New Haven Council, State Teachers' College, League of Women Voters of Greater New Haven and Hamden.**

Each week the program originates from a different junior or senior high school auditorium, with two public and two private schools participating. The host school selects the topic and has first choice as to which side its speaker will represent.

Social studies, history, current events and English classes furnish background material and "warm up" the students by classroom discussions pro and con.

A high school class in **Manchester, Connecticut,** has been making a thorough study of that town's new council-manager charter.[1] Object of the study was to explain to the pupils the reasons for a change in Manchester town government; to compare the new charter with the old form of government; to study the improvements offered to the citizens of Manchester by the new charter.

Each pupil had his own copy of the charter. A large part of the class period was devoted to a study of the new town officers—powers, duties, length of office, etc. Readings were made from the 1909 town report to enable students to compare the problems existing then and now. One of the students compiled newspaper clippings dealing with the progress of the new town government during its first weeks. Others prepared reports on the problems faced by the new government.

During Pennsylvania week over four hundred local high school students participated in a "quiz" held by the merchants group of the **Greensburg, Pennsylvania, Chamber of Commerce.** A hundred questions were asked of the seniors, with winners receiving cash awards totaling $50.

The **Decatur, Illinois, Chamber of Commerce** has representatives of student organizations in the two local high schools and the local college on its standing committees. Such representatives are chosen annually "to give young people an opportunity to express ideas on how Decatur should carry forward her community ambitions."

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[1] See also "Two Fellows Named Dick," page 192, this issue.

Charter Groups Protect Gains, Seek Improvements

Formation of a **Plan E State Association in Massachusetts,** to protect the state's Plan E optional charter (providing council-manager government with proportional representation for the election of council and school board) from attack in the legislature and to encourage its more widespread adoption, was accomplished at a series of meetings under the sponsorship of the **Boston Plan E Committee,** Francis Ahearn, chairman. George A. McLaughlin, president of the **Cambridge Civic Association,** is temporary president.

According to news reports, by-laws have been submitted to the thirteen Plan E groups now in existence. When approved by six of these organizations the association will become active. Communities represented at the meetings included Cambridge, Lowell, Worcester, Quincy, Revere, Medford and Saugus, which already have the plan, and Malden, Pittsfield, Fitchburg, Somerville, Newton and Boston, where campaigns are in progress.

The board of directors of the newly organized **Yonkers (New York) Municipal League,** Wayne E. Huson, chairman, has voted unanimously to "oppose by all the means at its disposal the move to repeal proportional representation in Yonkers." "This effort to repeal P. R. raises just one issue," said Chairman Huson. "Do the people of Yonkers want the city run for the benefit of the people or do they want it run for the benefit of the two political parties." He pointed out that during the eight years of council-manager–P. R. government in Yonkers the city has not only cut the tax rate but also reduced its debt about 50 per cent, restored pay-cuts and raised salaries by over 22 per cent.

A recent advertisement in the Yonkers *Herald Statesman* cites the purposes of the league, outlines its objectives and asks the support of all Yonkers citizens. It carries an application for membership to be torn out and mailed to league headquarters.

The **Yonkers City Manager League,** organized a dozen years ago to secure better government for the city, suspended activities at a meeting of its executive committee which urged members to join the new Yonkers Municipal League.[1] At the final session of the organization's executive committee, Miss Bertha Smith was commended for her services as chairman and Councilman Edith P. Welty was toasted as "the original founder and charter member of the organization."

"Consideration has been given to the published policies and objectives of the new Yonkers Municipal League," reports Robert L. Hochgraf, league publicity chairman, "especially their support of the principles of proportional representation and the city manager form of government, and their encouragement of honest and capable public-spirited citizens to become candidates for public office regardless of party affiliation and, in fact, on a nonpartisan basis, which also has been a cardinal objective of the City Manager League.

"Now that the aims of both leagues have been paralleled in this purpose, it has been decided to . . . recommend to all members of the City Manager League that they join hands with the new Yonkers Municipal League."

A new and interesting idea in campaigning has been devised by the **Minneapolis Charter Committee,** George O. Ludcke, Jr., executive secretary, organized to secure adoption of the proposed new charter for that city. The committee has mailed a "chain" letter to charter advocates asking them to write to friends and acquaintances urging support of the new document. Enclosed to each is a sample letter for their convenience and a brief summary of the charter's provisions, extra copies of which may be obtained from the committee. The committee includes practically all civic, educational, religious and labor groups in the city.

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[1] See also the REVIEW, July 1947, page 404.

Citizenship Conference

Coinciding with National Citizenship Day, set for May 16, the **Third National Conference on Citizenship** will meet in Washington, D. C., May 16-19. Agenda will be set up in terms of important problems of American citizenship rather than the organizational type of agenda of the first two conferences, reports the **Citizenship Committee of the National Education Association.**

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Milestones

The **Citizens Union of New York City,** George H. Hallett, Jr., executive secretary, held its annual meeting in late February, featuring a Town Meeting on the Transit Fare Question and City Finances which was broadcast over a local radio station.

The **Tax Foundation,** Alfred Parker, acting director, recently celebrated its tenth anniversary. *Tax Outlook* for December carries addresses delivered at the celebration by Raymond Moley, associate editor of *Newsweek* magazine and a member of Columbia University's faculty; John W. Hanes, chairman of the foundation; and Albert Bradley, executive vice president of General Motors Corporation. "Economic Democracy," the address of Henry M. Wriston, president of Brown University, has been issued separately as a twenty-page leaflet.

What the Municipal League of Seattle Accomplished in 1947 is a five-page mimeographed report of the league's work prepared by its executive secretary, C. A. Crosser. The report lists also "Chief 1948 League Projects."

What Has Been Done, What Will Be Done (35 pages) is the report of progress and legislative activities of the **Taxpayers' Federation of Illinois,** George E. Mahin, executive secretary, from January 1 through June 30, 1947.

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Strictly Personal

First recipient of the award of "Outstanding Citizen of Windsor, Connecticut," sponsored by Windsor Post 4740, Veterans of Foreign Wars, is **Carlan H. Goslee.** Mr. Goslee was selected unanimously by a committee of seven, from nominations made by the public, because of his sponsorship of the council-manager charter which went into effect in Windsor last year—he was chairman of the committee which studied the need for better governmental methods and of the committee which wrote the new charter—and because he sponsored legislation to provide water mains in certain areas of the city. Mr. Goslee is chairman of the town council under the new charter and a two-term member of the Connecticut House of Representatives. He has served in numerous civic capacities in his community for 36 years.

Frank G. Arnold has retired as president of the Nebraska Federation of County Taxpayers Leagues, an office he has held for sixteen years. The federation's executive board will appoint a new president in the near future.

Francis A. Ahearn, chairman of the Plan E for Boston Campaign Committee, has announced the appointment of **Miss Kathleen T. Ryan,** a Boston attorney, as the committee's secretary.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Saugus, Mass., Holds First P. R. Election

Chooses Council and School Board under New Government

THE first proportional representation election in any Massachusetts *town* occurred in Saugus on January 19. The consensus of opinion is that the results are fair and satisfactory to the majority of the voters.

It was a stormy day and previous heavy storms beginning in December had blanketed the town with some 40 inches of snow. The roads were in dangerous condition. Saugus, with an area of fourteen square miles, has many voters in its outskirts who had long distances to travel to reach the polls. Conditions, in other words, were adverse to a large turnout. Nevertheless, over half the town's voters went to the polls.

Saugus had a long battle to accept a town manager–proportional voting act. The citizens were opposed almost unanimously by the town officials.

At the March 1947 election, although 3,560 voted to accept the act and only 210 voted no, the will of the people was nullified by a technicality in the law. After many brushes with reluctant town officials, including the unanimously opposed board of selectmen, assessors, town clerk, tax collector and election officials, a special town meeting was forced through by the citizens in June 1947, which resulted in a victory for the people by a vote of about 3,200 to 800 on a new act eliminating the technicality.[1]

Then a battle ensued to prepare for the P. R. election on January 19 of the five-member board of selectmen and five school committeemen. Confusion was created, and every obstacle possible put in the way of the election, but again the people had their way.

Twenty-two candidates filed their nomination papers for the board of selectmen, who under the act will appoint the town manager. This was an unprecedented number of candidates. The largest number of candidates under the old form of voting we recall was thirteen, and the usual number was only seven or eight. Those candidates who had good political machines usually won out.

It is regrettable that shortly before this election the citizens committees who had fought shoulder to shoulder to establish the act developed differences. However, three of the five candidates elected were favorable to P. R. and town manager government. Only one member of the old board survived, two being badly defeated. The other member elected is a retired businessman who was an active opponent of the new setup, but whose campaign amounted to a statement that he had changed his mind.

The quota for election was 704. On the first count the five men receiving the highest counts of No. 1 votes were: John J. Buccherie, 584; John C. Pitman, 494; James P. Sullivan, 443; William H. Robinson, 305; and Emmett Nichols, 245.

Fifteen transfer counts in two days were needed to select the winners. The first four named retained their places throughout, but Nichols fell to seventh place and Allan F. Sawyer was elected as the fifth man.

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[1] See the REVIEW, April 1947, page 221, and July 1947, page 409.

All the persons named above were friends of the new form of government except Pitman (the businessman) and Sullivan (popular ex-police officer).

All in all, the people feel they did very well for this first experience in the new form of voting. Steps to appoint the town manager promptly are well under way. The manager is given comprehensive powers under the act including appointment of all officials except selectmen, school committeemen and a few minor officials.

The election officials who predicted dire results from the new form of voting, and who hired two outside experts to direct the count and put on 30 helpers to count about 4,200 votes, were "surprised" at the smoothness and facility of the counting. They expect no trouble in the future. The cost was reasonable in spite of an excess of help.

School Board Elected

A five-man school board was also elected by a P. R. count. This board was not under fire as were the selectmen, and the same five who hitherto have held office were returned, although the chairman of the board was reelected by only a five-vote margin, which a recount reduced to one vote.

A representative town meeting membership, cut from 240 to 50, was elected in the usual way.

The very threat of a town manager caused economies in the 1947 budget of enough to cut the tax rate $6.30, from $47.50 to $41.20, and it is freely predicted that the 1948 rate will show a further sizeable cut.

Speaker Frederick Bancroft Willis of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, a resident of Saugus, was a great help to the citizens in their efforts. Saugus has blazed the way for Massachusetts towns to streamline their governments for economy. Those who lead the fight are in great demand to speak and advise many other towns which seek to follow.

Edward Gibbs, *Publisher*
Saugus Advertiser

Charter Group Takes Over in Cincinnati

Ten weeks after New Year's Day 1948 and their resumption of control of Cincinnati's municipal government, city council representatives of the Charter Committee—the Queen City's 24-year-old citizens' reform group—are demonstrating to an approving public the irresistible force of a dynamic idea: civic progress through citizen participation in government.

Charter councilmen and charter leaders are working hand in hand to find practicable solutions for such problems as the housing shortage, financing major physical improvements called for in the city's recently completed $350,000 Master Plan, and the whittling away of home rule authority by statutory and judicial infringement, as well as numerous kindred problems of local government.

A series of committees is being formed, each designed to handle what in the vernacular has come to be regarded as an issue "too hot to handle" for the customary civic association, chamber of commerce, or so-called nonpartisan "educational" society.

Councilman Charles P. Taft, charter majority leader who has continued to serve as president of the City Charter Committee pending his replacement by the charter group's newly elected board of directors in March, has warmly encouraged the setting up of the committees, and is counting upon highly practicable results, beneficial both to the community as a whole and to the charter councilmen. The other charter councilmen, including newly elected Mayor Albert D. Cash, long-time charter minority leader, have also joined in giving impetus to the plan.

The charter group was voted back into control of Cincinnati last November at the same time that charter leaders were spearheading victory over the local Republican Organization in the third renewal of the latter's long-standing feud with P. R.[1]

The Fall Election

Five charter committee nominees emerged victors in the November count. Representation for the local Republican organization, unchanging and implacable foe of the charter reform group, was reduced to four seats after having been a clear majority for most of the past twelve years.

Twenty candidates made up the council field in the election—nine Charter Committee nominees, nine nominees of the local Republican organization and two independents.

High man in the field was the then-incumbent mayor, Carl W. Rich, who had been thrust upon council last March by the bosses of the local Republican organization after its popular flag-bearer, James Garfield Stewart, resigned to take a vacancy on the bench of the Ohio Supreme Court. Criticism of Rich's appointment, first to council and especially to the mayoralty, over other loyal organization councilmen of longer tenure and proven electoral following, placed organization leaders on their mettle.

Organization workers all over the city were instructed to concentrate on getting first-choice votes for Rich, thereby vindicating his selection to council and elevation to the mayoralty. In the end he received a total of 23,976 first-choice votes, well over the quota of 16,218 but much less than the percentage of first-choices piled up by such predecessor Cincinnati mayors as Murray Seasongood and the late Russell Wilson.

Mr. Cash, the charter group's floor leader in council from his first election in 1938 until this year, ran second to Rich, with 15,918 first-choice votes, and was high man on the charter side. Close behind him ran Mr. Taft, the latter's first-choice total being 14,842.

First-Choice Votes of Candidates[1]

*Carl W. Rich (OR)	23,976
*Albert D. Cash (C)	15,918
*Charles P. Taft (C)	14,842
*Jesse D. Locker (OR)	14,361
*Rollin H. Everett (C)	11,289
*Gordon H. Scherer (OR)	10,763
*Harry D. Proctor (C)	10,715
*Edward N. Waldvogel (C)	10,651
Theodore M. Berry (I)	6,873
*John M. Molloy (OR)	6,829
Ralph B. Kohnen (OR)	5,911
Leo J. Moelder (C)	5,632
Louis Nippert (OR)	5,606
Harold L. Baron (OR)	3,978
Helen G. Lotspeich (C)	3,943
Homer S. Toms (OR)	3,405
Walter L. Tarr (OR)	2,698
Frank H. Simpson (C)	2,469
Gordon J. Wolf (C)	2,063
Harry Annest (I)	227

Besides the return of the charter group to majority control for the first time since 1935, the election was notable for three other features: the extraordinarily large vote, 171,130, the highest in Cincinnati's municipal history; the customary percentage of invalid votes, despite the large total vote, the number being 8,954, or 5.2

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[1] For an account of the victorious campaign to save P. R., see the December 1947 Review, pages 646-8.

[1] Those elected are indicated by an asterisk. Letters following candidates' names indicate party affiliation, i.e., C, Charter; OR, Organization Republican; I, Independent.

per cent; and the remarkable showing of Theodore M. Berry, Negro civil rights champion who, running independently against the Republican organization Negro incumbent, Locker, compelled organization leaders to drum up a minimum of four first-choice votes per precinct for Locker in the solid white neighborhoods in the city in order to insure his survival.

A new leader emerged for the Charter Committee in the course of the campaign—Harry J. Gilligan. As campaign chairman, Mr. Gilligan captured the sympathy and support of both the business and labor elements of the community with his insistance on a united effort to pull Cincinnati off dead-center and to make it once again the progressive city it showed itself in the 1870's and the 1880's, and again in the 1920's and early 1930's. His leadership went far to supplement a personal following engendered by such long-time charter champions as Mr. Taft and Mr. Cash.

As in the campaign to save P. R., the charter forces benefited by the support of the Cincinnati *Post,* and the *Sun* and *Chronicle*—Cincinnati's two labor papers.

Forest Frank, *Executive Director*
Cincinnati City Charter Committee

United Nations Committee Proposes P. R. for Jerusalem

A single-chamber legislative council to be elected for a four-year term by proportional representation is provided in a draft United Nations statute setting up a special international regime for the city of Jerusalem. The proposal has been prepared by a working committee of the Trusteeship Council, according to an article in the *United Nations Bulletin,*[1] which explains: "The elections shall be by proportional representation in order to ensure adequate representation of the various opinions and interests of the city."

Action on the draft statute by the Trusteeship Council was postponed until April 21 when it appeared on March 10 that only four of the fifteen member nations of the council were in favor of immediate adoption of a statute providing an international regime for Jerusalem. Uncertainty of the disposition of the more general question of Palestine by the Security Council was apparently the chief reason for the postponement, according to a report by the New York *Herald Tribune.*

On November 19 a draft plan for the partition of Palestine, prepared by a nine-nation subcommittee to implement the partition proposal recommended by the U. N. Assembly, appeared with provisions for election of the governments of the proposed Arab and Jewish states, as well as the legislative council of the internationalized city of Jerusalem, by proportional representation.

The proposed partition boundaries recommended by the Assembly would place sizeable Arab minorities in the proposed Jewish state and leave some Jewish minorities in the proposed Arab state, a circumstance which doubtless encouraged the recommendation of P. R. by the subcommittee.

A party list type of P. R. has been in use in Palestine for the elected Assembly of Palestinian Jews, as reported more fully in this department in May 1946, where a proposal by the late Wilson M. Southam of the *Ottawa Citizen,* recommending the Hare system of P. R. without partition of the country as the best way to deal with the minority problem in Palestine, is also discussed.

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[1] February 15, 1948, page 127. Published by the U. N. Department of Information.

Virginia Counties Analyzed in New Study

Report Seeks Flexibility for County Reorganization

THE Committee on Taxation and Government of the Virginia State Chamber of Commerce has issued a report outlining methods in which economies can be effected in county government in the state.[1] It is primarily the work of Dr. Wylie Kilpatrick, at present visiting professor at Duke University.

In a sense, the report is an abbreviation and adaptation of Dr. Kilpatrick's *Problems in Contemporary County Government,* published in 1930 under the auspices of the Institute for Research in the Social Sciences of the University of Virginia. It is consequently much broader in scope than its title might suggest. Its six chapters, in fact, give a relatively complete picture of county government in Virginia including its structure, finances, relations with other units and the newer plans of county management.

In summarizing his findings Dr. Kilpatrick concluded in part:

1. The comparative benefit which might seem to inhere in the paucity of minor political subdivisions in Virginia is offset substantially because of (a) the extremely small populations found in more than half the counties and (b) the autonomous status of the 24 independent cities within whose borders reside three-tenths of the total population.

2. Per capita operating costs of county government tend to increase consistently as population size decreases.

3. State assumption under 1932 legislation of responsibility for all county highway construction and maintenance has relieved local tax sources of a costly service.

4. The tendency toward state centralization has been pronounced in recent years. In Virginia this is well illustrated by the state assumption of the secondary road system and by the ever increasing share of state participation in financing basic county government services—education, public welfare, health and the compensation of local officials.

5. Federal aid may be expected to rise moderately for welfare and for health and airport programs; but federal aid to counties, unless extended to schools, will probably not rise markedly during the ensuing decade.

6. One of the most important problems in county government is a determination of the spheres in which the county should be solely responsible for functions, those in which the state should take primary responsibility, and those in which there should be joint responsibility.

7. Cooperation among the counties and between counties and cities, as well as counties and towns, in the administration of particular services has been a salutary development in Virginia. This type of arrangement is found to a limited extent in schools and public welfare where a single superintendent serves more than one locality, in the health function where joint health units serve two or more localities, in the indoor care for the the indigent where district welfare homes are maintained through joint

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[1] *Opportunities for Economy in County Government in Virginia,* Finance Document No. 12, 101 pages, Richmond, 1947.

local endeavor, in jointly maintained local jails, in the county-municipal libraries, and in the trial justice serving more than one county.

8. Plans are necessary for the more extensive development of joint or regional administration by voluntary county agreement. Such plans should provide for democratic control by the localities, and inter-unit cooperation should not be distorted merely to provide administrative districts convenient to state agencies.

9. The smallness of many Virginia counties constitutes a handicap to the introduction of full-fledged managerial or executive systems as provided in the optional forms act of 1932. More effective administrative control in these smaller units can be found in modified managerial forms and in cooperative arrangements with contiguous county units.

10. Reform in county government moves with painful slowness even when the faults of antiquated administrative patterns are clearly evident. In the fifteen years which have elapsed since general reorganization in county government became a possibility in Virginia, only three of the 100 counties have availed themselves of the general statutes which afford opportunity for constructive reform. Seven other counties through special legislative enactment have modified their organizational patterns to varying degrees in an effort to effect more responsive and responsible government.

11. The county board of supervisors in Virginia under the traditional form of government is unable to live up to the title of a governing body. The substance of power tends to be dissipated among a cluster of disunited agencies. The appointment of all functional boards and of certain key administrative officials, including an executive agent, should be vested in the board of supervisors.

12. The most thorough-going reform in Virginia local government would be to authorize the counties to prepare charters adapted to the needs of the individual county. Even without constitutional home rule Virginia counties should be granted authority to choose from a wider range of optional reorganization forms than those available under existing statutes.

New Optional Charter Suggested

13. A general statute should provide for a third optional form of county organization less rigid than the county manager or county executive form. Such a statute should allow the people of the county to determine (a) whether the members of the board of supervisors shall be elected on a county-wide basis or by magisterial districts, (b) whether the school board, the welfare board and other functional boards shall be appointed by the board of supervisors, (c) what specific administrative officials shall be chosen by the supervisors, and (d) the extent to which the financial operations of the county may be coordinated under a pattern of organization now permitted under the county manager and county executive forms.

14. Choice of an executive agent by the board of supervisors would facilitate the work of the governing body and would unify business administration under an accountable official. A general statute should be enacted to authorize the county board of supervisors to appoint an administrative officer, known as an executive clerk or executive secretary.

15. Virginia will block progress if she does not enact general enabling legislation permitting greater flexibility in county reorganization and administration without the necessity of a particular county begging for a special act to effect constructive reform.

Lane County, Oregon, to Vote on Manager Charter

Lane County, Oregon, will vote May 21 on a proposed manager charter, petitions for which were filed by a group of citizens representing all sections of the county. A vigorous battle is being waged for its adoption. A campaign organization, with district and precinct leaders, has been set up in each of the seven districts proposed in the charter. A speakers' bureau has been organized whose members will appear before granges, labor unions and other community groups.

Citizens Organize to Improve County Government

The Oak Ridge League of Women Voters is undertaking a study of Anderson County, Tennessee, with a view to improving its government.

A group of civic leaders in Dade County, Florida, has organized in order to conduct the campaign for consolidation of the county with the city of Miami. The issue will be submitted to a county-wide popular referendum in May.[1]

South Carolina County Seeks Self-government

A bill has been introduced in the South Carolina legislature giving Charleston County authority over local matters. At present such matters are handled in the form of local legislation enacted by the state legislature.

Several years ago a similar bill was introduced in the state legislature in order to put into effect the recommendations embodied in a Public Administration Service survey. The bill passed the House but was rejected by the Senate.

Census Bureau Issues County Finance Report

The U. S. Bureau of the Census has issued its study of 1945 county finances previously reported by this section as in preparation.[1] In a series of twenty tables it summarizes county financial trends in the nation and by states and gives individual county data on selected subjects.

The report reveals that county governments entered the postwar period with moderate fund balances accumulated during the war period. On the expenditure side, capital outlay of counties shrank greatly, and even current maintenance of buildings and highways tended to be below normal. Thus the war retarded county expenditure, aside from operation cost, while revenue was stimulated.

During each of the years 1942 through 1945, county general revenue was larger than general expenditure including provision for debt retirement. Total county revenue in 1945 was $1,720,000,000 or $64,000,000 greater than that of 1944. Tax revenue of $906,000,000 was $15,000,000 larger than the corresponding revenue for the previous year, but about the same as that of 1943.

General expenditure of $1,696,000,000 in 1945 was $67,000,000 more than in 1944, which had been similarly above 1943. The operation cost of all county functions, except for miscellaneous purposes, experienced a rise during 1945. Capital outlay in that year only began the upward climb anticipated for such spending after the war. The 1945 expenditure for debt service was $25,000,000 less than in 1944 and $47,000,000 less than in 1942. Declining debt service accompanied a decrease in gross debt from nearly

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[1] See the REVIEW, September 1947, page 468.

[1] *County Finances, 1945 Compendium,* iv, 104 pages, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1947. 40 cents.

$2,000,000,000 in 1942 to $1,500,000,000 three years later.

The 56 counties having 1940 populations over 250,000 accounted for 29 per cent of county general revenue in 1945, while the 702 counties having populations under 10,000 collected only 5 per cent of the total.

The per capita amounts of county general revenue and general expenditure did not vary materially in relation to population size of counties, except for the markedly higher amounts in counties having populations under 10,000. The largest debt per capita was that for counties having populations over 250,000; per capita debts for the smaller counties did not vary widely among population-size groups.

In 1945, county-operated enterprises numbered 100, with total operating revenue of $10,000,000 and long-term debt of $23,000,000. Alcoholic-beverage dispensary systems of 32 Maryland and North Carolina counties accounted for over half of the enterprise revenue but for none of the enterprise indebtedness. Next largest in operating revenue were the toll bridge and miscellaneous enterprises operated by nine counties. With a few exceptions, the 22 county water supply systems are small-scale projects. Many of the county airports were taken over by the army during the war, and only part of them had been returned to county control by the end of the 1945 fiscal year.

In addition to the national and state by state summaries of major classes of county finance, the report presents financial information for over a thousand individual counties. These units constitute a third of all county governments and account for over half of all county finances. They afford a basis for making the state and national estimates presented in the report.

Number of County Surveyors Decreasing

The 1947 session of the Pennsylvania legislature repealed the state law authorizing an annual $300 salary for county surveyors. This advances one step further the trend toward eventual abolition of this office wherever it remains in the United States.

During the nineteenth century, when acquisition and settlement upon land owned by the government was a major activity, the surveyor was an important local official who ascertained the location of land and otherwise assisted in determining ownership. He was elected by the people as were other county officials, but in recent years many counties in states still authorizing county surveyors failed to elect one because of lack of candidates for the office. Where compensation on a fee basis instead of an annual salary was provided by the state law, there was no incentive to seek office, because revenues from survey work for landowners had disappeared with the disappearance of need for the office.

County Public Works Programs

San Diego County, California, has consolidated twelve departments and agencies engaged in various aspects of public works programs into a single unit. The consolidation is expected to save $100,000 during the current fiscal year.

The board of supervisors of La Crosse County, Wisconsin, is attempting to reduce automobile accidents by better illumination of major intersections. Recently it authorized the county highway department to install 10,000 candle-power lights at eleven such intersections.

Taxation and Finance . . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Baltimore Revenues Exceed Expectations

Nearly Six Million More Than Budget Estimates Collected

REVENUES of the city of Baltimore in 1947 exceeded budget estimates by nearly six million dollars and were nearly thirteen million above collections in 1946, according to a report by the budget director, Herbert Fallin.

The city's 1947 revenues amounted to $82,866,381, compared with $77,121,966 anticipated in the 1947 budget and $69,517,878 collected in 1946. State aid, which was substantially increased by the legislature last year, had been estimated to produce $15,503,923 but actually yielded $18,104,989. In 1946 state aid amounted to about $11,500,000.

The 1948 budget was prepared with the expectation that 1947 budgetary operations would produce a surplus of $5,147,621 applicable to the new year. This was to be achieved by $700,000 from underexpenditure of 1947 appropriations and $4,477,621 from revenues in excess of 1947 anticipations. Actually, the underexpenditure of appropriations was $696,973, but since revenues exceeded estimates by $5,744,414 the budget carryover was $6,441,387. The excess of $1,293,767 will be made available as revenue for the 1949 budget.

Tax Property Sales Clear Rolls

During the year 1947 King County, Washington, which includes the city of Seattle, disposed at public sale of some 2,277 parcels of property foreclosed for taxes, selling them for $431,311 compared with $177,522 due for back taxes. The volume of transactions was not as great as in 1946, when 6,265 parcels were disposed of for a total price of $1,306,549 compared with back taxes due of $560,849. Sales operations the last several years have reduced the number of parcels held on tax title lien from the post-depression peak of about 90,000 to about 15,000, according to the Seattle Municipal League.

It is interesting to note that in both 1946 and 1947 the selling price totaled more than the assessed valuation of the parcels, $1,306,549 against $564,069 in 1946 and $431,311 against $171,016 in 1947. Under Washington law, property taxes for all local governmental units are collected by the counties.

Connecticut Reduces Sales Tax

On February 26 the Connecticut legislature, in a special session called for the purpose of considering revision of the state sales tax law, enacted legislation reducing the sales tax rate.

At present 3 per cent, the tax will be reduced to one per cent beginning April 1. It will remain at 1 per cent until June 30, 1949, then rise to 2 per cent until June 30, 1951, when the present law expires.

Bond Issues for Veterans' Bonuses Establish Record

Last year the state of Illinois established a record when it marketed $300,000,000 of bonds to pay veterans' bonuses. On March 3 of this year the state of New York tied the record by marketing an issue of similar size for the same purpose.

The $300,000,000 New York bonus bonds were set up to mature serially in one to ten years, and were sold as a combination of 1¾ per cent and 2 per cent bonds at a net interest cost to the state of 1.79 per cent.

The cost of these bonds was somewhat greater than it would have been had the bonds been sold as recently as last December prior to the Christmas eve break in bond prices, but it represented a great savings as compared with the cost of World War I bonus bonds. For the earlier bonus payments the state issued $45,000,000 of 25-year serial bonds, on which the net interest cost was 4.1372 per cent. The difference between the two rates emphasizes the fact that despite the recent increase in borrowing costs the state and municipal borrower is still in a remarkably favorable position.

In addition to the $300,000,000 bonus issues sold by New York and Illinois, other large World War II bonus bond issues include $200,000,000 sold by Michigan in March 1947 and $200,000,000 sold by Ohio on March 16, 1948.

Welfare Costs Rise to New Heights

Inflation and growing relief roles are causing a considerable increase in welfare costs of states and cities, according to the American Public Welfare Association.

Relief rolls have grown in many localities because inflation has forced some persons to augment inadequate incomes with public assistance and also because the continued return of ex-GIs to jobs has caused unemployment among marginal workers.

The Chicago general relief case load increased 20 per cent in 1947 to a total of 26,400. The Illinois Public Aid Commission has increased food budgets for the average relief family as much as nine dollars a month, costing the state about $300,000 additional a month.

The relief case load is heavier now than at any time since May 1942, reports California's relief director. Nearly 55,000 were given aid in December. In Texas state and federal relief costs for the aged, blind and dependent children increased $17,200,000 last year to a total of $76,700,000.

The state welfare commissioner of Utah has requested $530,000 in emergency funds because of an abnormal increase in the state's case load.

The Pennsylvania Department of Public Assistance recently increased monthly general relief checks. In Philadelphia an adult on relief now receives $50 a month, a parent and child $75.50, and a family of three $98.50.

Legislatures now in session are being asked for larger assistance appropriations. In New York the governor asked for $91,600,000 in state funds—more than double this year's appropriation—to help finance local home relief for the coming fiscal year.

The governors of Kentucky, Virginia and other states are requesting larger funds for welfare. In the dependent children category alone there are now more than a million cases through the country receiving aid under state-federal welfare programs.

Cities Increase Revenues with Admissions Taxes

Cities are taking advantage of state legislation giving them permission to adopt local admissions and amusement taxes.

The Ohio legislature last year abolished the state admissions tax and turned that field of public revenue over to municipalities effective October 1. Seventy cities adopted local admissions taxes and had them all set to go on that date, according to the Municipal Finance Officers Association. The number of cities taking similar action is still increasing.

Cleveland estimates it will get $660,000 from its admissions tax during its first year. The levy, typical of those in the other Ohio cities, imposes a 3 per cent tax on theater and other admissions. Cincinnati expects $300,000 a year from the new tax, Columbus $155,000 and Dayton $140,000.

St. Louis, Missouri, recently adopted a levy of 5 per cent on theater admissions. Chester, Pennsylvania, has approved a 10 per cent city amusement tax.

New York City's amusement tax, authorized by the state last year, is expected to increase municipal revenues $14,900,000—making it by far the most lucrative local tax of its kind. The 5 per cent tax is levied on club dues and night club checks as well as admissions to theaters and other amusements.

Chicago also adopted an admissions tax late last year, a 3 per cent levy expected to yield about $2,250,000 in 1948. Bloomington, Illinois, passed a 4 per cent tax recently on gross receipts of theaters. Richmond, Virginia, adopted an admissions tax of one cent for each twenty cents of admission price.

A rush to adopt admissions taxes similar to the current one in Ohio took place in Washington when the state withdrew from that tax field in 1943. In the ten months following the state action, all Washington cities over 10,000 population adopted taxes on admissions.

States Press Property Reassessment

Several states are conducting statewide real estate reassessment programs. Over $400,000 will be spent on such projects in Arizona, Colorado, Indiana, Utah and Virginia, according to the National Association of Assessing Officers.

Mounting costs of local government, caused by inflation and postwar improvement programs, are putting special emphasis on the need for accurate assessments to determine equitable distribution of heavier property tax burdens.

Largest state appropriation is Arizona's, where the legislature granted $300,000 in 1947 for statewide appraisal of urban real estate. No contract for the job has yet been made, however.

Colorado's reassessment, financed by a $100,000 appropriation, is being conducted by the State Tax Commission and will cover all real estate in each of the 63 counties. The program involves a comprehensive study of rural land productivity, with a new land classification system for agricultural areas, based on farm productivity, as one objective.

In Indiana the State Board of Tax Commissioners is conducting a statewide reassessment, ordered by the state legislature, to be completed by July 1949.

General reassessment in Virginia is being made by county assessors at the request of the legislature, which appropriated $20,000 to the State Department of Taxation to help counties with the job if they seek aid.

Real estate reassessment by Utah county assessors will cover three major categories: (1) land converted from farm to business use; (2) urban land materially changed in value by new development; (3) agricultural land brought under cultivation since the last general assessment.

Local Affairs Abroad . . . . . *Edited by James E. Gates*

Boundary Commission Gets Committee Report

Boroughs Group Recommends Division of Local Functions

THE Non-County Boroughs Committee for England and Wales has followed up its interim memorandum to the Local Government Boundary Commission with a statement dealing with the question of the allocation of functions between its suggested first and second-tier authorities,[1] the method of election of first-tier authorities, and the size of the areas to be administered by first-tier authorities.

In their statement, reports the *Municipal Journal and Local Government Administrator* (London), the committee said it was convinced that the success of any such system must depend upon:

(1) Proper distribution of responsibilities, services and functions between the two sets of authorities;

(2) Method of election of first-tier authorities; and

(3) Size of the areas to be administered by first-tier authorities being such as to command effective local interest.

The committee suggested that the following services be allocated to first-tier authorities: police, fire service, services under the proposed National Assistance Act (except care of aged persons), and blind welfare (institutional).

In addition, it suggested that the following services be planned and financed at first-tier level but be administered by second-tier authorities: education, services under Part III of the National Health Service Act 1946, town and country planning, classified roads, blind welfare (other than institutional) and care of aged persons.

To the second-tier authorities it is proposed that there be a direct allocation of the following services: water supply (except where statutory or joint boards are already in existence), housing and slum clearance, roads other than classified roads, street lighting, public libraries as well as museums and art galleries, parks and recreation grounds, cemeteries and crematoria, inspection of food and drugs, inspection of weights and measures, shops acts administration, day nurseries, community centers, private street works, sanitary and other local public health services, control of slaughter-houses, sewers and drains, refuse collection and disposal, street cleaning, allotments and small holdings, provision of parking lots, baths and wash-houses (including swimming baths), markets, local charities, information service, civic restaurants, services under Physical Training and Recreation Act 1937, licensing of places of public entertainment, provision of places of entertainment and provision and control of corporation property, making of by-laws, licensing of hackney carriages, storage of petroleum, levying and collection of rates including charges for public utility services supplied to consumers in the district of the authority.

It is pointed out that this is a general list and is not intended to exclude the many other services which can be discharged by second-tier authorities.

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[1] First-tier authorities would include the larger local units such as county councils and county borough councils; second-tier authorities would include non-county borough councils, i.e., municipal borough councils, urban and rural district councils.

There is some question as to whether the division of services suggested in the report should be the rule in all cases. The committee recognizes that there may be second-tier authorities whose population and financial assets will not justify this clear-cut division.

Draft Code of Ethics for Municipal Employees

The National Association of Local Government Officers of Great Britain has drawn up a code of ethics for observance by local government employees, members of the organization:

"The first duty of a local government officer is to give his undivided allegiance to the authority employing him. With his private activities the authority in general is not concerned, so long as his conduct therein is not such as to bring discredit upon the service in which he is an officer. For that conduct public service is entitled to demand the highest standard.

"The maxim laid down for a court of law, that it is of fundamental importance not only that justice should be done in it but that it should manifestly and undoubtedly be seen to be done, applies with equal force to the local government officer. Public confidence in his integrity would be shaken were the least suspicion, however ill-founded, to arise that he could be in any way influenced by improper motives.

"From this it must follow that the local government officer, as a public servant, must not only be honest in fact but must be beyond the reach of the suspicion of dishonesty.

"He is not to subordinate his duty to his private interests; or to put himself in a position where his duty and his private interests conflict. He should not make use of his official position to further those interests; but neither is he so to order his private affairs as to allow the suspicion to arise that a trust has been abused or a confidence betrayed.

"He should be courteous to all with whom his duties bring him in contact.

"The public expects from the local government officer a standard of integrity and conduct not only inflexible but fastidious. It is the duty of the service to see that this expectation is fulfilled."

Minimum Health Service Described by Ontario Official

The medical officer of health in charge of the St. Thomas-Elgin (Ontario) Health Unit, Dr. Roger Kennedy, has laid out the following program of minimum efficient services, together with some estimate of the cost of such a service, reports the *Municipal World* (St. Thomas, Ontario):

"What is a minimum efficient service? And what should it cost?

"To the first I would answer—the service *must* include:

"A good infant care program;

"A reasonable school medical program to include rather frequent visits to all schools by the nurses, medical examinations of all new pupils and annual re-examination of other pupils whom the parent or teacher or nurse thinks might benefit from it, immunizations as required, tuberculosis surveys in the upper grades, home visiting in connection with problems arising from the program;

"An excellent immunization program for all age groups;

"Satisfactory communicable disease control to include tuberculosis and venereal disease as well as the more common 'catching' diseases;

"A mental health program;

"Cooperation with special agencies,

i.e., for crippled children, blind, hard of hearing;

"Adult (and perhaps some school) health education, especially on the topics of child care, mental health, nutrition and sanitation;

"A fairly comprehensive sanitation program with special emphasis on public and private water supplies, sewage and refuse disposal, on milk supplies, on food, on control of public eating and drinking places.

"To these one would like to add supervision of expectant mothers, the making of at least annual contact with children between infancy and school entry, close cooperation with the Children's Aid Society in regard to problem homes, some work in industrial hygiene and, as a sort of reward to the staff, participation in a research project. . . .

"An absolutely minimum service can be supplied for about a dollar per head of population, a reasonable service for about $1.20 per capita, and a service likely to have sufficient staff and equipment to satisfy all parties for about $1.40."

Transvaal Investigates Local-Provincial Relations

South Africa is considering anew the relations between local government and the larger units, according to an announcement by S. A. Lombard, Transvaal provincial secretary. That province is establishing a new Local Government Advisory Board and a Local Government Department.

Duties of the new board of seven members include advising the province on the administration of local government law, on proposals for improving methods by which local authorities carry out their functions, on staff matters, on the need for amending legislation affecting local authorities, on proposals for establishing new local authorities and alteration of the status of existing ones, on proposals for the alteration of boundaries, on uniformity of by-laws and regulations, and on the financial provisions which should be made where local authorities undertake functions which may be regarded as partly of a national or provincial character.

The provincial secretary stated that the administration did not propose to interfere in the affairs of local authorities, that their position as autonomous bodies will always be respected. "Local government," he said, "is the business of local authorities, and all the administration wants to do is to give them information and guidance, and to apply the brakes when necessary."

Turkish Officials Study British Local System

The governor and mayor of Istanbul, Dr. Lutfi Kirdar, visited London last summer to make a study of British municipal government. Since his return he has prepared, for the benefit of Turkish municipal officials and scholars, an analysis of the British system as he found it, and a comparison of the Turkish system with the British.

The present Turkish municipal system came into being with the reorganization of the country by Kemal Ataturk after the First World War. Ataturk decided to adapt to the needs of the newly born governmental system whatever he found good in the administrative and legal systems of the West.

This new Turkish municipal system, according to Dr. Kirdar, was partly inspired by the French structure. Used as models also were the Swiss civil law and the Italian penal code. Nothing, he says, was taken from Britain.

Books in Review

The Direct Primary in Idaho. By Boyd A. Martin. Stanford University, California, Stanford University Press, 1947. ix, 149 pp. $3.25.

An exhaustive study, covering the first enthusiastic adoption of direct primaries in Idaho in 1909 through a period of reversion to regulated conventions and back to direct primaries again in 1931 and down to 1945.

The smallness of the state made it possible to produce the facts rather completely, and the volume becomes a welcome addition to the source books on the subject. Appraisal of relative results is facilitated by the simultaneous operation in some years of the convention system for some offices.

The author finds by answers to his questionnaires that party managements deplore the unpredictable and irresponsible fluidities that sometimes appear in the primaries, that more candidates try for office under the primary system, that candidates raise and spend more money under the primary system, and that newspaper editors favor the primaries while party leaders and officeholders would revert to conventions if they dared.

The author demonstrates that both systems are made unworkable anyway by the long ballot of eleven elective state offices and lengthy strings of county and local offices; both provide opportunities to the party voters to express opinions on the long array of candidates for obscure offices when they have for the most part no opinions to express. The author recommends shortening the ballot and providing closed instead of open primaries.

RICHARD S. CHILDS

The Web of Goverment. By R. M. MacIver. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1947. ix, 498 pp. $4.50.

A profound subjective analysis of the factors determining the evolution of government, historically and today, and the unsteady balance of individual liberty versus authority down the ages. With facile competence the author evaluates such elements as the family, myths, the tendency to obey, status and social class, property and opinion, with government as the resultant diagonal of the conflicting pressures. All the recent and current perversions of democracy are scrutinized against the comprehensive background of analyzed history, and the conclusion is that democracy will never be neat or static but the free and ever-changing response to the fluid forces of human life on a spinning ball.

R. S. C.

Small Communities in Action. Stories of Citizen Programs at Work. By Jean and Jess Ogden. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1946. xix, 244 pp. $3.

The efforts of 34 small Virginia communities to "attack their own problems and find solutions" for them, are presented here. The stories are taken from the "New Dominion Series," published by the University of Virginia's Extension Division, for which the authors, says George Baskerville Zehmer, division director, in his Foreword, "were directly and chiefly responsible."

The book is divided into five parts each containing several stories describing "experimental approaches to democratic living that are being tried effectively in various communities": Making a Better Living, Planning for Health and Social Well-Being, Increasing Civic Awareness, Living a More Abundant Life and Implementing Community Programs, with a conclusion, The Community That Can Do It, and a short bibliography.

The Technique of Municipal Administration (third edition). Published for the Institute for Training in Municipal Administration. Chicago, International City Managers' Association, 1947. xvi, 601 pp. $7.50.

Based on the best municipal practices as developed over the past 30 years, this volume, now in its third edition, has been prepared as a handbook for city managers, designed to aid them with day-to-day management problems. Chapters cover the relation of the administrator to the council, organization, techniques of direction, programming services, personnel administration, finance, public relations and reporting and many other important phases of administration. Numerous tables, charts and illustrations show the organization of city government, typical department structure, police department organization, work program sheet, various phases of finance administration, etc.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Airports

Municipal Airport Management. By Leslie A. Bryan. Urbana, University of Illinois, Institute of Aeronautics, 1947. 26 pp.

Building Laws

Publications Relating to the Preparation and Revision of Building Laws. Prepared by the Construction Division of the Office of Domestic Commerce. Washington, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, 1947. 18 pp.

Census Bureau Publications

Census Bureau Publications on Governments as Scheduled for the Fiscal Year 1948. Washington 25, D. C., Bureau of the Census, 1947. 2 pp.

Catalog and Subject Guide. Census Publications January–September 1947. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1948.

Data Requirements of Users of Census Data on Governments. Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Census, 1947. 29 pp.

Family and Individual Money Income in the United States: 1945. Urban and Rural Residence, Age, Sex, Color and Veteran Status of the Civilian Population of the United States: April 1947. Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Census, 1948. 30 and 9 pp., respectively.

District of Columbia

The Organization of Agencies Providing Governmental Services to the District of Columbia. Explanation of Charts Showing the Organization of Agencies Providing Government Services to the District of Columbia. By Committee on the District of Columbia, Subcommittee on Home Rule and Reorganization. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1947. 23 pp. and 30 pp. with maps, respectively.

Education

Financing Public Education. General Features of a Satisfactory State Plan. By Federal Security Agency, Office of Education. Washington, D.C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1947. 18 pp. 10 cents.

How Shall We Pay for Education? By Seymour E. Harris. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1948. x, 214 pp. $3.

"Let's Close the Schools." New York 18, Public Education Association, 1947. 32 pp. Illus.

Salaries of City-School Employees, 1946-7. By Research Division. Washington 6, D. C. National Education Association of the United States, 1947. 23 pp. 25 cents.

School Enrollment of the Civilian

Population: April 1947. Washington 25, D. C., Bureau of the Census, 1948. 12 pp.

Statistical Summary of Education, 1943-44. By David T. Blose. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1947. 40 pp. 15 cents.

A Time-Scale for Measuring Adaptability of School Systems. With an instrument, scoring method and standards for the measurement of such adaptability. By Paul R. Mort and Truman M. Pierce. New York 27, Metropolitan School Study Council, 1947. 12 pp.

Highways

Bibliography on Land Acquisition for Public Roads. By Frances Mahoney. Washington, D. C., Public Roads Administration, 1947. 18 pp.

Highway Needs in Michigan. An Engineering Analysis. Washington 6, D. C., Automotive Safety Foundation, 1948. 150 pp. Illus.

Investigation

The Moreland Act. Executive Inquiry in the State of New York. By J. Ellsworth Missall. New York City, King's Crown Press, 1946. x, 145 pp. $2.

Labor

Strikes and Democratic Government. Report of the Labor Committee. New York 18, Twentieth Century Fund, 1947. 31 pp.

Libraries

A National Plan for Public Library Service. Prepared for the Committee on Postwar Planning of the American Library Association. By Carleton J. Joeckel and Amy Winslow. Chicago, American Library Association, 1948. xiii, 168 pp. $3.

Metropolitan Areas

Forces Affecting Metropolitan Patterns. New York 7, Tax Institute, 1948. 16 pp. 25 cents.

The Government of Metropolitan Areas. A Bibliography. Los Angeles 12, Municipal Reference Library, 1947 42 pp. 15 cents.

Parking

An Analysis of General State Enabling Legislation Dealing with Automobile Parking Facilities. An Analysi of State Enabling Legislation of Specia and Local Character Dealing with Automobile Parking Facilities. By Davi R. Levin. Washington 25, D. C., National Research Council, Highway Research Board of Division of Engineering and Industrial Research, 1947 89 pp. plus tables and 19 pp. plu tables respectively.

Municipally Owned Parking Lots an Garages. By Charles S. Rhyne. Washington 6, D. C., National Institute o Municipal Law Officers, 1948. 54 pp. $3

Planning

Future Land Development in Bergen County. Hackensack, New Jersey County Planning Board, 1947. 36 pp Maps.

Planning 1947. Proceedings of th Annual Meeting of the American Society of Planning Officials. Chicago the Society, 1948. 192 pp. $3.

Recommended Program of Publi Improvements, 1948-1953. Philadelphia City Planning Commission, 1947. 15 pp. Maps.

Subdivision Rules and Recommendations for the Wichita Area. Wichita Kansas, City Planning Commission 1947. 15 pp.

Your Home Town's Future. A Manual for Community Development Albany, Division of Economic Development, New York State Departmen of Commerce, 1947. 32 pp. Illus.

Pressure Groups

Control of the City Government o Indianapolis Evidenced by the Force Determining Its Ordinances, 1925-1941 By John Paul Duncan. Akron, Ohio 1945. 30 pp. (Apply author, University of Oklahoma, Oklahoma City.)

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Letter to the Editor

To the Editor:

After reading the editorial comment in your issue of October 1947, it occurred to me that you might wish to receive a brief statement describing a project which has been carried on in the Montclair High School for a number of years, the aim of which is to try to make students more conscious of civic responsibilities.

In connection with a unit which is taken up each year in our senior United States history class on town government, a representative is selected from each class, approximately fifteen classes in all, to visit various departments of our town government. During a two-hour period in the morning officials in charge of such departments as police, fire, finance, public works, health, board of education and town development board meet these student representatives at their headquarters to outline the work which is done, problems which are encountered, and to answer questions which arise.

These students return to their classes to report and to lead a discussion on the results of their experiences. Different students are selected each week with the result that approximately one hundred members of the senior class make direct contact with some of our town officials.

As a preliminary step, early each fall a representative of the town government visits the school to give seniors an over-all view of municipal government.

As a result of these experiences high school students seem to develop considerable interest in these direct contacts with their government officials. At the same time representatives of the various departments of town government seem to be greatly stimulated as a result of this display of interest in democracy at work on the part of the students.

Harold A. Ferguson, *Principal*
Montclair (New Jersey) High School

League Loses Two Honorary Vice Presidents

Chester H. Rowell, honorary vice president of the League for many years and a former member of the League's council, died on April 12 at the age of 80. Well known as author, lecturer, educator and political scientist, he was formerly editor of the old Fresno *Republican* and later the San Francisco *Chronicle.*

Harry Drackett, also recently deceased, became honorary vice president of the League in 1943 after serving on the council for three years. Mr. Drackett, a manufacturer, was well known in Cincinnati for his civic activities. He was president of the Cincinnati City Charter Committee from 1938 to 1946.

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Starving the Watchdog

STATESMEN preach the gospel of states' rights and the need for strong, healthy, local self-government, but when they get into high office where their votes on specific questions can undermine or bolster these obvious basic needs of a workable democracy, they seem to have an unerring instinct—though perhaps unwittingly—for destruction.

Here are three specific current examples of first-rate importance which call for more careful and thoughtful consideration as well as for quick protest from persons and organizations devoted to the preservation of our system.

For 50 years the Governments Division of the Bureau of the Census has compiled data on the cost of state and local governments. These figures are of great value to governmental research and civic organizations, to public officials who are desperately attempting to keep government going on a dollar that is a mere shadow of its former self, and to federal and state agencies which are constantly working to clarify and simplify intergovernmental relationships.

Now the House of Representatives has voted to destroy this work. Its refusal to approve its modest appropriation of $350,000 would have that effect. In doing this, the House voted $50,000 to be used merely to devise a "more useful" program.

Vital as its work has been for many years, the Governments Division may not be a perfect operation. Where is one? But improvements can be—indeed, have been—made without stopping a process which should have unbroken continuity, especially at a time when problems of public finance are so difficult. It has been claimed that there is a great diversity in the reports of the various states and municipalities. In a system like ours this is inevitable; and it is just as true in other fields for which the federal government gathers data. Progress has been made toward greater uniformity, with the encouragement of the Governments Division, but the very existence of the diversity makes all the more imperative a central agency which can reduce these reports to a common basis and present the key data in a uniform and comparable condition.

If it were not so starved for funds, the Governments Division could do much, while continuing to gather basic data, to encourage better and more uniform accounting and reporting methods by state and local governments.

Another example is the State Law Section of the Library of Congress which has existed for a quarter of a century. After months of careful study, the 79th Congress enlarged this program by establishing a current bill and acts service so that all state bills and acts would be separately checklisted and important acts summarized. This service was chiefly for federal departments and agencies which needed reliable, up-to-date information on state legislation. The states wanted this service, too, and cooperated fully individually and through the Council of State Governments.

But before the project could be carried through to completion for one single series of legislative sessions, the 80th Congress wiped it out altogether.

The third example is the Division of Federal-State Relations in the Department of Justice, which was launched about fifteen years ago to work for uniform crime laws among the states and gradually developed into a central clearing house for proposals on uniform legislation generally. Obviously there is much to be accomplished in this field. But in 1947 its funds were cut so low that only a skeleton force could be maintained.

These activities furnish the teeth for the watchdogs over the public treasury—the civic and research groups, the taxpayers associations; yes, and the many public officials who, despite opinion to the contrary, don't like the smell of pork barrels. They need facts. They are constantly asking the National Municipal League questions like these:

What are the per capita tax collections in other states and cities?

What are the laws of other states on elections, rent control, community property or the regulation of air commerce?

What are the costs and expenditure trends in comparable places for fire and police service, education, health, highway construction and maintenance?

Where is a good job being done for less?

This information can be gathered, analyzed and reduced to a comparable basis only by some central agency which has stability and continuity. It is needed by the millions of citizens who in the postwar years have been staging an encouraging revival of solid efforts to improve local and state affairs.

It is a doubtful economy to withhold these relatively small appropriations—mere chicken feed compared to others of undemonstrated value—in the light of the economy chain reaction which proceeds to all parts of the land on the sound pathways marked out by these coldly burning facts.

The Senate can perform a service by examining these needs in a thoughtful, thorough manner.

How to Plan Citizenship Day

Father of 'Manitowoc Plan' for inducting new voters as they come of age describes ideal setup for celebration.

By **R. J. COLBERT***

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Because of the widespread interest in Citizenship Day, commonly known as "I Am an American Day," and the frequency with which its desirable and fundamental elements are overlooked, the REVIEW is publishing this description of how Citizenship Day is not only observed but carefully prepared for in the place of its origin.

IT IS becoming commonplace to observe and comment upon the lack of interest which many voters exhibit in both local and national affairs. Many citizens have become either confused or frightened at the infiltration of foreign doctrines into American ranks. The response to these observations is too often negative and therefore ineffective.

The only answer lies in a frank and dynamic stirring of the processes and principles which underlie democratic self-government. There is a recognized need for an educational program aimed at this goal. During 1938 and 1939, in Manitowoc, Wisconsin, through the leadership of the Extension Division of the University of Wisconsin such a program was initiated. It was directed at citizenship training and new voter induction. This Wisconsin demonstration has since attracted nation-wide interest.

The program started in Wisconsin was motivated by efforts to develop sound and effective checks to two very unhealthy trends in American political life.

1. The increasing indifference of the voter in fulfilling his obligation in regard to local government especially, as indicated by the low ratio of votes cast.

2. The apparent increase in popularity and in vocal expression of types or breeds of communism and utopianism by students and others who have obvious lack of understanding of the democratic processes and the method by which American government serves the people.

The program is based on the following principles:

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1. Becoming a voter carries with it responsibilities as well as rights, and these should be impressed upon the voter in such a way as to create *a will to action.*

2. The community, the state and the nation has a stake in the 21st birthday which could well become the occasion for the most impressive community dedication of the year.

3. The American way has its roots in local government. Citizens who are active in participation in local government not only are the active agents in state and national government but are better informed and more dependable.

4. The preparation for effective citizenship is the responsibility of

---

*Dr. Colbert, founder of the Manitowoc Plan here described, is director of the Bureau of Community Development of the University of Wisconsin's University Extension Division and of the New Voter Organization for Centennial Committee in Dane County, Wisconsin (see page 273, this issue).

education and the schools—made so, it is believed, by the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 which gave a prominent place to public schools as a means of building an intelligent electorate.

5. That the voter should be inducted into the electorate by that unit of government which is basic—the county, the city and the precincts within these units—thus making the training program realistic from the standpoint of voting, since these are the units in which direct voting is experienced.

6. That the new voters themselves should be relied upon to carry much of the responsibility of the annual program which prepares them for their responsibility as voters. New voters are not likely to respond when the oldsters do the job *for* them instead of merely counselling *with* them.

Education for Democracy

The program as developed in Wisconsin is, therefore, very definitely an educational one and the state law places responsibility directly upon the county superintendent of schools. Leaving this responsibility centered on one man without further instruction would doom the whole thing to a failure. The local program should be sponsored by a rather broad committee, with the educators and the county superintendent at the center. This local sponsoring committee should be composed of all those organizations and agencies in the community which are concerned with civic affairs.

In other words, this is a program upon which all these organizations can and should unite. Thus, the committee would be composed of representatives of the county board, city council, the press, Kiwanis Club, Rotary Club, Chamber of Commerce, labor unions, veterans' organizations, women's clubs, League of Women Voters, Bar Association, farm organizations, etc. The idea back of such a broad committee is that it gives more strength to the contribution that can be made not merely to the new voters but also to adults.

The educational feature of the program may be divided into three parts:

1. *The forums sponsored by the new voters*: These forums are woven around two central themes:

a. Where and how far have the older voters brought government to date, and what are we getting for our tax dollar? (We know that every time the city council or county board meets we are asking our government to do more things for us. We know that our vaunted standard of living is to a large extent provided by and through the tax dollar.)

b. What issues and problems am I as a new voter expected to help think through—beginning with those problems and issues of local government?

These local or neighborhood forums, while sponsored by the new voters, are for the general community and should be attended by the older voters as well as the young ones. This gives the new voters a sense of responsibility and a sense of accomplishment as well as organized information. Such a plan and program creates healthy and dynamic attitudes based on a better understanding and it definitely increases participation.

These forums may be weekly meetings or monthly meetings, but should well precede Citizenship Day and should aim, so far as possible, at reaching every new voter through some device. Many cannot attend personally and, therefore, should be reached by correspondence or a leaflet of some sort.

2. *The training of discussion leaders*. Even lawyers and teachers are reluctant to step into these forums without some coaching.

New Voter Activity

3. An important feature of the training program has been the *county convention of new voters,* planned approximately three weeks prior to Citizenship Day (the third Sunday of May). The purpose of this convention, which brings in the new voters under precinct banners, is to enable them to become acquainted with one another and to meet their local officials. It also gives them a chance to elect a president and executive committee to work along with their local officials in meeting new problems which might concern youth or their community. It also sets up the machinery whereby last year's crop of new voters helps to induct the current year's crop of new voters.

Citizenship Day, now nationally known as "I Am an American Day," was fixed on the third Sunday of May after long and heated debate. Many thought that this induction day should be either on Flag Day or on Constitution Day. Flag Day, on June 14, comes too late to permit the participation of the rural schools, and in Wisconsin we strongly adhered to the principle that this program was definitely an obligation of the school system. Constitution Day comes in the fall and does not provide opportunity enough for adequate preparation of a school program prior to induction.

This is the program as it has developed in Wisconsin. The U. S. Department of Justice and the National Education Association sponsored the First Annual National Citizenship Conference on May 17 and 18, 1946. Both have published considerable literature on the subject, including "Program Aids for Citizenship Recognition Ceremonies," by the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization of the Department of Justice.

PERIODICAL DEPT.

Dayton Plans for the Future

Ten Year Improvement Plan, voted in 1945, now under way despite rising costs, lack of materials, other obstacles.

By FREDERICK A. WOODRESS*

WITH 34 years of successful city government under the commission-manager[1] plan an accomplished fact, Dayton, Ohio, can look ahead to the future with reasonable assurance. For one thing, the city has acquired Russell E. McClure, former city manager of Wichita, Kansas, to fill the post vacated by Fred O. Eichelberger, who recently resigned after more than 26 years of service.

Secondly, part of the eight-and-a-half-million-dollar construction program under the Ten Year Improvement Plan, approved by the voters in 1945, is now under way despite serious material shortages and high building costs. But when the newly appointed city manager took over his $18,000-a-year job on March 15, he found Dayton, like Wichita and many other cities, facing many problems aggravated by the war and expanding industry.

One of Dayton's most critical problems was predicted as far back as 1934, when Civil Works Administration researchers reported that the city would probably be faced with a distinct housing shortage in the near future. This prediction was made without the anticipation that in a few years the city's varied war industries and the three army centers—Wright and Patterson Fields and the Air Service Command—would cause a tremendous influx of workers into the Dayton area during the war years.

Population figures tell the story of the influx. "The Dayton metropolitan area had a population of 304,500 persons in 1940," wrote H. W. Stevens, associate planner, in the 33rd annual city report. It "has an estimated population of 383,000 today and a predicted population of about 408,000 in 1970. That is an increase of about 25,000 persons in 25 years," he commented.

With an eye toward a future solution for the population rise and the critical housing shortage, Dayton's city plan board studied the case for annexation in 1945. In a letter prefacing the report of this study, Park E. Wineland, president of the board, summed up the issue when he wrote:

> It is the opinion of the city plan board that the relationship of the city of Dayton to the developing areas of Montgomery County is a problem of major proportions. Dayton . . . is in a period of change, involving problems of decentralization, when broad thinking and bold action are essential to assure the future sound development of the community. . . The annexation problem must be considered in terms

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*Mr. Woodress, a recent graduate of Antioch College, has been a reporter on two Ohio newspapers and is the author of articles published in various magazines and newspapers including the feature sections of the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* and the Columbus, Ohio, *Dispatch*.

[1] Generally known as the council-manager plan.

> of its effect on the future economic and social well-being of all the inhabitants of the entire metropolitan area.

Three annexations have come as the direct result of this survey, H. W. Starick, director of the city plan board, reported. The added areas, totaling about one and three-fourths square miles, are Ridgewood Heights, Paul Robeson Park and the old river channel industrial area. The latter is planned for future industrial expansion.

Petitions for annexation of two more heavily populated communities are now being circulated. One is the Fort McKinley area, a two-and-a-half-square-mile section with a population of 3,500 situated in the trend of population movement toward the northwest. The other is a portion of the North Ridge area on the northeastern periphery of the city. Several other points also are considering possible annexation.

Financial Difficulties

State-city cooperation on taxes and refunds has long been a thorn not only in the side of Dayton but of all Ohio municipalities. State surplus from sales tax collections—mostly gathered in the cities—has been accumulating rapidly for the past few years in the coffers of the state treasury at a time when cities are finding the struggle for financial existence increasing.

Since county budget officials decide on the breakdown for distribution of sales tax refunds going to their particular county, the municipalities lose out. For example, in 1947, Dayton, which was responsible for most of the original sales tax collections made in Montgomery County, received $636,000 from the county's total sales tax refund of $1,290,693.

City officials appealed to the state for reallocation but their request for a larger percentage was rejected. One argument used by the city was the population figure. Dayton proper has now an estimated 250,000 persons out of the total county population of about 365,000.

Growth of population in the periphery has swelled the number of commuters entering Dayton each day, thus accentuating such traffic problems as street repair, bridge repairs, need for more traffic lights, lack of parking areas and of circumferential street plans.

City Manager McClure will have to cope with these problems during the next few years in his new job, but he will not have to solve them alone. The same group spirit which united the citizens in 1913 to promote the commission-manager plan, which has given Dayton good government for so many years that it has almost been taken for granted, reasserted itself with the formation of a citizens' development committee early in 1945. It listed the needs of Dayton in an improvement plan covering the next ten years. And just as the citizens committee of 1913 explained to the voters the advantages of the manager plan so the new group acquainted Dayton voters with future city needs. Manager Eichelberger later summarized the success of this campaign when he wrote in his 1945 annual report:

> It is a source of great satisfaction that practically all of the improve-

Public Library

ment bond issues and the charter amendment, sponsored by the Dayton District Development Committee, were approved by the voters at the fall election. Without the splendid educational program put on by the committee the issues probably would have gone down to defeat.

Plans under Way

By approving the Ten Year Improvement Plan the voters granted a charter amendment assuring the city of an income of $3,500,000 during the ten years to follow and bond issues totalling $8,500,000. The largest single bond issue, an estimated $2,500,000, will go for sewer and street improvements.

Other parts of the plan include a bond issue of $1,700,000 for construction of new bridges and repair of old ones, another issue of $400,000 for new fire stations and equipment, an estimated $150,000 for a modernized traffic signal system, a $1,500,000 bond issue for widening and opening of streets to speed the movement of traffic, elimination of dangerous street conditions and better parking facilities, another $1,500,000 for expanded recreation and parks and, lastly, $750,000 for a new safety building to replace the old one now housing the police department and the municipal courts.

Skyrocketing building costs, contractors' reluctance to accept bids because of fluctuating prices and the scarcity of materials are some of the many obstacles that have blocked the path toward the goals outlined in the ten-year plan. Albert J. Althoff, executive secretary and acting city manager from January 1 to March 15, however, thinks that the city has been fairly successful in experimenting with cost-plus bids to compensate for higher building expenses.

Despite temporary setbacks, Dayton's government can point to gains in many areas. The Dayton *Journal* recently surveyed the advances made during the first twenty months of the ten-year program.[2] The recreation program has accounted for $200,000 out of its $1,500,000 bond issue, with the greater portion being used for acquisition of parks and playgrounds including a 68-acre tract of land.

Already the street department had reported a resurfacing and repairing of 400,000 square feet of streets at a cost of $40,000. It has also announced plans to re-surface Third and Fifth Streets, two major thoroughfares, early in 1948.

Although pipe shortage has been a major bottleneck, several minor sewer projects have been completed. Future plans call for a new interceptor sewer in the downtown district.

At the time of the survey, plans for the $7,000,000 North Dayton grade-crossing elimination program —financed proportionately by the city and the railroad, with Dayton paying the larger share—were soon to reach completion, and contracts were to be let later. Controversy over the length of this project has made it necessary for two sets of plans to be drawn up. The commission will decide on one later this year.

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[2] See Andrew J. Drysdale in the August 27, 1947, issue.

With five and six miles of water mains already laid, plans have been begun for the construction of a two-million-dollar water softening plant and a booster station. For some time the commission has been delaying the softening plant project because of rising costs that might add an extra million dollars to the total cost of three million dollars. A definite decision on this action probably will come this year. The booster plant is now nearing completion.

Two steps taken in the early fall of 1947 are significant for the city's future. The commission voted a city amusement tax of 3 per cent, which was to swell the treasury by $100,000 to $120,000 a year in additional revenue and was to be used in the municipal operation fund. This law went into effect on September 30.

Secondly, negotiations were opened between Mayor Edward Breen, representing the city, and the War Assets Administration, to give Dayton title to the $10,000,000 government section of the Dayton airport at Vandalia. Recently completed, the deal gave Dayton, at no cost, 1,211 acres of land that house eight large hangars and two administration buildings, including a $2,000,000 concrete ramp. This municipal air field is Ohio's largest commercially-owned airport. Dayton intends to construct a terminal building as soon as possible since the contract will be let this summer, architectural plans having been completed.

Other recent developments in city improvements are the new $150,000 club house at the city golf course with facilities for dinners and dances and the newly installed synchronized traffic-signal control system. Increased costs slowed up progress on the latter and boosted the total expenditures from $150,000 to $218,000.

Dayton's 34-year record of good manager government might never have been possible had it not been for three interacting forces—a law, a flood and the citizenry.

The Ohio state legislature set the stage for statewide municipal reforms in 1912 when it released cities from the rigid pattern of government under the municipal code by adding a home rule amendment to the state constitution. Power over tax levies by municipalities was retained by the legislature, however, and remains today a constant source of state-city friction.

'It's an Ill Wind'

The Dayton flood of March 1913, which damaged $100,000,000 worth of property, came at a time when the campaign for a new form of government had just begun. The inefficiency of the old type city government in a time of stress helped to convince some who had been reluctant previously. Efforts of civic-minded citizens were remunerated when the voters decided Dayton's future course in a two to one majority decision and Dayton became, in 1914, the first large city to adopt the council-manager plan.

Such an unorthodox administrative procedure as the publishing of two annual city reports, one fiscal

(Continued on Page 255)

PERIODICAL DEPT.

Wichita Reports to Its Citizens

Illustrated Sunday newspaper supplements tell the story of 1947 local activities and services to 165,000 people.

By **PAUL E. DANNELLEY***

WITH its annual report for 1947, the city of Wichita, Kansas, may have inaugurated an entirely new technique in municipal reporting. Instead of the conventional booklet packed with ponderous detail, Wichita has told its 1947 story in eight-page tabloid supplements carried in Wichita's two daily newspapers and distributed to 115,000 individuals or families.

So far as is known here, the newspaper supplement technique has never before been employed by a governmental unit in its annual reporting to citizens.

Space costs for the two supplements, paid at legal rates, were comparable to printing costs for the customary booklet but the total circulation was roughly sixteen times as large.

The report was presented to the citizens as a public service by the city's five-member board of city commissioners.[1] Since the reports appeared on February 22 hundreds of Wichita citizens have called the city building to congratulate the city on the supplements.

Title of the Sunday supplement appearing in the Wichita *Eagle* is *We, the People;* that of the Wichita *Beacon* supplement, *Municipal Services—1947.*

We, the People is an attractive, pictorially illustrated tabloid employing magazine make-up, with varied column widths. The title originated from the cover picture, a photograph showing a typical group of citizens as they voiced their opinions at a commission meeting.

Municipal Services—1947 employs standard tabloid make-up, with five newspaper columns on each page. Cover illustration includes eight photographs in a montage arrangement.

Both sections were prepared to encourage citizens to read them. Copy for each was almost entirely different and there was only about 10 per cent duplication in photographs.

The supplements did not contain a great deal of art work, although two illustrated charts were carried in both. One of the charts, "Management of Wichita's City Business," depicted the lines of authority in the city government. The other showed monthly property tax costs for city services on a property assessed at $3,000.

The idea for the tabloid technique in annual reporting was conceived by City Manager Russell E. McClure. McClure, city manager at Wichita for six and a half years, became manager at Dayton, Ohio, on March 15. The report has attracted considerable attention from citizens of Wichita as well as from officials in other cities and from other daily newspapers.

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*Mr. Dannelley is a Wichita advertising and public relations man who serves the city of Wichita as research aide on a part-time basis. He helped prepare the 1947 Wichita municipal reports of which he writes.

[1] In most states the city's legislative body is known as the city council.

When annual reporting time came this year, McClure and his staff reviewed previous reports presented to the citizens and dozens of reports prepared by other large cities. McClure and David D. Rowlands, planning and research assistant, agreed that the conventional booklet report is a little on the stuffy side. Most cities circulate their reports to a limited list of from 5,000 to 25,000 citizens most interested in city government. Consequently a majority of the taxpayers seldom receive reports unless they apply for them.

McClure and Rowlands made a critical study of the city's report for 1946. A 48-page, pictorially illustrated six-by-nine-inch pamphlet, it had received considerable attention as a readable government report. Entitled *Your City Government in Action,* it was distributed to about 7,500 people.

Many ideas were advanced. Discussions on possible techniques for the 1947 report revolved around two basic points: the report should be as readable as possible; it should be distributed among the greatest possible number of people.

One of the early suggestions was that the city should prepare a highly illustrated brochure, with little copy detail, with a broadside circulation.

Then the idea of the newspaper tabloid was advanced by City Manager McClure. According to him, it was "a natural evolution in the pattern of municipal reporting in Wichita." "The intent has always been," he said, "to work out a readable and understandable report which would be read by the greatest number of citizens at the lowest possible cost."

The tabloids are highly illustrated and contain less than 50 per cent as much copy as the conventional pamphlet report. Copy was prepared with a much lighter touch than customarily and mechanical preparation of dummies involved actual weighing of news value in the report material.

Monthly Reports Aid

One factor which eased the preparation of the two separate tabloids was Wichita's excellent monthly reporting system for all city departments. This system made copy preparation a job of writing and editing rather than one of research.

Department heads prepare accurate and detailed monthly reports which are summarized in their "covering letter." At the year's end the monthly reports are consolidated into annual reports which this year were available to the city manager by January 24. Their 150,000 words served as a source material for *We, the People* and *Municipal Services—1947.*

This reporting system, together with the city's relatively new photographic file, made possible publication of the newspaper tabloids within 53 days after the first of the year.

The photographic file, maintained by the city's research division, now

PERIODICAL DEPT.

includes more than 800 photographs. Keyed from a card index system, the photo files include both negatives and prints. When prints are removed the corresponding negatives are pulled and new prints run.

The research division owns a four-by-five-inch Speedgraphic. Taking of outdoor shots is a part-time activity of an administrative aide in the planning division's office, who also prepares graphs, charts, paste-ups and various other types of art work employed by the city in its municipal reporting program.

Indoor shots are taken by the operator of the city's relatively new Microfilming equipment, who develops and prints all negatives. For this work the police department lends its dark room facilities when they are not in use for regular police photographic work.

Among projected plans for development of the city's municipal reporting program is expansion of the photographic system.

The jobs were delivered to the *Eagle* and the *Beacon* in a "package," including layouts, copy, headlines, cutlines, etc. The reports were compiled and edited by Mr. Rowlands and the author of this article.

Reporting by Radio

The city has traditionally placed considerable stress on municipal reporting. Its annual reports have always enjoyed a high national rating, but the 1947 report is probably the most outstanding to date. The newspaper technique is a natural outgrowth of its steadily developing over-all reporting program.

The city has one regular weekly radio broadcast; two others were heard during part of 1947. The regular broadcast, "Your City Government Reports," Thursdays at 8 P.M. over KAKE in Wichita, features a discussion of some phase of city business.

For a time during 1947, KFH carried a 30-minute rebroadcast of city commission meetings. Transcribed by wire at the meetings, these two-hour sessions were "edited" to a 30-minute cutting, and played back over KFH Wednesday evenings at 9:30.

KFBI carried a round-table discussion broadcast, "The Voice of the Citizen," for the first four months of 1947. Dr. Hugo A. Wall, head of the department of political science at the University of Wichita, served as moderator for the forums.

The police department has a regular safety broadcast over KANS. Current unusual feature of this broadcast is the playback of wire recordings taken at the scene of traffic accidents.

Posters and movie trailers, as well as radio and newspaper publicity, are likewise used both in the fire and safety education programs.

Special Anniversaries

"Know Your City" week, now a traditional part of the reporting program in Wichita, also brings the municipal story to the attention of thousands of Wichita citizens. Inaugurated in 1942 to commemorate the 25th anniversary of Wichita's commission—manager form of government, the observance week was repeated in 1947 on its 30th manager plan anniversary.[2]

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[2] See "30 Years with Manager Plan," by Paul Dannelley, the REVIEW, September 1947, page 435.

Special reports, leaflets, brochures and addresses highlight the broad municipal reporting pattern in Wichita. The city's research division carries on dozens of fact-finding jobs for information presented to the public. The city's housing survey last year was tabulated for Wichitans in the booklet, *Housing in Wichita—1947*.

The research division maintains an unusually adequate governmental research library, compiled through cooperation of library personnel at the University of Wichita and at the city library.

M. P. Jones, the city's new manager, won the coveted Louisville award last year for his *Accounting Procedure Manual*. He plans an expansion of various phases of the reporting program for the future and expects to develop the newspaper tabloid idea for annual reporting next year.[3]

DAYTON PLANS

(Continued from page 251)

and the other popularized, begun in 1940, is an example of the new ideas introduced during City Manager Eichelberger's 26 years in office. The fiscal report, issued by the board of sinking fund trustees, contains summaries of receipts, expenditures and a general financial picture of the government as compiled by E. E. Hagerman, finance director, and his staff. The popularly written report, with its hundred pages of by-lined articles by city employees and with a cover index, resembles *Reader's Digest*.

This "Dayton Digest" is the brain child of Executive Secretary Althoff, who took over his position one month before Mr. Eichelberger became manager. Mr. Althoff thinks it has improved the morale of city employees because it dramatizes city functions for the public. It thus serves as a good vehicle for public relations. Libraries, civic groups and schools all help distribute copies. The 1946 report, for instance, contained 55 articles on subjects ranging from "A Day With a Police Cruiser" to a discussion of the Dayton Tennis Commission by the president of that organization.

With Mr. McClure as Dayton's fifth city manager at a time when the Ten Year Improvement Program is already partially translated into some construction and repairs, and with a "civic-conscious" citizenry backing this program, Dayton can truly look ahead to the future with the hope that it will have another period of as efficient city government as it has had in the past 34 years.

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[3] Extra copies of this year's report may be secured by writing to Room 302, City Building, Wichita.

29 Cities Within Cities

Problems of streets and other services complicated by independent areas engulfed within a larger metropolis.

By RICHARD C. SPENCER*

AN EXAMINATION of the metropolitan district maps in the report of the Bureau of the Census on 1940 population figures[1] reveals that there are a number of cities within cities—enclaves, as they are called—as well as unincorporated areas within cities. Such cities and areas are not included in the governmental units overlying parts of large cities as reported by the Census Bureau.[2]

Consideration of the enclave city and its relations to its host belongs properly perhaps to the study of suburbanism. Nevertheless, there are differences because the city that is harboring "foreign" areas within its own outer boundaries often is much more keenly aware of these boundaries within than those beyond its periphery.

Like neighboring suburbs, these cities or areas have not been annexed to the larger city for a variety of reasons. The business or residential owners may find their independent municipality a convenient device for dodging tax responsibilities which accrue to members of a metropolitan community while they enjoy the advantages of proximity to metropolitan services, if not the services themselves.

These interests may be avoiding zoning restrictions, sanitation or other regulations affecting business enterprise, and this affects the character of regulations in neighboring sections of the larger city. Snooty municipalities may have, of course, or think they have, better schools and may be willing to pay for them.

Like others in the area, enclave municipalities are bound to have their own officeholder interests in political jobs that would probably be abolished in case of merger. These officials and their followers may have sufficient influence to maintain municipal independence despite the wishes of other inhabitants. In these respects, therefore, the surrounded municipalities are similar to the peripheral municipalities.

From the point of view of the larger city, however, the island within the city may present some problems different, at least in degree, from those of peripheral suburbs. The engulfing city has to operate with the inner area constantly in mind. It may have to cross this inner area with water mains and with arterial streets. It probably has to provide sufficiently large sewers and sewage disposal facilities to accommodate the area, and perhaps to be ready with fire, health and other services. It cannot so easily, as with most other suburbs, stop at the corporation line. Although the larger city may have to think similarly of some of the other suburbs, the inner city often enjoys a favorable bargaining position because of its location. In effect, it has a privileged status among suburbs.

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*Mr. Spencer is visiting professor at the University of Nebraska. He was formerly government organization specialist in the Governments Division of the U. S. Bureau of the Census.

[1] U. S. Bureau of the Census, Sixteenth Census, *Population,* Volume I, *Number of Inhabitants.*

[2] *Governmental Units Overlying City Areas* (Governmental Organization No. 3), Washington, D. C., 1947. (See Table 7, pages 17-31, footnote 1.)

In some respects the larger city has a greater advantage over the enclave city than over the surrounding suburbs because some, if not most, of the peripheral suburbs may have space on the side facing outward to rural areas in which to expand. The enclave city with absolutely no chance to expand its borders is a prisoner in need of urban attention.

Thirteen cities in as many metropolitan areas are hosts to a total of 29 municipalities completely or substantially surrounded or closed off by them. Two of these thirteen cities have within their borders some unincorporated space in addition to municipalities. Three other metropolitan cities also have within them some unincorporated areas although they contain no municipalities. Thus sixteen metropolitan cities close off municipal or unincorporated areas.

Two industrial suburbs, Hamtramck and Highland Park, con-

METROPOLITAN CITY	SURROUNDED MUNICIPALITIES OR AREAS
Boston	Brookline (nearly surrounded)
Cincinnati	Elmwood Place, Norwood City (nearly surrounded) and St. Bernard
Cleveland	Bratenahl
Columbus	Bexley and Hanford
Covington	Part of magisterial district no. 3 (unincorporated)
Detroit	Hamtramck and Highland Park
Indianapolis	Woodruff Place
Johnstown (Penna.)	Dale
Long Beach (Calif.)	Signal Hill and three parts of Signal Hill Township (unincorporated)
Los Angeles	Municipalities: Beverly Hills, Culver City, El Segundo, Gardena, Hawthorn, Hermosa Beach, Inglewood, Manhattan Beach, Palos Verdes Estates, Redondo Beach, San Fernando, Santa Monica and Torrance Unincorporated areas: Four separate parts of Beverly Hills Township, two parts of Inglewood Township, and five parts of Venice Township
Oakland (Calif.)	Piedmont
Omaha	Carter Lake, Iowa, and part of Kane Township, Iowa (both nearly surrounded)
Peoria (Ill.)	Part of Peoria Township and part of Richwoods Township
Pittsburgh	Mt. Oliver
San Diego	Two parts of El Cajon Township (unincorporated), part of National Township (unincorporated)
Tacoma	Ruston

tiguous to each other along a short border, are embedded in the city of Detroit. Several arterial highways from one part of Detroit to another cross these inner municipal areas.

The town of Woodruff Place is almost lost in the heart of Indianapolis' territory, and two Indianapolis city departments have been separately incorporated to enable sanitation and health activities to cover this and, in the case of health, other territory in the county.

High value residential municipalities are surrounded by Cleveland (Bratenahl village) and Oakland, California, (Piedmont).

Los Angeles 'Hash'

The neighboring metropolitan cities of Los Angeles and Long Beach together make hash of the urban map of Los Angeles County. Los Angeles not only has swallowed, without digesting, cities and fragments of townships but also, by extending a long goose-neck southward to the harbor area of the former city of San Pedro consolidated with it in 1909, has hemmed in against the sea or otherwise cut off numerous cities and townships. Many of them are beach resorts and residential cities. Thirteen cities and eleven sections of three townships are thus affected.

Long Beach, with ribbons or narrow belts of territory, encloses one municipality and segments of unincorporated township territory, one of these parcels being a large area encompassed only by a Long Beach belt. A slender tongue of Long Beach almost cuts off a sizeable segment of a segment.

One of the most interesting areas is that of Carter Lake town and part of Kane Township in the county of Pottawattamie, Iowa, which might now be termed geographically precincts of Omaha, Nebraska. A thumb of Iowa lies west of the present channel of the Missouri River and east of Omaha as the result of avulsion caused by flood waters in 1881 which cut across the base of the thumb. After years of negotiation various exchanges between Iowa and Nebraska of territory elsewhere along the Missouri River were brought about by interstate agreement in 1943. Consideration of the Carter Lake area, however, was specifically excepted. Under Iowa law it could not be ceded to Nebraska. Pottawattamie County is loath to give up tax revenues derived from this Omaha area.

A new interstate commission was provided in 1947 to negotiate for the cession of this area to Nebraska "upon such terms as may be deemed fair and equitable."

The Nebraska legislative committee recommendation on the 1947 bill summarizes the Omaha point of view in this way: "The complication of multiple jurisdiction has seriously delayed the development of the city of Omaha. It has been a serious burden on the industrial development of the area. It has added to the expense of the city of Omaha fire, police and school systems. The fact that the direct route to the municipal airport crosses this Iowa land leads to paving and police problems which might become serious."

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

States Act to Cure Unfair Districting

Two Take Steps toward Equalized Representation

WITH increased emphasis being laid on gross inequalities in legislative representation in most of the states, definite plans for constitutional amendments to remedy some of the worst situations exist in at least two states, and movements toward fair representation are in progress elsewhere.

The people of California will vote in November on an initiated constitutional amendment to reapportion the State Senate. The California Senate presents a prime example of grossly unfair representation. Los Angeles County with 39 per cent of the state's population has one senator out of 40, or 2½ per cent of the Senate membership. Six million people, chiefly in the big cities, have five senators while the remaining four million have 35 senators.

Even the proposed amendment would not result in senate representation strictly in proportion to population, although it would go a long way in that direction. It sets a maximum of ten senators for any one county; thus Los Angeles County, with a population of 2,785,643 in 1940, would have a ratio of 278,564 people per senator. If the total number of senators remains at 40, there would be 30 for 4,121,744 people in the rest of the state, or an average of 137,391 people per senator. But ten senators in Los Angeles County (of whom about half would be for the city of Los Angeles) is a huge gain over one.

For 75 years prior to 1926 California elected its state senators on a population basis but in that year the present basis was adopted by a vote of about 436,000 to 364,000, providing that no county have more than one senator and that no more than three counties could be combined in a senatorial district.

In Texas the San Antonio *Express* points out that the latest legislative reapportionment, based on the 1920 census, was made when the population of that state was 32.4 per cent urban and 67.6 per cent rural, whereas it is now over 50 per cent urban. Approval is urged for a proposed constitutional amendment to reform the redistricting system, which will be voted on in November. "That measure would provide a legislative redistricting board that would apportion the state whenever the legislature failed to do so after a decennial census, and the board's action would be compelled, if necessary, by Supreme Court writ."

In Michigan the Detroit Teachers' Association has circulated petitions to place a constitutional amendment on the November ballot in the interests of fair representation. Wayne County, containing Detroit, has 40 per cent of the state's population, but has only 27 per cent of the representation in the lower house of the legislature. Six counties, including Wayne, have a clear majority of the population but have only 42 representatives and ten senators, as against 58 representatives and 22 senators for the rest of the state.

Mayors Protest

Such inequalities in representation have been recently stressed by the U. S. Conference of Mayors. At its annual meeting in February it presented a striking booklet including many graphic diagrams to emphasize salient facts of under-representation of cities and urban areas generally. It places the total urban population at 84,000,000, or 59 per cent of the national total, and asserts that this number has only 25 per cent of the state legislators.

Two main causes are given: persistence of the idea of representation of areas rather than of population, and failure of legislatures even where population is supposed to be the basis of representation, to reapportion after changes in population of districts—sometimes despite a clear constitutional mandate to redistrict at fixed intervals. Mississippi is cited as most flagrant in the latter respect, not having reapportioned since 1892.

Other Examples

Besides the examples already mentioned the booklet points out many other drastic instances of unfairness, including the almost incredible case of Hartford with 166,000 people but only two representatives in the Connecticut lower house—the same number as the town of Colebrook, with 547 population.

In New Jersey area representation in the Senate results in the eight urban counties, with 80 per cent of the state's population, having eight senators while thirteen senators represent 20 per cent of the population in thirteen rural counties. Revision of New Jersey's constitution last year was obtained only after the rural counties were assured that the basis of representation would not be changed.

Across Delaware Bay, New Castle County, containing Wilmington, has 67 per cent of the people in Delaware but only 42 per cent of the representation in the legislature. Baltimore has 47 per cent of Maryland's population, but only 29 per cent of the legislators.

Huge differences in ratios of representation for various counties in the same states are pointed out—Fulton County, Georgia, three representatives for 393,000 people, Echols County, one for 3,000 people; Oklahoma City, 244,000 people with seven representatives, the same as seven rural counties with 57,000 people; St. Louis, Missouri, 816,000 people with eighteen representatives while 158,000 citizens of eighteen rural counties have the same—and this despite a redistricting under the new constitution.

Many other examples are cited and portrayed in diagrammatic form. Some have been stressed time and again, such as the plight of Chicago, still much under-represented despite appeals to courts and the legislature. New York City, however, obtained a large measure of relief in 1943.

The resounding words of the Kentucky Supreme Court in *Ragland* v. *Anderson* (125 Ky. 141) are quoted—but Kentucky still follows its 1893 apportionment:

"Equality of representation is a vital principle of democracy. Without equality republican institutions are impossible. Inequality of representation is a tyranny to which no people worthy of freedom will tamely submit. To say that a man in Spencer County shall have seven times as much influence as a man in Butler or Edmonson County is to say that six men out of every seven in those counties are not represented in the government at all. They are required to submit to taxation without representation."

Court Edict Nullifies Augusta Reform

The "revolution" of the people of Augusta, Georgia, in which they set a classic example of recapture of their government from a discredited political machine, was nullified April 13 by a decision of the Georgia Supreme Court.

Despite the long struggle of six years during which the voters had repeatedly overwhelmed the Cracker party, the court invalidated the new council-manager plan charter which went into effect last January. The decision was based on the technicality that the clerk of the State House of Representatives had failed to attach proof of advertising to the bill in its final form as passed by the legislature.

The decision had the effect of ousting the new council of seven independent members and the newly appointed city manager and immediately restoring former Mayor W. D. Page and the old city council of eight independents and six Cracker party members to office.

The Augusta Citizens Union and the Independent League for Good Government announced that they would launch an immediate fight for readoption of the modern charter.

Minnesota High Court Restricts Charter Revision

Replacement of one home rule charter by another complete document does not constitute adoption of a "new charter" but must be considered an amendment of the existing charter, according to an unexpected four to three decision of the Minnesota Supreme Court on March 15. It was in a taxpayer's suit to invalidate the proposed election in Minneapolis where a completely revised charter was to be submitted as a new charter. As an amendment it would require 60 per cent of the vote to be successful and would have to be advertised for four weeks, which had not been done in the case of the Minneapolis document. A new charter requires 57.14 per cent approval with different publication requirements.

The dissenting justices believed the legislature had the power to permit charter commissions to submit a second or other charter in a given city as a new charter. This procedure has been followed in seventeen Minnesota cities—in one of them twice.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

Two cities in Wisconsin adopted the council-manager plan at elections on April 6. They are **Eau Claire** (30,745), by a vote of 5,394 to 4,923, and **Watertown** (11,301), 2,855 to 1,786.

Clare, Michigan, approved a council-manager charter 359 to 240. The plan was likewise adopted by popular vote in **Flushing** in the same state.

In **Merced, California,** (10,135) on April 13 the voters overwhelmingly approved the manager plan, 2,874 to 687. The council is authorized to select a city manager within 30 days following the election. The voters also voted 2,375 to 560 for a charter commission of fifteen freeholders to draft a complete new charter. An active campaign on the issues, including the council-manager plan, brought out 65 per cent of the eligible vote, the best showing in the city's history.

Three other California cities adopted manager charters on April 13—**Torrance** (9,950), **Monterey Park** (8,531) and **Manhattan Beach** (6,398). The Monterey Park vote was 2,056 to 1,128.

Garden City (population 6,286) and **Larned** (3,533), **Kansas,** approved the manager plan in recent elections.

Three more **Maine** towns have adopted the manager plan: **Greenville** (1,955), **Sangerville** (1,194) and **South Berwick** (1,800). **Southwest Harbor** and **Machias** rejected manager proposals at their annual town meetings. Maine now has 94 manager communities, more than any other state.

The village of **Barton, Vermont,** began operation under its manager charter on March 30. The plan had been approved at the polls last year. In the same state **Cavendish** has voted to abandon the plan.

Midvale, Utah, (population 2,875) has been operating under the council-manager plan since January. The city approved the plan on October 25, 1947.

Cambridge, Nebraska, has become the third municipality in that state to adopt the manager plan.

Camden, South Carolina, (5,747) adopted the manager plan by a vote of 437 to 227 on April 13. It will become effective in August.

The borough council of **Quakertown, Pennsylvania,** (5,150) decided by ordinance, adopted eight to four on April 8, to employ a borough manager.

Ketchikan, Alaska, (4,695) second largest city of the territory, voted for the manager plan 549 to 432 on April 6.

A bill to remove the requirement that no elective official can be appointed a city manager until after two years out of office made dangerous headway in the **Massachusetts** legislature, but failed of approval in the Senate on April 1 by a rising vote of fifteen to ten. It had been urged that the bill would permit Mayor Sullivan of **Worcester,** re-elected at the same time the voters approved Plan E (council-manager and P. R.), to be appointed manager. It was also pointed out that if **Boston** succeeds in obtaining the manager plan, Mayor Curley could be appointed manager!

In **Agawam, Massachusetts,** the Taxpayers Association sponsored a successful proposal at the recent town meeting to have a committee appointed to gather information and prepare legislation for the town manager plan. It is expected that adoption of the plan will be voted on in 1949.

The **Providence (Rhode Island)** *Journal* notes editorially that with **Jamestown** having voted for the manager plan, subject to pending action of the state legislature, Rhode Island is not likely to enjoy much longer the "dubious distinction" of being one of six states in the whole country without a community under council-manager government. It also states, "The Rhode Island Public Expenditure Council, after a year's study of **Westerly's** affairs, recommended adoption of the plan as promising the best solution of the town's fiscal troubles. The **East Providence** town council has appointed a committee to consider changes in the form of that community's government, and the committee will investigate the council-manager system among others. **North Providence** political leaders are urging its adoption there."

After a series of four meetings for the study of local government, sponsored by the League of Women Voters in **New Haven, Connecticut,** the participants voted approval of the council-manager plan, reduction of the size of the board of aldermen and establishment of a city personnel department.

In **Plainfield, New Jersey,** the Citizens Association has opened a drive for adoption of the council-manager plan. An intensive educational campaign has begun, to be followed by circulation of petitions calling for a special election. Petition signatures must include 15 per cent of voters at the last general election. Adoption of the manager plan will require a majority vote at a special election at which the total vote is at least 30 per cent of that at the last general election. The present common council of eleven members (three elected at large) would be superseded by a council of seven elected at large.

The recently approved council-manager plan for **Dalton, Georgia,** has remained inoperative. A majority of the city council decided that the home rule act was unconstitutional and that therefore the people's action favoring the manager plan (December 10, 1947) was void.

On April 5 **Wakefield, Michigan,**

voted 771 to 216 for a general revision of the city's charter; a proposal that the new charter provide the manager plan was adopted by a 622 to 276 vote.

Menominee, Michigan, has voted to revise its charter 2,087 to 640; preference for the manager plan was expressed by a 1,896 to 835 vote.

Revision of the **Hillsdale, Michigan,** charter was approved in April, without specifying the particular plan to be followed.

Three **Wisconsin** municipalities voted against adoption of the manager plan on April 6—**Kaukauna,** 2,309 to 624; **Sparta,** 1,436 to 533; and **Tomah,** 903 to 510.

In **Worthington, Minnesota,** a charter commission is at work and is giving special consideration to the manager plan.

Authorization of another referendum on the council-manager plan in **Chattanooga, Tennessee,** is a vital issue in the campaign of various candidates for the state legislature. In **Knoxville** there is a move to bring about a reversion to the commission plan by legislative action—such as installed the existing strong mayor plan as successor to the council-manager plan without referendum. A similar danger in the case of **Paris,** where the manager plan was adopted by a three-to-one popular vote two years ago, is being fought by the Paris *Post-Intelligencer.*

The council-manager ordinance that has been effective in **Marianna, Arkansas,** since 1925 was recently rescinded.

In **Watertown, South Dakota,** a proposal that the city council appoint a manager failed at the polls, 1643 to 709, on March 16.

At the April election, both candidates for mayor of **Dodge City, Kansas,** pledged a thorough investigation of the council-manager plan, to be followed by public education and a popular vote. The Dodge City *Journal* is supporting the plan.

Crete, Nebraska, voted down a proposal to adopt the manager plan on April 6 by a vote of 778 to 671.

A proposal to revise the charter of **Denton, Texas,** to the manager plan was defeated at a general city election on April 6, by a vote of 1,554 to 1,381.

In accordance with action of the city council in December Mayor Peter Martin of **Colorado City, Texas,** has appointed a citizens committee to draft a council-manager charter for submission to the voters.

A council-manager charter for **Wewoka, Oklahoma,** has been drafted by a charter committee appointed by the planning board and is expected to be submitted soon to popular vote. The council would consist of one councilman-at-large and one member from each of four wards but elected at large.

The charter commission of **Los Alamos, New Mexico,** a seat of atomic energy activities, is interested in the manager plan as in effect in the government-planned town of Greenbelt, Maryland.

Huntington Beach, California, defeated a proposed council-manager charter.

The city council of **Kennewick, Washington,** has been urged to hire a manager and Mayor J. C. Pratt has expressed approval of employment of an engineer or other person technically trained in the conduct of municipal activities.

A special committee of the **Ellensburg, Washington,** Chamber of Commerce has circulated petitions looking to the adoption of the council-manager plan.

Connecticut city and town managers held an organization meeting in

Hartford on March 18 with nine out of ten managers present.

In February nine **Georgia** managers met in Atlanta and all eight **South Carolina** managers met in Columbia.

Milwaukee Televises Voting Instructions and Returns

For the first time in the United States, a major city used television to get out the vote and to smooth out voting procedure when Milwaukee's election commission put on a full-dress voting demonstration over WTMJ-TV on April 2 in preparation for the April 6 election.

A total of six ballots—involving national, state, county and municipal issues or candidates—were required for the election. With an all-time record registration for the spring polling, the election commission began to reach out for new techniques to focus public attention on voting.

A model polling place, complete with booths and ballot boxes, was set up at the Milwaukee *Journal* television studio, and "Mr. Average Citizen" was put through the entire election routine. The method of voting was explained by election commissioners.

Another novel feature of the spring finals was the broadcast of election returns by television. WTMJ-TV set up cameras in the newsroom of the *Journal*, giving viewers a first-hand look at the methods of assembling and tabulating unofficial election returns.

William L. Slayton, *Librarian*
Municipal Reference Library
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Bi-state Planning for St. Louis Area

A new Missouri law creates a bi-state planning agency for the St. Louis metropolitan area, to be known as the Metropolitan Plan Commission. According to the Association of State Planning and Development Agencies, the primary purpose is to develop as "one great economic unit" the urban area which covers most of five counties in Missouri and Illinois on each side of the Mississippi River. This area has a population of about one and a half million and includes over a hundred municipalities and six hundred taxing bodies.

The Illinois legislature in 1947 enacted a law authorizing cooperation of the East St. Louis area in the plan. Each state will have five members.

Major functions of the commission include preparation of a master plan for integrated development of public works and other facilities such as airports, highways, a modern transit network, parking areas, water supply and sewage disposal systems. Bridges and tunnels connecting segments of the area also would be planned.

The commission may make recommendations for setting up a permanent bi-state agency similar to the Port of New York Authority to construct and operate these facilities.

Partial Reorganization Approved in Kentucky

The Kentucky General Assembly enacted several measures affecting the general organization of the state government. Probably the most significant were those providing for a Department of Economic Security—a consolidation of the Unemployment Compensation Commission, the Employment Service and the Welfare Department Agencies administering public assistance and child welfare; a commission to control the state building program, whether in corporate agencies such as the University of Kentucky or directly operated agencies such as the state penitentiaries—but not including state Highway and Economic Security Departments; and a state police force. The Legislative Research Commission was reorganized under conditions favorable for a useful future.

The 1948 General Assembly apparently continued in large part the Willis administration policy of multiplying boards and commissions rather than clearly placing administrative responsibility in the hands of individual heads of departments integrated on a functional basis under the governor, as developed during the Chandler administration in 1935-39. In one case the legislature moved toward the earlier party policy: It replaced the commission on aeronautics with an independent department under a single commissioner. (This is the fourth public utilities agency in the state setup.)

Overlapping in part the assignment to the Legislative Research Commission—the reorganized Legislative Council—is the specialized Agricultural and Industrial Expansion Board.

Having only incidentally to do also with state administration are several other significant measures. One new law authorizes the photographing and destruction of original executive and administrative records. Another, for the first time in the state's history, provides a direct subsidy to a private university.

Three significant administration-supported bills failed to pass. One would have introduced a greatly improved merit personnel plan. A companion measure would have established a state employees' retirement system. A different sort of proposal would have placed the present six independent state colleges and universities under a single board of trustees.

James W. Martin, *Director*
Bureau of Business Research,
University of Kentucky

New Hampshire Constitutional Convention This Month

In preparation for the constitutional convention of New Hampshire, which holds its first session May 12, conferences and other meetings have been held in various parts of the state to consider desirable revisions and methods of accomplishing them.

A need to broaden the sources of revenue of the state is considered a chief objective of revision. Additional forms of state taxes have been discussed, including a sales tax, to supplement liquor and racing taxes.

Reduction in size of the legislature is urged by many people. The House of Representatives has 399 members, including 53 from towns so small that although each had a representative at the 1947 session he does not attend the succeeding one; and 53 other small towns were unrepresented this year. While the Senate has only 24 members the basis of senate districts is under attack, as they are supposed to be equal in the amount of direct taxes paid.

Another issue concerning the legislature is a fair method of mileage allowances.

Questions of the scope of county government and of its reform or abolition have received considerable preliminary attention.

Local units of the League of Women Voters have been taking a part in public education concerning the issues, although the state league has not voted active support of revision.

Piecemeal Revision Urged for Kentucky Constitution

A leading opponent of a constitutional convention for Kentucky, Cassius M. Clay, member of the "Committee of 1000 to Save Our Constitution," has recently commended submission of two proposed amendments to the people at the general election next year. One would increase the compensation for state officers; the other would raise from 10 per cent to 25 per cent the portion of state school money that may be used to assist schools in the poorer districts.

The Louisville *Courier-Journal,* while discounting the chances of such piecemeal amendments, applauds the support of former convention opponents and urges cooperation. It points out that a proposed amendment to increase the number of amendments to be submitted to the people at one election was advocated by some members of the Committee of 1000 but was opposed by others and failed in the legislature.

Michigan One-Man Grand Jury Held Unconstitutional

The unique Michigan practice whereby a single judge acts as grand jury, prosecutor and sentencing magistrate, in non-public sessions, has been outlawed by the U. S. Supreme Court as a denial of due process of law. The American Civil Liberties Union participated in the appeal to the court, assisting William H. Garrison, Detroit lawyer, who has long challenged the system. The opinion described the procedure as follows:

"In the case before us the petitioner was called as a witness to testify in secret before a one-man grand jury conducting a grand jury investigation. The investigation became 'a trial,' the grand jury became a judge, and the witness became an accused charged with contempt of court—all in secret. Following a charge, conviction and sentence, the petitioner was led away to prison—still without any break in the secrecy. Even in jail . . . his lawyer was denied an opportunity to see and confer with him.

"And that was not the end of secrecy. His lawyer filed in the State Supreme Court this habeas corpus proceeding. Even there the mantle of secrecy enveloped the transaction and the State Supreme Court ordered him back to jail without ever having seen a record of his testimony, and without knowing all that took place in the secrecy of the judge's chambers."

Court Reorganization Plan Proposed for Ohio

The Ohio Bar Association is supporting the idea of a proposed reorganization of the judicial system of that state and has authorized a statewide committee to prepare a definite plan for such reorganization.

Per Cent of Veterans in Federal Service Doubles

The percentage of federal employees who are veterans or are entitled to veteran preference has virtually doubled in the last two years.

Recent statistics of the U. S. Civil Service Commission show that 44 per cent of federal government employees have been appointed through veteran preference, whereas in December 1945 only 23 per cent were veterans.

Some 777,000 federal employees in the continental United States now have veteran status. Ninety-five per cent of these are men; 60 per cent of the others are women with military service records. The balance are wives of disabled veterans or veterans' widows.

"Land Economics" Journal's New Name

The *Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics,* which is nearing a quarter-century span of publication, has adopted the shorter name of *Land Economics,* with a subtitle, "A Quarterly Journal of Planning, Housing and Public Utilities." Its editorial policy remains the same. The magazine is published by the University of Wisconsin as part of its effort to encourage scientific research and scholarship.

Researcher's Digest . . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Constitution Revision by the Research Method

Louisiana Law Institute Sets Pattern for Others

THE research program now under way in connection with the revision of the Louisiana constitution is the product of two factors: first, the length, complexity and confusion of the constitution; second, the procedure adopted by the legislature.

The constitution covers 242 printed pages, not including some 179 acts, ordinances, resolutions of boards and provisions of previous constitutions which are incorporated by reference. They would add 400 pages. The result is to render vast sections of the document incomprehensible except to the specialist.[1]

Probably because of the complexities of the document and experience with previous constitutional conventions, the legislature in 1946 instructed the **Louisiana State Law Institute** to prepare a draft of a new constitution to be submitted, with supporting studies, between March and December 1948.

The Law Institute is an official law reform agency composed almost exclusively of lawyers.[2] It has established a reputation for accomplishment through projects involving revision of the criminal code and the general statutes of the state.

The institute's research program for constitutional revision is different from preparations for constitutional conventions in Massachusetts, New York, Illinois, Missouri and New Jersey[3] in that it is geared to the immediate production of a draft constitution and because it must meet certain demands of the established procedures of the institute. The institute, for example, organized a general committee for coordination of the project and seven subcommittees each assigned a specific field of the constitution.

Subcommittees at Work

Each subcommittee prepares a draft on its assigned subject. The general committee then reviews the draft which is subject to further review by the council (the governing body of the institute) as well as by the general membership.[4]

The subcommittee and general committee stages, however, are similar to the usual procedure of a constitutional convention. This is one reason why some of the experience of the research staff of the institute may be of interest to other states contemplating constitutional revision, particularly if their constitutions are lengthy. The difficulty that one of the institute's committees experiences in isolating the most important issues and concentrating its time on them, and the technical difficulties involved in considering and

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[1] For a summary of the defects of the present Louisiana constitution see Kimbrough Owen, "The Need for Constitutional Revision in Louisiana," *Louisiana Law Review*, November 1947, pages 1-104. Appendices tabulate confusing terminology in the constitution, apportionment, the judicial system under the various Louisiana constitutions, special tax districts in Jefferson Parish, the amendment process and statutory material in the constitution.

[2] For the organization of the Louisiana State Law Institute see John H. Tucker, Jr., "The Louisiana State Law Institute," *State Government*, January 1948.

[3] See the REVIEW, March 1948, pages 140-144.

[4] For details see Kimbrough Owen, "Constitutional Revision in Louisiana: The Preliminary Stage," *State Government*, December 1947, pages 304-306.

PERIODICAL DEPT.

presenting drafts are the same that a convention committee would meet.

The difficulties of the Louisiana 1921 convention bear this out. This experience indicates some of the functions, other than conventional fact finding, which a research staff can perform. If they are not performed the result may be a poor constitution. In the revision of a long constitution both convention and public are in constant danger of bogging down in detail.

Tackling Long Constitution

One of the difficulties of a long, frequently amended constitution is that material on a particular subject may be scattered throughout the document. If material is assigned according to its title in the constitution alone the work of the committee is likely to be fragmentary. The institute found that it was a formidable research job to comb the constitution and reorganize it so that a committee on local government, for example, could concentrate on all the sections of importance to local government.

A logical arrangement also indicates duplications and inconsistencies that otherwise might be carried over into the new document. The inclusion in the material assigned the local government committee of limitations on special legislation and of the governor's power to fill local vacancies, for example, insures that these matters be considered from the point of view of local government as well as from the point of view of the legislature and the executive, in whose articles the present constitution places them.

Even so, we found that the volume of material confronting a committee may be so extensive that valuable time is lost on questions which are relatively unimportant unless the research staff after careful study indicates the provisions which have expired or which are no longer applicable. If the reasons for the inclusion of some of the provisions in the present constitution can be explained there will be little objection to deletion. Otherwise uncertainty may be sufficient reason for carrying them over into the new draft.

On the remaining material the research staff offers assistance by attempting to crystallize the most important issues. In this connection carefully planned studies are essential, first, to indicate criticisms of existing arrangements and, second, to give the pro's and con's of alternatives. Unless the studies are presented at the beginning, there may not be sufficient interest to request them later. For example, the principal local government issues concern home rule and debt and tax limitations. Factual studies on these problems as related to the state, prepared before the local government committee met would have saved considerable time, by concentrating discussion on this area rather than on such questions as moving the parish courthouses.

For purposes of comparison the pertinent provisions of the *Model State Constitution*[5] and one of the more recent state constitutions have been found to stimulate interest and promote critical thinking.

Saving Time

A committee thus equipped by a research staff is in a position to devote its time and the practical experience of its members to the best use.

A second unorthodox service of the research staff consists in the review of preliminary drafts prepared by committees, a review not for matters of policy but for technical flaws, inconsistencies and omissions. A small specialized staff with one member representing the field of each committee may uncover flaws that neither committee nor group discussion would uncover or that would at best consume committee or convention time with technical rather than policy matters. Uniformity of style can also be secured before general discussion rather than after, an accomplishment that tends to concentrate attention on matters of importance.

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[5] National Municipal League.

In the presentation of the final committee report for general discussion the research staff can also assist in focusing attention on the major changes involved. Conflicts of policy with reports of other committees previously considered will be highlighted. In the method of presentation of the report, the research staff can be of assistance, summarizing the changes effected by the committee, including pertinent factual information used by the committee, and employing such visual aids as reapportionment maps, population charts, statistics on judicial business.

One objection to striking material from a long constitution is the fear that it will not be replaced by subsequent legislation. The research staff can assist in keeping track of all deleted matters requiring legislation. Its integration with existing statutes under the new constitution may in itself be a project requiring considerable study before presentation to the legislature.

Informing Public

Responsibility for an informed public opinion is not a primary function of the research staff, but timely releases of studies on state problems can do much in this direction. Articles for publication in the press and state law reviews can be fashioned from research materials.

Consideration can be given to the preparation of a citizen's handbook on constitutional revision based on the materials to be presented to the subcommittees, and designed to acquaint the layman with the principal issues involved and give him some of the essential facts necessary for an intelligent decision. Public interest and public concern will thus be reflected in the actions of the convention. Once the convention has completed its draft the research staff is competent to point out the changes represented.

It is evident that the use of a research staff for such diverse functions as those pointed out above would represent a decided change from the usual limited place which research occupies in the convention framework. It would involve provision for the operation of the staff for months before the convention is called and would involve a respect for its objectives from convention members that researchers seldom enjoy. It affords, however, an effective technique for shortening the long constitution.

The research staff, if given several months to prepare for the convention, need not be an elaborate organization of specialists. In spite of the length of the Louisiana constitution and the knotty research problems involved, a relatively small research staff has been sufficient. Two full time research workers and from six to eight part-time law students constitute the research staff of the Law Institute. Each is assigned to a specific field, or part of a field; each has gained a background in the problems of the field, and each has become thoroughly familiar with the work of a particular committee and prepares the research material requested by it.

The drafts prepared by the committees, however, are considered by the whole research staff meeting together. Special research consultants have been obtained from time to time for specific problems on an honorarium basis, and the views of professional groups have been channeled through the staff to the committees.

Outside Sources

In preparing research materials an attempt has been made by the institute staff to concentrate efforts on important Louisiana problems and to rely for comparative materials on secondary sources. A good knowledge of bibliography avoids repeating work already done elsewhere. Particularly useful in this connection have been the constitutional research bulletins and volumes prepared in connection with conventions in New York, Illinois, Missouri, Massachusetts and New Jersey. They offer a mine of information on most of the reforms of state government. W. Brooke Grave's text, *American State Government*[6] is a one-volume compendium of useful information. *The Book of the States,* published by the Council of State Governments, contains comparative charts on a wide range of information.

Among periodicals THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW and *State Government* have been found particularly helpful. The National Municipal League's conferences on government permit an exchange of ideas and a source of personal contact with authorities in state and local governments that are worth a great deal to anyone concerned with constitutional revision.

In conclusion, a small research staff organized before a convention is called but maintained during the convention as a technical aid offers great possibilities for large returns on a small investment. In Louisiana it would have greatly assisted the convention of 1921 and its use in connection with the preparation of the Law Institute's draft may afford a concrete demonstration of the value of "unorthodox" research. One aspect of the research problem, however, cannot be overstressed. In all the activities referred to above, it must be objective and factual. It cannot become a special pleader for any cause, not even a short constitution.

KIMBROUGH OWEN
Director of Research
Louisiana State Law Institute

Constitutional Research for California Revision Project

California's Joint Interim Committee on Legislative Constitutional Revision has a very limited research program. The $50,000 granted for expenses of the committee makes it virtually impossible to engage in the kind of study invited by an effort to overhaul and streamline a 69-year-old constitution with 259 amendments.

The committee's general counsel, Norris J. Burke, is preparing a draft of each article of the constitution, following three "codification" principles: (1) elimination of obsolete matter, of which there is relatively little; (2) a clear and concise statement of basic principles to substitute for present confused, duplicating or redundant sections; (3) relegation of statutory minutia to separate "organic" status, superior to statutes and immune from legislative amendment but not part of the constitutional document itself.

These drafts do not embody substantive changes except by possible inadvertence. As each is completed it is submitted to one of the ten subcommittees into which the full revision committee has been sectioned. Substantive modification can be proposed and approved at this point.

Technical advisers, drawn from the advisory membership of the committee, have been assigned to each subcommittee. These advisers will make appropriate special studies but, without clerical assistance or unified direction of effort, the work will be sporadic and inadequate at many points. As long as emphasis is upon "codification" of the unwieldy 72,000-

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[6] D. C. Heath & Company, Boston.

word document—a worthy enterprise in itself—extensive research is not a major need. But alterations involved in full modernization of such a constitution merit more research support than is here provided.

WILBERT L. HINDMAN, *Consultant*
California Joint Interim Committee
on Legislative Constitutional Revision

Other New Studies of State Constitutions and Government

H. V. Thornton, professor of government at the University of Oklahoma and research consultant to the **State Legislative Council,** is directing a series of constitutional studies being prepared for the Council's **Constitutional Survey Committee.** Studies so far published are: "What a Constitution Should Contain," "Hand Book on Executive and Administrative Agencies," "Administrative Organization in Oklahoma," "The Chief Executive" and "Administration of Finance in Oklahoma."

The **Legislative Reference Bureau of the University of Hawaii,** Norman Meller, director, has published a 42-page report on *A Constitution for Hawaii.* Mr. Meller points out in his foreword that Hawaii must look to the constitutions of the various states for guidance when framing its own, and so the report contains articles on "What Should a Constitution Contain?" by Dr. W. Brooke Graves, "What a Constitution Should Contain," by Dr. H. V. Thornton, "Recent Constitutional Changes in State Governments," by Dr. Kimbrough Owen, and a summary of "The New Constitution of New Jersey."

Constitutional problems in Illinois are discussed in four articles in the *University of Chicago Law Review.* They are: "The Illinois Constitution and the Courts," by Samuel W. Witwer, Jr.; "The Illinois Constitution and Home Rule for Chicago," by Barnet Hodes; "The Illinois Supreme Court and Zoning: A Study in Uncertainty," by Richard F. Babcock; and "A Study of the Illinois Supreme Court," by the *Law Review* staff and William H. Speck.

"Judicial Review of Administrative Adjudication: Some Recent Decisions of the New York Court of Appeals," by Robert M. Benjamin, has been reprinted from the *Columbia Law Review.* The article concerns decisions selected by Mr. Benjamin because, in his opinion, "they deal with problems of first importance to the sound development of administrative law" in New York State.

T. C. Geary, professor of government at the **University of South Dakota,** has written *Law Making in South Dakota* (38 pages), published by the university's **Governmental Research Bureau,** W. O. Farber, director.

State Control of Business Through Certificates of Convenience and Necessity is a comprehensive 154-page study by Ford P. Hall of the **Indiana University Department of Government.** The report, published by the university's **Bureau of Government Research,** P. S. Sikes, director, covers the history of such certificates; their purpose, nature, constitutionality, the kinds of businesses they affect, procedure, factors considered in issuing certificates, the certificate as a planning device and other matters. Court and commission cases are listed in appendices.

Interim Legislative Study Assignments—1947 is a 73-page list published by the **Council of State Governments,** Frank Bane, executive director. The report, priced at $1.25, brings together in one publication brief statements about the interim studies being made at the direction of the legislatures which met in regular session in 1947. The 23 states with legislative councils or their equivalents are listed. A state-by-state list of interim projects and the agency conducting each one follows. This list is cross-referenced by subject in the last section, and indicates that matters receiving particularly widespread attention are the organization and operation of state government, problems of tax and fiscal policy, and educational facilities and financing.

The **Utah Foundation**, Stanley J. Stephenson, managing director, has issued a *Research Report* on the Utah State Liquor Control Commission. Utah is compared with the other fifteen states operating alcoholic beverage monopolies, and financial and administrative conditions are discussed.

Areas and Forms of Local Government

The city of Flint, Michigan, has received concentrated attention in two reports published by the **Institute for Human Adjustment** (Clark Tibbitts, director), **Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies, University of Michigan.** *Local Government in the Fringe Area of Flint, Michigan,* by I. Harding Hughes, Jr., covers the four townships touching on and surrounding the city, units of government, revenue, political setting and direct services. A supplement to Mr. Hughes's study is a digest of a talk by Dr. Arthur W. Bromage, professor of political science at the University of Michigan, describing seven possible solutions for the fringe problem.[1]

In the other report, Robert C. Schmitt considers *The Future Population of Metropolitan Flint.* Covering the whole metropolitan area, the author describes its past population growth and his estimates of its future population. Both long reports, which are thoroughly annotated and provided with tables and graphs, are available from the University of Michigan Press at Ann Arbor for 50 cents each.

The **Missouri Public Expenditure Survey** advocates the provision of simpler forms of county government for the less wealthy fourth class counties of the state. The survey's brochure describes three bills pending in the legislature which provide the county clerk form, the commission form and the consolidated offices form.

Many New York counties are not using to the fullest extent their constitutional privilege of home rule, says the **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau,** in an issue of *Just a Moment.* The recent practice of state legislators of introducing special acts "without formal knowledge or consent of the local unit involved" should be terminated, according to the bureau.

The third and fourth in a series of bulletins describing the forms of government in use in American cities deal with the commission form and the council-manager form and are issued by the **Woonsocket Taxpayers' Association,** William H. Cunningham, executive director.

The **Tax Foundation** has issued a one-page selected bibliography on government corporations and authorities to supplement the article on authorities by Luther Gulick in its *Tax Review.*[2]

The **St. Louis Governmental Research Institute** discusses "The Problem of St. Louis County Finances" in a recent issue of *Dollars and Sense in Government.* The institute points out that "very significant improvements could be effected in the St. Louis county government through the adoption of a home rule charter."

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[1] See the REVIEW, November 1947, page 574, for extracts from Dr. Bromage's talk.

[2] See this REVIEW, January 1948, page 43.

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Wisconsin County Welcomes New Voters

Centennial Celebration and Citizenship Day Combined

ONE OF the few places which annually celebrates Citizenship Day—set by presidential proclamation for the third Sunday of May each year—in the manner intended by its originators is Wisconsin, where the plan was first carried out in Manitowoc County.[1] The success of that county's citizen educational program and celebration for young voters was so great that shortly after its inception in 1939 the state legislature made it mandatory on all its counties to hold citizenship day programs.

This year Dane County (including Madison) will tie in its celebration with the state's one-hundredth birthday on May 29.

"We have very important information about you—about you becoming 21 years of age. All your other birthdays may be considered a private affair, but ALL of us have a stake in your 21st," says the introductory paragraph of a letter sent to all Dane County 21-year-olds.

"This notice is IN FACT A SUMMONS FROM DANE COUNTY GOVERNMENT," continues the letter, "a summons to take an active part in the forthcoming CENTENNIAL program and in future civic and governmental affairs."

The Dane County program includes a county convention of all new voters estimated at nearly two thousand to meet about three weeks before May 29 for the election of officers and committees to help on Centennial Day and to aid in the completion of arrangements for the welcoming of new voters, the parade of floats, bands and marching units, and a musical festival to follow the parade events; to work with local government officials in meeting youth problems; and to aid in planning the 1949 new voter program. New voters have been organized by towns, villages and, in the larger communities, by wards; discussion groups have been set up to stimulate interest in public affairs and to help make the combined centennial and new voter celebration a real success.

Director of the New Voter Organization for Centennial Committee in Dane County is Dr. R. J. Colbert, director of the Bureau of Community Development of the University of Wisconsin's University Extension Division and founder of the Manitowoc Plan.[2]

In many parts of the country Citizenship Day —"I Am an American Day," as it has come to be known—has strayed somewhat from its original intent as an initiation of young people reaching voting age into the activities of public affairs. Most celebrations revolve around the welcoming of newly naturalized citizens, a worthy object but one which ignores an important part of the new voter picture.

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[1] See the following references in the REVIEW: "Citizenship Day in Manitowoc," by S. V. Norton, July 1939; "A Date in History," editorial, May 1940; "Nation's Citizenship Day," by Jerome Mahlberg, June 1942; "For the Record," editorial, June 1944; "Citizenship Day in Transition," July 1945.

[2] See his article in this issue, "How to Plan Citizenship Day," page 245.

Planning Groups in Action

The 1948 National Citizens Conference on Planning of the **American Planning and Civic Association**, Harlean James, executive secretary, will be held May 17-19 at Newark, New Jersey. Headquarters will be at the Essex House. Topics on the conference program will include local transportation, off-street parking, downtown congestion, area planning, regional parks and parkways, state land-use patterns and national public land and conservation policies. Particular attention will be paid to plans for the New York and Newark region. Round tables will be held on citizens organizations for community planning, state planning, planning education, zoning and similar subjects.

The **Citizens Development Committee**, "to further the progress of the Cincinnati area," is successor to the **Citizen Planning Association for the Development of the Cincinnati Area**, reports the new organization's *Bulletin*. Sherwood L. Reeder, executive secretary of the planning association will continue with the new group.

"Organized four years ago," comments the *Bulletin*, "the Citizens Planning Association set as its principal goal the preparation of sound plans for the future development of the Cincinnati area. Completion of the master plan by the City Planning Commission marks the achievement of that objective. The civic-minded citizens of the metropolitan area now look forward to a program of sound development during the years ahead. The master plan tells us what is needed. It is a guide for future progress."

The **Citizens' Council on City Planning of Philadelphia**, Samuel B. Zisman, executive director, now has 120 neighborhood and local groups affiliated with it, reports the council's *News Letter*. At a recent delegates' meeting of the council, joined by representatives of the Philadelphia Redevelopment Authority, the speaker was Richard L. Steiner, director of the Baltimore Redevelopment Commission.

At the annual meeting of the council, held late in 1947, retiring president Walter M. Phillips restated the organization's goal, "to establish and give support to the city planning process." The new president, Allen G. Mitchell, cited future aims, "to mobilize the public good will created by the Better Philadelphia Exhibition into a strong and continuing public support for planning and improvement of the Philadelphia area."

Awards were presented to Dr. C. Leslie Cushman, associate superintendent of Philadelphia schools in charge of curriculum, who led the way in interesting school children in city planning, and to Julian L. Greifer, head of the Neighborhood Center, who was the guiding spirit of the Neighborhood Planning Conference of the South Philadelphia Coordinating Council which, after two years of study and surveys, presented recommendations for the improvement of the area to the City Planning Commission.

New York Activities

Communities in Conference—a report of the experience of communities in the New Jersey-New York-Connecticut Metropolitan Region as given at the Second Regional Plan Conference on Community Planning (28 pages, one dollar) has been published by the **Regional Plan Association of New York**, Frederick P. Clark, planning director. It was edited by Henry Davis Nadig, the association's public relations director.

Another publication of the association is *The Future of Large Metropol-*

itan Areas—London, New York, an address by F. J. Osborn, chairman of the executive committee, Town and Country Planning Association, London, with introductory remarks by Paul Windels and editorial comment from the New York *Herald Tribune* (twelve pages mimeographed, one dollar).

The first all-borough **Citizens Conference on Community Planning in New York City** was held April 8. Organized by seven city-wide groups, it was co-sponsored by some 40 community organizations of Greater New York, announced C. McKim Norton, executive vice president of the Regional Plan Association and chairman of the conference's executive committee. The conference was called to stimulate participation by citizens in the development of their particular neighborhood. Sponsoring groups were the **New York Citizens' Housing Council, New York Citizens Union, Municipal Art Society, New York chapters of the American Institute of Architects and American Society of Landscape Architects, New York City League of Women Voters** and the **Regional Plan Association.**

Ohio, Other States

The **Ohio Planning Association** held its annual conference, December 7-8, at Toledo, under the sponsorship of the Toledo Regional Planning Association and the Toledo-Lucas County Planning Commissions. The association is made up of the planning commissions of Ohio cities as well as citizen planning groups. Topic of its discussions this year was "Rural Zoning," a timely subject in view of the recent passage by the legislature of an act enabling Ohio counties and townships to zone unincorporated areas.[1]

"The Parking Survey—What It Is—How It Is Conducted—What It Is Expected to Accomplish" was the topic of a luncheon meeting of the **Toledo Regional Planning Association,** Frank Sohn, president. Speakers were Porter McDonnell, vice chairman of the Toledo-Lucas County Plan Commission and director of the parking survey, and Carl Britsch, architect, representing the planning association. Another meeting, discussing "Housing—the Need and the Answer," was addressed by officials of the Toledo Housing Board.

A community improvement conference, under the joint auspices of the **Georgia Citizens' Council,** Lon Sullivan, director, and the **Augusta Chamber of Commerce,** L. S. Moody, secretary, was held late in February. Subjects discussed were zoning and long-range planning. It is hoped that this conference will set a pattern for similar occasions in other Georgia communities.

The **Second Community Planning Institute of the Indiana Economic Council** met late in March at Spring Mill State Park. Topics for discussion included: the mayor and other public officials in planning, citizens advisory and working groups, business and industry in the planning process, the urban-rural fringe, etc.

Members of the **Chicago City Club's** Committee on Local Government and Administration recently listened to Robert Kingery, general manager of the Chicago Regional Planning Association, who reported on current planning activities of the fifteen counties adjacent to Chicago. Another meeting was addressed by Carl L. Gardner, executive director of the Chicago Plan Commission, on community planning and neighborhood improvement.

Your Investment in the Future of Metropolitan Grand Rapids (sixteen pages) has been published by the **Metropolitan Grand Rapids Planning Association,** Chester C. Ridge, executive vice president. The report emphasizes, with graphic illustrations, the need for local planning and action.

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[1] See the REVIEW, January 1948, page 7.

The February issue of *Jersey Plans*, issued by the **Bureau of Planning in the New Jersey Department of Economic Development,** Leo A. Smith, editor, is devoted to citizen planning efforts. Short articles describe the recently organized **New Jersey Citizens' Conference** as well as citizen **planning activities** in numerous communities—Princeton, Montclair, Newark, Middlesex, etc.

Parking meters are discussed in *Planning,* bulletin of the **Louisville Area Development Association,** Kenneth P. Vinsel, executive director.

Miss Miriam Strong, of the **Tennessee Valley Authority,** writes on "Bringing Citizens into Community Planning Programs," in *The Tennessee Planner*. "There is general agreement among most planners today," says Miss Strong, "that the citizen should have a larger part in planning for our local communities."

'Swapshop for Civic Ideas'

Under this title the Yonkers (New York) *Herald Statesman* devoted a short editorial to the **Westchester Conference for Community Development** held under the sponsorship of the **New York State Citizens Council** at White Plains. "One of the best ways to improve a community is to find out what is being done along that line in other places," says the editorial. "It's a bit like the rooster who brought back to the farmyard an ostrich egg to show his flock what was accomplished in other production plants. We can all benefit through an interchange of ideas. . . . Here then is an opportunity for our citizens to learn what is being done elsewhere in the state, to ask questions and to find out how it is done and what it costs."

Along the same line is an editorial in the *Jersey Observer* (Hoboken, New Jersey), "Common Meeting Ground for Communities," which discusses the **New Jersey Citizens Conference** launched at Princeton in January "to unite the citizens of the state in the development of finer communities through the cooperation of the people and their agencies on a statewide basis and through organized teamwork of the citizens in their own communities." President of the New Jersey organization is State Highway Commissioner Spencer Miller, Jr.; honorary vice presidents include Governor Alfred E. Driscoll and President Harold W. Dodds of Princeton University.[1]

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Learning About Local Government

Organized by the city of Cleveland and Cleveland College of Western Reserve University, under the sponsorship of a **Coordinating Committee on Public Affairs**, a unique course on city government is being given in ten weekly sessions by Cleveland College beginning April 6. At each session principles and objectives of city government as seen by the political scientist are first presented by Professor Robert Rawson. Against this yardstick of what a good city government should be, city officials will report on how the theory works out in practice. Each session will discuss a specific city department. Questions from the floor will end each period with "no holds barred on either side," says Dean John P. Barden of Cleveland College.

Aims of the course are to teach participants how to think and talk about Cleveland's governmental problems and to train leaders to present similar discussions on city problems before local communities and organizations.

Members of the coordinating committee represent the **Community Relations Board, Cleveland and Cuyahoga County Leagues of Women Voters, Welfare Federation, Citizens League, Adult Education Division of the Public Library, Political Science Department of Cleveland College**, the **Council on World Affairs** and the *Cleveland Press.*

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[1] See also "State Community Development Groups Active," the REVIEW, January 1948, page 47.

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Citizen Forums

A series of lectures on government and citizenship, sponsored by the **Town Hall Short Course Division**, in New York, was conducted during January and February by Hon. Newbold Morris, member of the New York City Planning Commission and former president of the New York City Council. Titles of the lectures were: "How Americans Organize Politically, The Two-party System, Political Machines"; "Civil Liberties, Freedom to Organize a Party"; "A Three Way Partnership —Federal, State, Local Government"; "Your City Government is an Industrial Center, Labor Disputes, Traffic Control, Protective Services"; "Planning for the Future Growth of Cities, Local Initiative and Regional Development"; and "New York City: Its tradition and Destiny." Questions and answers followed each lecture.

A **Town Government Forum**, held in **Greenwich, Connecticut**, discussed various types of local government and their application to Greenwich. Speakers and their subjects included: Noel Armstrong, president of the Greenwich Chamber of Commerce, "Should Greenwich Make Any Changes in Its Present Form of Government?"; Richard Martin, director of the State Water Commission, "The Town Manager Plan," and Roger S. Baldwin, member of the town's board of estimate and taxation, "Our Present Form of Government." The forum was sponsored by the Junior Chamber of Commerce with some twenty additional groups cooperating.

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Council for Education

Organization of **A Council for Education in Waterbury, Connecticut**, is a direct result of the local **League of Women Voters'** concern about education in that city, reports *The Connecticut Voter* **(League of Women Voters of Connecticut)**. The newly organized council will consist of 125 persons, including three delegates from the League of Women Voters, three from the **Taxpayers Association**, six people who worked on a survey of Waterbury schools made by the State Department of Education, twenty or thirty representative citizens, and the balance parents named by PTA's and by school principals. One of the first activities of the council will be a study of the results of the recent survey and action to see that the recommendations it makes are considered.

Civic Efforts Rewarded

After nearly four years of activity, efforts of the **Citizens' Association of Chicago**, Edward M. Martin, executive secretary, have been rewarded in the drawing of new ward boundaries for Chicago by the city council. The association has issued a mimeographed "Computation of 1940 Census Populations of New Ward Map" which demonstrates that the range between the highest and lowest ward populations has been reduced by the new divisions from 64,065 to 23,236.

The January-February issue of *The Civic Searchlight,* published by the **Detroit Citizens League**, Hale G. Knight, executive secretary, lists the votes secured by city candidates in the November election, pointing out that every successful candidate had a preferred or qualified rating from the league.

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Cities and Counties Consider Consolidations

Merger of Police, Health, Other Functions Debated

CONSOLIDATION of the governments of counties and the cities within them, as well as consolidation of functions now carried on separately by cities and their counties, continues to be discussed and accepted as a step forward in efficiency.

The Chamber of Commerce of Austin, Texas, has appointed a committee to study the feasibility of consolidating the city government with that of Travis County. The committee will devote a year or more to study of the question and will then report its findings to the chamber's board.

Although there is extensive functional consolidation already existing between the city and county of Los Angeles,[1] a veteran county supervisor, J. A. Ford, believes there should be a complete merger of all governmental units in the county. There are seven cities surrounded or almost surrounded by other cities,[2] several dozen public purchasing agencies, fourteen "shoestring" areas of land annexed to some local governmental unit but only a few hundred feet wide and up to fifteen miles long, and a large number of school districts that collectively resemble a jigsaw puzzle.

Local city-county consolidation has proven a success in sewage disposal, flood control, registration of voters and sealing of weights and measures. In another field of local cooperation, that of county assessment and collection of Los Angeles city taxes, it is estimated that the city saves nearly a half-million dollars yearly. In addition, it would cost an estimated million dollars merely to install a city assessment and collection system.

In Wisconsin the Milwaukee County board of supervisors has under consideration a resolution to consolidate all local law enforcement agencies in the county. The resolution calls for appointment of a committee consisting of representatives of all municipalities in the county, the Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, the City Club, and the county corporation counsel's office. The permissive legislation enacted recently regarding city-county health consolidation, applicable to all Wisconsin counties, has been utilized only by Eau Claire County.

In Florida the city health departments of Clearwater, St. Petersburg, Tarpon Springs and other cities in Pinellas County are being merged into a single county department. Also, the sanitation activities of the Lakeland, Florida, health department are being assumed by the Polk County health department.

The Lansing, Michigan, health department has been merged with the county-wide public health department of Ingham County. The city hospital has been leased to the county.

In the Detroit metropolitan area, Wayne County is cooperating in the construction of the vast expressway system. The plans for the first two units, estimated to cost more than $60,000,000, have been approved by all governmental agencies involved. The federal government will pay half the construction cost and one-third the cost of the right of way. Wayne County's share will be one eighth of the construction cost and one-sixth of the cost of the right of way. The city will match the county's contributions and the remaining cost will be borne by the state.

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[1] See "Neighboring Areas Join Hands," by Judith Norvel Jamison, the REVIEW, March 1946, page 111.

[2] See page 256, this issue.

Charlotte and Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, have started a plan for joint care of emergency, police and accident cases at the local hospital. Regular city and county hospital cases also are cared for under combined authority.

In Ohio, consolidation of health departments in the Cleveland area is being considered, and the Toledo master plan calls for merger of the city's health department with that of Lucas County.

Missouri Home Rule for Small Counties Stalls

Class IV counties in Missouri, which have been defined by statute as those with less than ten million dollars assessed valuation, still do not have authority to choose an optional charter under the state's 1945 constitution. Three bills providing three alternative forms for these counties have long been pending in the legislature.[1] They passed the lower house over a year ago and are under consideration by the Senate. The alternatives are identified as the county clerk, consolidated offices and commission forms.

The county clerk form combines the functions of the county clerk, county assessor, county collector and county treasurer into the office of an elective county clerk. The consolidated offices form combines the offices of county clerk, county assessor, county treasurer, circuit clerk and recorder into the office of an appointive county clerk. The commission form combines the office of the county clerk with that of the presiding county judge and combines the functions of the two associate judges of the county court with those of the county assessor and the county collector. The functions of the county treasurer are placed in the office of the county collector. The county court, consisting of the clerk, assessor and collector, would determine the clerical needs of all county offices, including those not affected by the consolidation.

Any form could be adopted upon petition and simple majority vote of the residents at a special or general election. If more than one form simultaneously received a majority vote, the one receiving the largest number of votes would be declared the form adopted.

County Road Administration Studied

County road administration and construction was one of the subjects of discussion and study at the joint meeting held recently in Washington by the American Road Builders Association and the American Institute of Local Highway Administration.

At the meeting the need for efficient county highway units was stressed. One speaker urged that all state highway departments establish secondary road divisions to improve county departments and expedite the federal aid secondary road programs. He argued that county highway departments will not secure adequate funds for their needs until they can demonstrate that they are efficiently organized.

A committee appointed by Minnesota county highway engineers recently conducted a survey of highway needs for the next decade in that state. Each county was requested to prepare a map indicating its road needs. Estimated needs for the ten-year period 1950-59 approximated $312,000,000. Costs will be met in part by the federal secondary road program with technical advice and assistance secured through the secondary roads division of the Minnesota Department of Highways.

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[1] See the REVIEW, April 1947, page 225.

The secondary roads division has been channeling requests for technical information from county engineers to specialists and sponsoring meetings and short courses at the state university. It has cooperated in the appointment of committees to study highway laws, cost accounting, construction standards and standard bridge and culvert designs.

A recent issue of *Better Roads* notes marked progress in county road administration in California and Missouri.

Progress in California

In the former state the improvement is primarily the result of the Collier-Burns highway act passed by the 1947 legislature. This act requires the integration of all county road functions into one county-wide department.

Before passage of the act, in most counties each member of the five-member board of supervisors administered the highways in the district from which he was elected. Each supervisor was allotted one-fifth of the available highway funds. It had become increasingly obvious, however, that highway activities such as planning, programming, control of funds, technical design, acquisition of right-of-way, maintenance, traffic safety programs, research, construction, control and accounting operations could not be administered efficiently on a disintegrated basis.

The sanction held by the state over the county highway department structure is through the state aid program. These programs, financed by motor vehicle registration fees and gasoline taxes, involve grants to counties based primarily on equal payments to each county and on the number of motor vehicle registrations in each county.

The California Division of Highways, however, exercises only nominal control over the county departments and attempts to permit a maximum degree of home rule. In order to secure closest possible coordination it has established a county relations department at the state level and, to enable its district officers to establish close liaison with the county departments, it has created the office of county relations engineer in each.

Missouri's Five Year Plan

Missouri reports substantial progress in its five-year state aid program to improve county roads. The state plans to appropriate $2,000,000 annually for state aid not to exceed 50 per cent of the cost of construction up to a maximum of $750 per mile. By December 1, 1947, the plans of 105 of the state's 114 counties had been approved by the State Highway Department.

The metropolitan and prosperous rural counties generally had submitted plans calling for the full amount of their allotments, but the less prosperous farming areas and the Ozark regions had requested only a small percentage and in some cases none of the funds that they could have secured on a matching basis.

Despite the fact that an independent survey recently conducted for the Wisconsin state legislature recommended transfer of the functions of state highway maintenance, including ice and snow removal, from the counties to the state, the opinions of the governor as well as others are in favor of continuation of the present system. They emphasize that personnel and equipment can be utilized most economically when used on both state and county roads in a county, while separate systems would require that the state per-

(Continued on Page 288)

Taxation and Finance . . . . . Edited by Wade S. Smith

More Cities Levy Income Taxes

Pennsylvania Communities Look for Large Returns

RECENT adoptions of a local income tax in Pennsylvania municipalities, under revenue powers conferred by the 1947 legislature, as well as action elsewhere, tend to make this a most significant local tax development, says the Municipal Finance Officers Association. Local governments with such taxes have increased from three to fourteen within the past six months.

Recent adoptions of the tax in Pennsylvania have been made in Blakely, Clark's Green, Clark's Summit, Johnstown, Monessen, Scranton, Sharon, Sharpsville, Throop and the Coraopolis school district.[1] Most of these new local income taxes are one per cent levies on salaries, wages, commissions and other compensations as well as on business earnings.

Johnstown expects $500,000 from this source during its first year; Sharon expects its 7-mill tax to yield $345,000; Monessen expects $105,000. Philadelphia's wage tax, started in 1939, is yielding at the spectacular rate of $2,000,000 a month.

At least a dozen additional Pennsylvania localities are considering passage of such taxes. New Castle passed a 7.5-mill income tax but dropped it later after reducing the budget for the coming year and increasing the property tax rate.

Columbus, Ohio, recently adopted a local income tax similar to that imposed in Toledo in 1946.[2]

St. Louis passed a one-fourth of one per cent income tax in 1946 but it was declared unconstitutional last year. The Missouri Senate, however, has passed and sent to the House of Representatives a bill which would permit the city to levy a one-half of one per cent local income tax. An earlier bill which would have given similar authority to other Missouri localities was discarded.

Last year an effort was made in San Francisco to pass a local income tax but it failed. Similar efforts in Denver and Minneapolis also met with defeat.

Jersey Legislators Raise 'Take' from Wagers, Increase Salaries

A bill to increase the state's income from horse-race betting has been enacted by the New Jersey legislature. Under the new law the "take" will be increased from the present 10 per cent to 12 per cent. The law also computes breakage at the dime rather than to the nickel and gives all breakage to the state. The increases are expected to yield the state an additional $5,285,000.

Legislative members also raised their own salaries from $500 to $3,000 for the session. Pending are other bills to grant blanket increases for other state employees.

The salary increase for legislators was made possible by the revision of the New Jersey constitution last year, removing a century-old limitation on legislative compensation. Governor Alfred E. Driscoll had recommended an increase to $2,500, but without a dissenting vote the legislature enacted the higher $3,000.

Following enactment of the legislative pay increase measure, state employees jammed an assembly session to applaud efforts of Assemblyman J. R. Kafes to get his Democratic-sponsored bill for a $600 annual raise for all state employees out of committee. Republicans, who are sponsoring a $480 minimum increase bill, blocked the move, and according to press reports were treated to calls of "you got yours" as they attempted to argue the need for more revenue.

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[1] See the REVIEW, October 1947, page 539.

[2] See the REVIEW, January 1948, page 59, and March 1946, page 108.

Local Borrowing Costs Drop Slightly

Local borrowing costs, which had risen sharply following the Christmas Eve 1947 readjustment in the price of federal obligations, have declined somewhat since early March 1948.

The index of municipal bond yields compiled by *The Daily Bond Buyer,* which converts market prices for bonds bearing different interest rates to an annual interest yield basis, shows the trend. This index, for twenty representative municipal issues, reached a peak in February this year at 2.48 per cent and on March 4 stood at 2.47 per cent. By the end of March it was down to 2.42 per cent and at the end of the first week in April had declined to 2.38 per cent. In terms of the municipal bond market the trend of the index reflects higher prices, but for municipalities selling new bonds it means a lower borrowing cost.

The index had hit its low in February 1946, at 1.29 per cent, but while present borrowing costs are almost twice what they were at the most favorable period they are well below earlier levels, the highest yield as indicated by the index having been 5.69 per cent in May 1933.

With the greater part of state borrowing for soldiers' bonuses now out of the way observers generally look for a continuation of local borrowing costs at or near present levels. Relatively large city and other local government issues are still being placed on the market. In March the Chicago Sanitary District issued $15,000,000 for additional sewerage treatment plant construction, while $14,000,000 revenue bonds were issued by the Washington State Toll Bridge Authority to finance reconstruction of the Tacoma Narrows Bridge. Large issues in early April included $45,800,000 Philadelphia bonds for various improvements, $6,860,000 Houston improvement bonds, and $5,250,000 Cook County, Illinois, improvement issues.

County Shares Excise Taxes with Cities

A unique plan of collecting gasoline, tobacco and beer taxes and distributing them to its cities has been effected by Jefferson County, Alabama. County officials estimate that these taxes will yield $2,725,000 during the current fiscal year. Approximately $1,730,000 will be returned to cities during 1948 in proportion to their population and contribution to the total collections, reports the International City Managers' Association.

The county's one cent per gallon gasoline tax is expected to yield about $825,000 a year, of which $675,000 will be returned to cities. (Counties retain taxes on gasoline delivered for sale outside city limits.)

The tobacco tax, which includes a cigarette tax of two cents per pack, yields about a million dollars annually. After the county deducts 3 per cent to cover administrative costs, three-fourths of the remainder is returned to the cities.

Beer tax proceeds are estimated at $900,000 for the current year of which cities will get $337,500. An equal share is retained by the county, the remainder being earmarked for county school teachers' salaries.

Birmingham and Bessemer are the two largest cities within the county.

Local Debt Reduced in Kansas

Local governments in Kansas reduced their outstanding indebtedness, bonds and warrants from $141,000,000 in 1930 to $49,000,000 in 1946, according to the "Kansas Tax Rate Book," published in the *Kansas Government Journal* for January 1948. In 1947, however, the trend changed, with local government debts increasing $13,124,000 as governmental units began construction and replacement programs delayed by the war. There were 54 counties with no outstanding indebtedness as of October 1, 1947.

The equalized assessed valuation of property in Kansas, on which the 1947 general property taxes were levied, totalled $3,659,587,991, the compilation reveals. This is a 6 per cent increase over 1946 valuations.

In addition to local government debts, the January issue of the *Journal* carries tabulations of tax rates, valuations, number of school teachers, average monthly costs per pupil, and other related information by counties, cities and school districts.

John G. Stutz, *Executive Director*
League of Kansas Municipalities

Kentucky Alters Its Tax System

The Kentucky General Assembly, which adjourned March 19, made several changes in the state tax system. The tax rate on intangible property was cut in half and the date of assessment changed to facilitate effective administration. Also, the inheritance tax was somewhat reduced as to close relatives.

On the other hand, the state gasoline tax and the companion diesel fuel tax were advanced from five to seven cents a gallon. A 3 per cent tax was imposed on gross pari-mutuel winnings at race tracks. Several technical amendments to the income tax were enacted but they did not alter established policy.

The legislature authorized full motor vehicle registration reciprocity. The state previously declined to exempt any common-carrier or contract buses or trucks from other states except for occasional use in the commonwealth.

James W. Martin, *Director*
Bureau of Business Research
University of Kentucky

In Rem Foreclosures for New York

A law to provide for the foreclosure of tax delinquent property by proceedings *in rem*, passed by the 1948 New York State legislature, has been signed by Governor Dewey, who last year refused to sanction a bill for the same purpose. The law extends to New York City a privilege which has been available to up-state communities for some time and will allow the city to select the parcels against which proceedings are to be taken.

In rem tax foreclosure proceedings, which are recommended in the *Model Tax Collection Law* of the National Municipal League, may be described briefly as actions directed against the parcel of property rather than individually against the owner as in proceedings *in personam.* It provides great economies in administration as compared with the bringing of personal suit and, when accompanied by adequate safeguards to insure that the purchaser of the foreclosed property acquired a good title, has permitted cities to clear their rolls of tax delinquent property expeditiously and economically.

Boundary Commission Makes Report

Suggests New Boundary Lines for Parliamentary Districts

THE Boundary Commission for England has presented to Parliament a proposed reapportionment of parliamentary districts.[1] Proceeding under acts of 1944 and 1947, the commission proposes to keep the House of Commons at its present size—Scotland 71 members, Wales 35, Northern Ireland 12, England 485.

In England, with 28,706,999 registered electors in a population of about 40,000,000, this gives average electorates of 59,312 per district. Continuing under a rule of trying to avoid variations of over 10,000 up or down and of not splitting familiar existing geographic areas, districts are mapped which are in no case less than 40,000 or more than 87,100. Nine per cent are somewhat over the 70,000 and 18 per cent below the 50,000 desideratum. It was considered that "in general urban constituencies could more conveniently support large electorates than rural constituencies." London, however, gets 40 seats, its exact share.

If the proceedings developed partisan heat or pulling and hauling between the parties for party advantage, as in American reapportionment tussles, the report does not reflect it, and minor variations from principle to accord with local facts have been indulged in. The task is likely to have to be done over again within the next few years in recognition of substantial changes in the boundaries of cities expected from the review now being carried out by the Local Government Boundary Commission, but such prospective annexations as are already in sight have been taken into account.

England thus continues to provide constituencies no larger than 87,100 electors, or about 150,000 population, in contrast to the unwieldy constituencies of our members of Congress which include the statewide districts of the senators and the occasional congressmen-at-large ranging up to New York's 13,479,000 population, massive sizes which in practice alter the principle of elections by making adequate canvass too difficult and costly for the improvised and temporary campaign organizations of independents.

R. S. C.

Apathy in New Zealand Local Elections

Despite efforts to facilitate voting at municipal polls in New Zealand this year, the percentage of electors who voted was practically unchanged from previous years.

To remove various grounds which were given for failure to vote at previous elections a number of changes were made:

The polls were held on Wednesday instead of Saturday with the work day ended at 3 P.M.

As the weather had been blamed for failure of many to vote at previous elections, which were held in May, the time for holding elections was altered to November. The weather on November 19, the day of the election, was uniformly good over the greater part of New Zealand.

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[1] *Initial Report of the Boundary Commission for England.* London, H. M. Stationery Office, October 1947. 61 pp. 12s. 6d.

Another innovation was that an elector was permitted to vote, even though he was not enrolled, by declaring that his name was on the parliamentary roll for the district.

In county elections the voting franchise was widened to include residential qualifications.

Milestone in Australian Local Government

At a conference of representatives of the Local Authority Association of of the States, reported by the *Australian Municipal Journal,* it was decided to establish a federal organization and secretariat. This organization on a federal basis was felt by the representatives present to be necessary, together with periodic conferences, so that local government might become articulate in the commonwealth sphere. In the words of one speaker, Alderman MacDonald from the Local Government Association of New South Wales, "The formation of this federal body takes local government on to a new level—giving more and better opportunities for service to the people."

Canadian Cities Use Radio for Reporting

Recognizing the value of radio as a medium for "selling municipal government" to the people of their cities, the mayors of Toronto, Edmonton and Montreal all have regular radio programs on which they explain civic affairs to citizens.

Development Handbook Issued by British Minister

The Ministry of Town and Country Planning in Great Britain has issued an advisory handbook, outlining a set of scientific standards for the redevelopment of central areas, says *Municipal Journal and Local Government Affairs* (London). Produced in collaboration with other departments, and drawing from the experience of local authorities, this is the first of a series which will deal with the techniques of planning on the local level.

Much attention is given to the problems of redeveloping blitzed towns, with special reference to daylighting control, traffic and parking, main street layout, trees and open spaces, and control of the external appearance of buildings.

National Association of Parish Councils Issues Report

The official report of the first National Conference of Parish Councils,[1] held last October, has been published. It is available from the National Council of Social Service, Inc., 26 Bedford Square, London, W. C. 1. The price is 1s.

Death of Lord Derby

The death of Lord Derby, reported by the *Municipal Journal* (London), has brought forth a review of his contributions to local government in the United Kingdom. In 1911-12 he was Lord Mayor of Liverpool. For many years until his death he was president of the Association of Municipal Corporations. While his failing health in later years made it impossible for him to attend meetings, he was invariably re-elected unanimously to that post. A native of the northwest, his proudest boast, perhaps, was that he was a Lancashire man.

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[1] See "Britain Revives Parish Council," the REVIEW, March, page 177.

Books in Review

The Rise and Fall of Third Parties —From Anti-Masonry to Wallace. By William B. Hesseltine. Washington, D.C., Public Affairs Press, 1948. 119 pp. $2.50.

A swift historical narrative of all the third parties in our history and their inherent difficulties. In a competent analysis the author shows as one familiar factor the failure of labor and farmers ever to travel together.

He omits full consideration of the fact that our major parties are not parties in the usual European sense of the word and have never, except at their early beginnings, comprised like-minded people. They are cumbersome, extra-official mechanistic devices for lining up two candidates for president (and two for vice president) for final elections.

In cities with nonpartisan elections numerous candidates get on primary ballots by petition, and the two highest for each post survive for the final election a couple of weeks later. On a national scale that might be achievable, but the power of great standing armies of voters, organized down to precincts, would still prevail, for the superior effectiveness of such permanent organizations is inherent in the vast unwieldiness of the nation-wide district.

Even Theodore Roosevelt, with a split-off section of the Republican party as a starter, could not organize enough of a Progressive party to conduct an adequate canvass; spontaneous combustion just is not enough when the battleground is so huge.

So as long as one party exists, a second, to rally the disaffected against it, is inevitable and we get the two-party setup—a bimopoly—in which the two parties mill around, oriented inconsistently in their principles by the necessity of facing each other like two circling boxers. The two major parties are mechanical adjuncts of our governmental structure not mentioned in the constitution but, since we set aside the Electoral College to a perfunctory status, such adjuncts are necessary, and their flexible characterlessness may be necessary, too!

We may never have either true parties or parties that stay true on our national scene, but only sharp new spots of political coloration that appear incessantly on the surface of the great pool and presently merge to tint both "parties." Nobody designed the system, and nobody can define a Democrat or a Republican, but it works!

R. S. C.

How Should Corporations Be Taxed? Symposium Conducted by the Tax Institute, December 6-7, 1946, New York. New York City, Tax Institute, 1947. xii, 251 pp. $4.

This symposium brought together for a discussion of taxation of corporations no less than nineteen participants. The wide scope of their contributions is indicated by the titles of the six parts into which the twenty chapters of the volume are divided: Proposals for Reforming Corporate Income Taxes, Should Small Corporations Receive Tax Advantages?, Detailed Aspects of Corporate Income Taxation, Tax Provisions Which Affect International Trade, Does the Present Tax System Discourage Business Enterprise, and Should the Taxing Power Be Employed to Regulate the Economy?

Like its predecessor a year earlier on *Capital Gains Taxation*, this "symposium" was no run-of-the-mill gabfest but a well planned series of discourses or short lectures by a preselected group of well qualified authorities. If the discussions are on the whole less technical or concerned with the theoretical aspects of taxation, it is because corporation taxation is a "hotter" subject than that under discussion a year earlier, and the political climate more conducive to the classification of ideas as orthodox or unorthodox.

This volume will, however, like that reporting the preceding symposium, provide the layman with a stimulating and instructive review of some pressing economic problems, and there is a short bibliography to lead the reader into specialized aspects of the subject.

Those participating in the discussions were Roy G. Blakey, H. Christian Sonne, Matthew Woll, John L. Connolly, Richard Goode, Howard R. Bowen, J. Keith Butters, Alfred G. Buehler, Thomas N. Tarleau, M. L. Seidman, Norris Darrell, W. L. Hearne, Maurice Austin, Mitchell B. Carroll, Stanley H. Ruttenbert, Richard A. Musgrave, Roswell Magill, H. E. Humphreys, Jr., and Leon Henderson. Chairman of the Tax Institute's program committee was Harry J. Rudick.

W. S. S.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Billboards

Billboards and Zoning. By Arthur H. Thompson. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Department of Commerce, State Planning Board, 1948. 19 pp.

Civil Service

Concepts of Public Employee Relations. By H. Eliot Kaplan. (Reprinted from *Industrial and Labor Relations Review.*) New York, National Civil Service League, 1948. 26 pp.

Directories

Directory of the State of Oklahoma 1947. State, Congressional and County Officers; Legislatures—First to Twenty-first; Elections—1907 to 1946; Initiated and Referred Measures. By J. William Cordell. Oklahoma City, State Election Board, 1947. 210 pp.

Education

Still Unfinished — Our Educational Obligation to America's Children. Report of a study conducted by the Institute of Administrative Research, Teachers College, Columbia University. Washington 6, D.C., National Education Association of the United States, 1948. 36 pp., Illus.

Electric Bills

Typical Residential Electric Bills 1947, Cities of 2,500 Population and More. Typical Electric Bills 1947, Cities of 50,000 Population and More. Washington 25, D.C., Federal Power Commission, 1947. 64 and 34 pp. respectively. 25 cents each.

Foreign Relations

Foreign Policies and Relations of the United States. Edited by Howard M. Ehrmann. Philadelphia, American Academy of Political and Social Science, *The Annals*, January 1948. 234 pp. $2.

The Marshall Plan. By Sidney S. Alexander. Washington 6, D. C., National Planning Association, 1948. 68 pp. 50 cents.

Government Text Books

Kansas Government. A Short Course. By Albert B. Martin and L. W. Chesney. Topeka, Kansas, The League of Kansas Municipalities, 1947. 135 pp. 50 cents.

Governors

Governors Report on Problems, Prospects, Plans of 1948. Excerpts from Governors' Messages. Chicago 37, Council of State Governments, *State Government*, March 1948. 34 pp. 50 cents.

Health

Good Health Is Good Business. A Summary of a Technical Study by a Joint Subcommittee on Health of the NPA Agriculture, Business and Labor

Committees. Washington 6, D. C., National Planning Association, 1948. 44 pp. 25 cents.

Planning

New City: San Francisco Redeveloped. San Francisco, City Planning Commission, 1947. 24 pp. Illus.

Recreation

Recreation Facilities. Standards—Deficiencies—Recommendations. Kansas City, Missouri, City Plan Commission, 1947. 16 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Appropriations of the Twenty-first Legislature. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Tax Commission, Research Division, 1947. 53 pp.

City Tax Legislation in 1947. New York 7, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy*, December 1947. 12 pp. 25 cents.

A Decade of Improvement in Public Finance Reporting. Guides and Techniques for Improving Reporting. By Marjorie Stafford Branscomb. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1947. 22 pp. One dollar.

Digest of Los Angeles City Retail Sales and Use Tax Law. Los Angeles, State and Local Government Department, Chamber of Commerce, 1947. 27 pp.

The First Fifteen Years. A History of the Tax Institute. New York 7, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy*, February 1948. 20 pp. 25 cents.

Important Municipal Bond Offerings by Dealers in 1947. New York, *The Bond Buyer*, 1948. 45 pp.

Louisiana's 10-Year Tax Exemption Plan for New Industries. Baton Rouge, Louisiana, State Department of Commerce and Industry, 1947. 20 pp. Illus.

Model Local Law for Enactment by City Councils of Hotel Room Occupancy Tax. Model Resolutions for Enactment by County Boards of Supervisors of Admissions and Dues Tax, Compensating Use Tax, Motor Vehicle Use Tax, and Retail Sales Tax. Prepared by New York State Tax Commission pursuant to Chapter 278 of the Laws of 1947. Albany, New York Department of Taxation and Finance, 1947. Variously Paged.

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP

(Continued from Page 280)

sonnel and equipment would frequently be on a virtual "stand-by" basis.

Governor Rennebohm has declared, "Evidence of state-county cooperation in the highway field is found in the fact that the counties maintain the state trunk highway mileage on an equipment rental and labor reimbursement basis negotiated with the State Highway Commission. I believe this method to be basically sound for it increases economy and efficiency and keeps both equipment purchases and the need for storage facilities at a minimum."

In 1943 legislation was enacted enabling the State Audit Department, State Highway's accounting division and the County Highway Association to develop a uniform system. In April 1947 a manual and the necessary forms were issued, and subsequently regional meetings to explain the system have been conducted in various parts of the state. Although adoption is voluntary with the counties, 100 per cent compliance is anticipated.

Battle Creek Township, Mich., Adopts Home Rule Charter

By a vote of 867 to 693, Battle Creek Township, Michigan, has become the first in the state to adopt a home rule charter under legislative authorization enacted in 1947.[1] The township board shortly will determine whether it will appoint a superintendent who would serve as executive officer or manager of the township's affairs.

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[1] For a description of the act see the REVIEW, September 1947, page 470.

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The League's Business

National Conference on Government to Be Held in Boston November 22-24

THIS year's National Conference on Government will be held in Boston November 22, 23 and 24, the three days before Thanksgiving.

Headquarters will be at the Hotel Statler, which is unusually well equipped for handling conventions.

This will be the League's third conference in Boston, the other two having been held in 1902 and 1924. The 1902 conference heard addresses about deplorable and encouraging developments from many cities, on franchise problems, Massachusetts charter legislation and on uniform municipal accounting.

At the 1924 meeting the experts and civic leaders were digging into problems which still are acute, only more so: regional planning (with special reference to street traffic and transportation), governmental research, the government of metropolitan areas, home rule and the Boston charter.

Among the speakers in 1924 were Mayor Curley of Boston, C. A. Dykstra, Charles A. Beard, Lent D. Upson, A. Lawrence Lowell, Frank L. Polk, Thomas H. Reed, Richard S. Childs, as well as others who remain active in civic affairs.

Boston is an ideal spot for the 1948 conference. Boston and New England are active laboratories for a number of problems with which the League is concerned.

The 1948 program will probably stress state-local relations, extension of the council-manager plan, more effective handling of metropolitan area problems, civic education, among other matters.

New England leads in the adoption of the council-manager plan. The Plan E campaign for Boston and the growing interest in the manager plan in medium and small sized towns present practical problems of legislation, administration and citizen participation which are crucial to the continuation of the present trend.

The Boston area presents the problems of the metropolis in their most acute and obvious forms and there has probably been as much thinking in and around Boston about the possible alternative methods of meeting these problems as anywhere in the country.

Recent events have dramatically highlighted the importance of more effective civic education, both as an affirmative measure and as a means of avoiding hysterical alternatives which may be far worse than civic indifference and ignorance which have long been decried.

Other questions, including crucial problems of state and municipal finance and the need for modernizing state constitutions probably will be included.

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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Retooling State Government

MANY Americans are driving around in ramshackle pre-World War II cars that are becoming more and more unreliable, dangerous and costly to operate. Generally speaking, it isn't their fault that new cars aren't being made fast enough and the prices of the ones coming off the lines are too high for many to pay.

At the same time most states are trying to conduct their business with ramshackle pre-World War I administrations which, despite occasional repairs, are unreliable, dangerous and costly to operate. But there is less excuse for this than for hanging on to old cars.

There is no mystery about what is needed to provide a state with a modern system of public administration. Experience has developed practical, tested principles which are free to any state with the will to apply them. Reorganization doesn't have to wait for new models or for a lot of extra dollars to pay an increased price. In fact, it's one way, in a period of rising costs, to get more for the tax dollar.

Here are some of the lessons of experience which any state continues to ignore at its peril:

(1) A state administration divided among a hundred or so separate departments and agencies makes no sense. Nobody can keep track of it, "manage" it, coordinate its activities or vouch for its fidelity and competence.

(2) The business of a state rates a genuine chief executive but in most states the constitution and laws which pretend to give the governor the responsibilities of a chief executive forbid him the necessary powers and tools. It's no wonder that Governor Kim Sigler of Michigan said he had the lousiest job in the state.

(3) The chief executive of any business as big as that of a state needs a well trained professional staff to help with the planning, fiscal, personnel and other "housekeeping" tasks of management. The staff of the typical governor's office looks more like that of the head man in a third-rate travelling circus than, say, that of a commanding general with comparable administrative responsibilities.

(4) Legislatures have too much to say about the details of administrative organization and procedure and about who shall have what jobs, and too little influence in keeping the administration on its toes. John Adams once said that, if any considerable part of the executive power is left with the legislature, it will corrupt it "as necessarily as rust corrupts iron or as arsenic poisons the human body." He added, "And when the legislature is corrupted, the people are undone."

The people are sure to be undone when a legislature interferes with executive appointments and other details of administration because such action wastes time, tempts members to scramble for favors and patronage, stymies attempts by the administration to improve its own organization and methods, obscures lines of responsibility and confuses the public.

The trouble with a good many so-called reorganizations of state government is that they have been less than halfway measures which violated all or most of the tested principles of sound organization.

Of course, every bureau would like to be left undisturbed in its pleasant rut. Of course, no senator wants to be deprived of a single bit of patronage. Of course, no department head wants to be abolished or reduced to a bureau chief. Of course, the society for the preservation of antique totem poles is nervous at the thought of an efficient administrator in place of the friendly little board which for years has been clucking over its precious charges.

Administrative reorganization must find a way to resolve or override such personal considerations in the public interest. Here, then, is the $64 question: Does state government belong to all the people or is it just a collection of private clubs run at public expense for the profit or satisfaction of professional politicians, public employees and special interest clienteles? Once this question is answered correctly and firmly, the way to an up-to-date state government is fairly clear.

The administration would consist of a dozen or so departments built around the governor with heads chosen and removable by him. Practically all other public employees would be members of a career service, not frozen into sinecures, but recruited, retained and promoted solely for competence. Boards and commissions would be confined to investigation, advice, rule-making and review. The governor would have enough professional staff assistance to keep him fully informed, relieve him of detail and enable him to concentrate on important questions of policy. Details of organization would be flexible, subject to change by executive order.

At the same time the legislature would be greatly strengthened. Through its own auditor it would have a continuous check-up on the financial operations of the state. As is being demonstrated in 22 states, a year-round legislative council with a permanent professional staff would enable it to display badly needed foresight and expertness in planning its program, keeping abreast of administrative action and preparing legislation. The legislature would become a more effective critic of administration for it would no longer be directly responsible for questionable administrative arrangements or appointments. It would be better able to withstand pressure groups. In the long run, all these circumstances would tend to attract and keep better men and women in the legislative halls.

A number of states have done or are now engaged in some important retooling of their executive and legislative establishments. Others should join them. And every state must raise its sights high if it hopes to survive in the competition which is steadily drawing power to the so-called higher levels of government.

ERIODICAL DEPT.

First Civil Service Sheriff

New York official handles work for five counties, saves vast sums in six years and ends rich political boodle.

By RICHARD S. CHILDS*

McCLOSKEY is a good traditional name for a sheriff, but the keen-eyed, sandy-haired young sheriff of New York City is not the traditional type. He serves in place of five former sheriffs, since he manages the errands and mandates of the local courts in all five of the counties embraced within New York City. In a quiet and noticeably clean carpeted office at the top of the massive Hall of Records, he does this with obvious competence and orderly efficiency—*and* without benefit of politics. Most remarkable of all, he was selected by careful written and oral civil service examinations from among 335 applicants—the only sheriff ever to be so selected in the United States.

Municipal offices in New York City had moved toward efficiency and businesslike atmosphere by steady process decades ago, and 99 2/3 per cent of their employees are under civil service now—out of of 160,000 only 446 are exempt. But none of this progress had reached into the political citadels and spittoon traditions of the five county sheriffs' offices before January 1942.

Sheriffs were elective in their respective counties. The voters paid no attention to the contests for their offices and neither did the newspapers. So party leaders filled the obscure posts subject to perfunctory ratification at the polls as part of a long ticket.

In the days when "Al" Smith took the post in New York County, it was paid by fees and was reported to net something like $50,000 a year to the occupant. It was at any rate a plum if the beneficiary could avoid dividing the proceeds too heavily with the political backers who put him there. When fees were made payable into the city treasury, however, the profits became deep annual deficits and political interest centered in patronage.

In 1936 Mayor La Guardia turned his investigators into this pasture and they came back with mud galore. In cool objective detail they related that there were 100 deputy sheriffs in the five counties who handled each month an average of three papers that required any work beyond simple filing; that came to, at most, fifteen hours of work monthly to earn $2,000 to $3,000 a year. And, lest he faint from toil, each deputy in most cases had an assistant! "The assistant deputies, if they work at all," said the report, "do not need to spend more than five or ten minutes at their tasks."

---

*Mr. Childs, chairman of the council of the National Municipal League, is chairman of the Citizens Union of the City of New York and former president of the New York City Club. He is well known as the "father" of the council-manager plan. Organizer of the short ballot movement, he is author of numerous pamphlets and articles on the short ballot, the manager plan and other aspects of civic problems. Mr. Childs has retired from business to devote his time to public affairs.

Clerical payrolls were similarly loaded: a bond clerk "handles approximately ten papers per month, requiring little effort." Bookkeeping entries over 30 months were at the rate of seven per day per bookkeeper. In one division "at least 60 per cent of the employees have been unnecessary." The Bronx clerical division in 1934 and 1935 received on the average eight papers per day, a number which must have facilitated their equable division to the eight employees!

Political Appointments Rife

Appointments to such sinecures were commonly made by district leaders who, when their turns came, sometimes put their proteges on the payroll without even telling the sheriff; the latter did not even swear them in! Of the New York County office employees 75 per cent were party committeemen; 90 per cent in the Bronx, 68 per cent in Kings, 57 per cent in Richmond, and 39 per cent in Queens. In other words, the dominant party manned its organization thus at the taxpayers' expense and buttressed its tenure of power with 360 salaried workers.

Looking back 25 years to his younger days as an incumbent of the office, ex-Governor Smith testified: "I was sheriff myself and I was busy looking for something to do and, if it had not been for the war and the time I put in selling liberty bonds and war saving stamps and seeing the boys off, I would have had nothing to do."

Edward J. Flynn, who became Bronx sheriff in 1922, tells in his recent autobiography how the 62 exempt jobs thus placed at his disposal provided him with such a grip on the party machinery of the county that he was able to announce his intentions to elect himself county leader in defiance of all other aspirants. And this he did and, by later admittedly utilizing similar exempt places in the district attorney's office and elsewhere, made his position as boss of the Bronx impregnable for 25 years.

A constitutional amendment in 1935, promoted by the Citizens Union, New York civic organization, released the five counties from the requirement of the state constitution that sheriffs be elective. That amendment, merely creating an option, had passed a statewide referendum without much visible opposition.

Then began the tough fighting to excise this obscure nest of patronage in the face of the self-interest of the incumbents. Ex-Governor Smith, who had long since outgrown his political schooling, teamed up with reform Mayor La Guardia to end the scandal, and the Citizens Union, League of Women Voters, taxpayers' associations and the press went to work.

Tammany saw the gathering cloud and proposed a phony reform that would have kept the patronage and had it distributed by certain courts which Tammany could reach and influence. That was blocked in the

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city council with the aid of some of the better Democrats. One initiative petition for submission of a charter amendment to the people was thrown out, properly enough, for insufficiency of good signatures in correct form.

Next year, a more determined attempt by the Citizens Union and other civic groups produced enough good signatures, but a four-to-three court decision threw out the petition on technical requirements not mentioned in the law but unexpectedly read into it by the court's interpretation.

The third year the civic groups went at it again; their volunteers, particularly those of New York's vigorous League of Women Voters, laboriously accumulated over 90,000 valid signatures, and the issue was at last qualified for submission at the next election (1941).

One Sheriff on Merit

Then, to muddy the waters, Tammany, acting through its majority in the city council, submitted two conflicting alternatives which were halfway measures of its own. The mayor and Al Smith, not usually faint-hearted in such battles, advised the people to vote "yes" on all three, letting the one with the highest vote take effect. The civic organizations refused to compromise and called for "no" votes on the phony substitutes. Their measure won.

The amendment established a single city sheriff to be appointed from a list chosen by competitive civil service examinations. Of the 335 persons who took the written examinations about 40 qualified for the second stage oral examinations.

A special board consisting of Walter Frank of the Citizens Union, Adam Schneider, Jr., a Brooklyn banker, Bruce Smith of the Institute of Public Administration, Thomas D. Thacher, former United States Solicitor General, and myself, a businessman, president of the City Club, sat for five days in private, addressing carefully identical questions to each candidate in turn and rating him on several weighted points.

A mathematical addition of our points to those won in the written examination—which were not known to us—determined the final standing of the competitors. There were at least ten whom we would have been very well content to see in the job. Under the law, the mayor had the power to choose one of the first three. He took John J. McCloskey, Jr., a lawyer then serving as deputy commissioner in the city department of investigation, and McCloskey took office on January 1, 1942.

The new sheriff's first duty was to restaff the service from new civil service eligible lists. This involved a clean sweep since, in the five sheriffs' offices, only one employee, a telephone operator, was a member of the competitive civil service and available for retention. Some of the old staff lingered to help him, but only one of the 100 deputies, despite their presumable experience, passed the civil service examinations. The requirement that they pass the same physical examination as rookie policemen was enough to discourage most of the old deputies; their ability to chin themselves on a horizontal bar was not worth exhibiting!

It took six hectic months to complete the transition to a new high grade staff. Only one member, the sheriff's counsel, is exempt, a precise reversal of the old situation. The total payroll thus abruptly lost to the political machines was nearly $1,000,000 a year.

Clerical staffs were sharply reduced. At the central office a chief accountant and a few clerks now operate the fiscal routines on a uniform basis. Under-sheriffs operate each of the five local county offices; the one in charge of the New York County office, which handles half the total business, is located next door to the sheriff and has power to act in the latter's absence.

The examinations for under-sheriff and chief deputies, limited to members of the bar, brought in experienced young lawyers of top caliber and the educational pedigrees of the five incumbents include Phi Beta Kappas, *summa cum laudes,* an M. A. degree, a doctorate of juridical science and editor of the *Columbia Law Review.* Two are graduates of Columbia Law School, two of Brooklyn Law School and one of Harvard Law School. One man who had served for twenty years as assistant counsel in the office of one of the old sheriffs, an acknowledged authority on sheriff's law, qualified for retention.

In place of the 100 deputy sheriffs who served processes, etc., a force of 49 now does the work. They include 33 with college training. Seventeen are lawyers. Comparable costs were immediately reduced $300,000 a year; a $650 cost-of-living salary raise all around has since reduced that gain.

The old sheriffs operated jails for criminals and transported prisoners to courts and state prisons. The reorganization transferred this whole function to the city's large department of correction. It became no longer legally necessary for deputy sheriffs rather than department of correction guards to be assigned to escort prisoners of certain classifications from cells over an enclosed bridge to courts across the street. Annual savings thus achieved have not been computed.

Study in Contrasts

Civil jails are still operated by the sheriff, but the five jails have been consolidated into two at substantial savings. In the interest of further economies and more efficient management, Sheriff McCloskey has recommended the erection of a new, modern jail so that the present two jails can be consolidated into a single one.

During the era of price controls, Sheriff McCloskey's staff took on added work in following complaints, gathering evidence and apprehending black market operators and dealers in foods who disregarded price ceilings. What a juicy and lucrative assignment that would have been for some of the old-time political deputies!

The old offices in the Hall of Records were a dingy warren of soiled rooms, flimsy partitions and

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dirty, paper-strewn floors. Most of the rooms were jammed, but for unknown reasons one room, the largest, contained only one man and one small counter. All were noisy with idle men and political gossip. They are quiet, orderly business offices now, and the housekeeping is apple-pie.

The thing the sheriff is proudest of is the morale of the staff. He arranges training courses to perfect their understanding of the law and the regulations. He has secured passage of twelve laws to clear their duties of antique nonsense. The old traditions of the office had to be lived down, and the 49 deputies had a thin time of it for a while.

Now they enjoy the bewilderment of clients who expect the arrival of a paunchy politico and find a well groomed, brisk and capable gentleman at their service. The clients hesitate to offer the gratuities that used to be customary, but they still sometimes do. The standard answer is, "Taking that could cost me my job but, if you consider you've been well served, drop a line to the sheriff about it."

You ought to see those letters!

Expertness Pays in Register's Office, Too

A register with city-wide jurisdiction, chosen after civil service examination, replaced four county registers on January 1, 1942, as the result of the same prolonged civic effort which brought in the civil service city sheriff in New York City.

An official investigation in 1941 indicated that the four elective county registers employed an excessive number of exempt employees (85) at an unnecessary expenditure of $178,000. The report recommended modern photographic recording to save $89,000 more, a 5 P.M. instead of 4 P.M. closing hour and savings in overhead to be facilitated by consolidation.

It also said: "In addition to a chief deputy register we find an assistant deputy register and a registrar. The duties of all three can well be performed by one if we accept their own testimony as to the work performed by each."

Most of the 318 employees, however, were in the competitive civil service and "performed their duties with normal competency." One high salaried appointee of the Brooklyn register was an important politician who was actually unable to read or write!

The new register and his deputy promptly realized in their first year savings of $160,000 and went on to further steady improvements and economies. The 318 employees gradually dropped to 261 and then rose again with recently increasing volume of business; the number of instruments handled per employee went from 444 in 1942 to 766 in 1946.

Microfilm put into five little filing cabinet drawers certain files which in the old-fashioned libers took 56 feet of wall space, seven and a half feet high. The diverse procedures of the four counties were reconciled, modernized and made uniform, reducing by 75 per cent the number of printed forms in use.

The great volume of the recordations encouraged close study of methods and the register's third annual report is an exhaustive classic review of technical systems available for the economical management of all such offices where volume of business justifies. Some of the findings go beyond existing commercial devices, and two manufacturers have been induced to work up advanced models.

The "profits" (office fees less expenditures), aided by revival of real estate activity which provides two-thirds of the business, have risen in successive years from $24,000 to $117,000, $185,000 and (in 1946) $377,000!

The history of the new office affords a clear instance of the injustices inherent in New York State's mischievous veterans' preference law. Seventh on the civil service ratings for first appointment to the new post was Henry W. Ralph who, having qualified, automatically obtained the position by virtue of the fact that he had a service-connected disability. He appointed the second man on the list, Lewis Orgel, as his first deputy. Mr. Ralph having died recently, Mr. Orgel is acting register. The civil service list being over four years old, a new examination will undoubtedly expose Mr. Orgel to competition from other disabled veterans, including one or more of his present subordinates, any one of whom, by merely qualifying, will jump over his head to become register!

Politics Taken Out of County Clerks' Offices

About ten years ago, the Citizens Union and other civic forces in New York City got the state constitution amended to clear the way and then succeeded in getting the county clerks in the five counties within New York City made appointive by the Appellate Division of the two local state supreme court judicial districts. The courts appointed good men and the offices have been nonpolitical ever since. The incumbents serve for indefinite terms subject to removal by the appointing power.

The county clerk of New York County (Manhattan) recently issued a ten-year review of his administration, a story of high purpose, continuity of service and accomplishment. His first step was to eliminate a 30-year-old practice of some employees of selling official information on business opportunities for printers, auctioneers, bonding companies, etc.

The Manhattan clerk took over the offices of commissioner of jurors and, later, commissioner of records and cut the exempt positions in half; in the latter case the halved staff does more work than was done before.

The old overworked list of jurors is replaced by bigger and better lists and the juror's time is conserved by transfer from court to court and by letting the juror choose the most convenient month. The renovated system of qualifying jurors has been extended to the other four counties. Jurors get their jury notices cheaply and more surely by mail instead of helping to pay for eleven summons servers to bring them to the door. Over 40 laws have been secured to correct obsolescent practices or reduce expenses.

Experts for the Lawmakers

Missouri Legislative Research Committee proves worth in difficult tasks and wins acceptance by General Assembly.

By ESTAL E. SPARLIN*

MISSOURI'S Legislative Research Committee has carved a unique niche for itself since its inception in 1944. Its prestige is such that the staff finds itself in the position of having its overoptimistic budget requests doubled by the General Assembly.

The committee began work inauspiciously enough in January 1944 after having been established by the 1943 legislature. Most of 1944 was devoted to acquiring a research library and completing several routine studies. The first anniversary of the committee's founding went unheralded; at that point it was rapidly taking its perfunctory place alongside the 80-odd other state agencies.

On February 28, 1945, the people of Missouri adopted a new state constitution. All laws in conflict with it expired on June 30, 1946; hundreds of statutes hung in the balance. The 63rd General Assembly, then two months old, had already begun to discuss ways and means of adjourning at an early date to escape the onerous task of traveling between home and Jefferson City week after week at $125 per month.

The full import of the assignment ahead exploded like a delayed-action bomb in the consciousness of the legislators some two or three weeks after February 28 when they reconnoitered a bit and realized the thousands of hours of tedious research and gruelling committee sessions necessary to fully implement the new constitution. They threw up their hands and went home.

Leaders of the Legislative Research Committee quickly capitalized on the bewilderment. Why not expand the staff of the committee with lawyers and researchers to handle the technical, time-consuming and unglamorous details of statute-searching and bill drafting? The legislature warmly embraced the idea. Funds were appropriated and the staff expanded from two to thirteen members. Revision work was divided among committees of the two houses and from one to three staff members assigned to each committee.

A good working relationship soon developed between legislative committee chairmen and technicians so that the optimum advantage could be taken of the experience and knowledge of the research worker while reserving the prerogatives of policy-determination to elected representatives.

Traditions toppled when many legislative committees insisted that the technicians remain for executive sessions, always theretofore carefully reserved for members only. Staff

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members in turn justified the confidence placed in them by impassionately presenting the facts in executive session and stoically preserving the secret opinions expressed in their presence.

By the time the last revision bill had been hustled off to the governor's office in June 1946 most members of the General Assembly were singing the praises of the Legislative Research Committee. More than once assurance that a bill had been prepared by the "Legislative Research"—as it came to be called—allayed prospective snipers. Baffling constitutional law questions vanished in the face of clarifying opinions of research people. The February 1945 insurmountable was trampled underfoot by June 1946.[1]

Appropriation Increased

When it came time to appropriate for 1946-47, the director of research of the Legislative Research Committee asked for $45,000—which he thought ample—and the legislature appropriated $65,000. The 1947-48 appropriation is $110,000.

The 1945 General Assembly created a Children's Code Commission to make a study of problems of child welfare and report to the 1947 session. This commission of private citizens borrowed a Legislative Research Committee staff member to do much of the technical work.

In February 1947 a special house committee was established to investigate the state eleemosynary institutions. The chairman of the committee accepted the assignment on one condition: that the committee be allotted a full-time research technician. The staff member assigned to this committee attended all the hearings held over the state, questioned witnesses, inspected institutions, prepared the committee report and drafted necessary legislation. He had all the status of a committee member except the right to vote.

The State Department of Revenue began the installation of machine accounting equipment early in 1947. Being conscious of the frailties of political appointees and impressed with the intricacies of the machines, the department head requested the assignment of a Legislative Research Committee staff member to assist with the installation and carry the good work on into the next administration.

The Legislative Research Committee has rapidly become an information center around the capitol building. Questions and questionnaires too difficult for the recipient end up on the desk of the director of research.

The teachers' salary problem plagued the 1947 General Assembly as it did most legislative bodies in the country. The Missouri legislature decided, however, that teachers' salaries were not isolated from the problem of education in general and that decisions should be made on the whole problem. It created an interim joint committee to study the school problem and appropriated $30,000 for the Legislative Research Committee to do the job. A number of prominent educators, lawyers and researchers were added temporarily to the staff to assist with the study.

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[1] See "Missouri Counties Streamlined," by Estal E. Sparlin, the REVIEW, July 1946, pages 337-343.

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A voluminous amount of data was collected and digested by staff members, legislators and citizens and a program developed for the 1948 session of the General Assembly. Committee hearings often generated flowery testimonials to the efficiency of the research workers.

Missouri's statutes must be revised in 1949 under the 1945 constitution. Heretofore they have been revised each ten years by a commission of legislators. The work was not well done and was costly, so the new constitution prohibited the old system but left to the General Assembly the selection of a new method.

Revision of Statutes

A resolution passed by the 1947 General Assembly directed the Legislative Research Committee staff to prepare the revised statutes for the 1949 session. A sizeable appropriation was made for this work. Three full-time attorneys are at work on the task and technicians from outside the state have been called in to assist. It appears now that in 1949 Missouri will have the best revision of its statutes it has ever had since the Missouri Compromise made it a state. It is also probable that biennial revision will be instituted after 1949.

Missouri's state budgeting procedure is anemic even after reorganization under the new constitution. As a result, a staff member of the Legislative Research Committee spends substantially full time assisting the House Appropriations Committee during the fall before the General Assembly convenes and "day and night" on this work during the session. This arrangement still does not give the state a good budgeting system, but it does alleviate the most serious shortcomings.

Credit for the success of the Missouri Legislative Research Committee goes primarily to the dozen or so legislative leaders who had confidence in the usefulness of such an agency and a resolution to keep it free of politics so it could function properly. Without the faithfulness of these leaders in the General Assembly the usefulness to Missouri of competent technicians would have been sterile.

Former Senator Francis Smith of St. Joseph, the committee's first chairman, is at or near the top of this list of leaders. Aiding and abetting him were such men as R. J. King, Randall Kitt, Floyd Gibson, M. C. Matthes, R. Jasper Smith, Murray E. Thompson, H. R. Williams and others.

From the beginning until June 30, 1946, Dr. Charlton F. Chute served as director of research and saw the committee through the crucial constitutional revision period. He was succeeded by William R. Nelson who had been on the staff and who combines the theoretical and practical in his experience to such an extent that the Legislative Research Committee has grown in usefulness and public esteem under his leadership.

Although the men involved deserve primary credit for the success of the work, the manner in which they proceeded and the principles they held to are also significant.

The first principle laid down when the committee was created was that bill drafting, library, and economic, legal and administrative research should all be under the same roof.

The shortcomings of having two or three different agencies performing these functions, as in some states, were recognized at the beginning so that the statute charges the committee with the responsibility of maintaining a legislative library, doing the bill drafting for legislators and conducting research studies. All three are so closely tied together that one suffers without the others.

Last year a bill was passed making the Legislative Research Committee responsible for statutory revision but creating a revisor of statutes independent of the director of research. The governor vetoed this bill for other reasons but he performed a real service for the committee because such an administrative arrangement would have caused endless conflict and duplication. After the veto the legislature adopted a resolution directing the Legislative Research Committee to revise the statutes, the work to be under the director of research.

No Political Interference

Thus far the committee has been free of political interference. It is composed of ten representatives and ten senators appointed by the speaker of the house and president of the senate, respectively. No more than six representatives and six senators can be from the same political party.

The first committee was composed of twelve Republicans and eight Democrats but a Democrat was elected chairman and re-elected for a second term. When he retired from the General Assembly last year the caucus agreed to name a Republican as chairman and a Democrat as vice chairman, but failed to deliver on the latter promise. The two men named, however, were so obviously well qualified, regardless of politics, that no protest was registered by the Democrats.

Two staff members resigned in the summer of 1946 to run for political offices. After the campaign they both asked for reinstatement but were refused even though they were of the majority party.

In the four years since the committee was established only one staff member has been appointed for political reasons. Fortunately he turned out to be a drunkard and was soon fired. Only by holding steadfastly to the principle of appointing staff members on a professional basis can the committee maintain its present enviable reputation.

The committee has maintained a balanced staff of "generalists" rather than a complete assortment of specialists. At most times there have been lawyers, professional research people and practical administrators on the staff. By and large they have been people who have wider interests than their own particular specialty. The lawyers have been interested in political science, sociology and other fields; the researchers in constitutional and administrative law as well as statistics and economics; and the administrators in philosophy as well as the job description of a "Clerk 2."

Staff members have not been encouraged to specialize in any particular subject matter but have been shifted from project to project. When specialist assistance is needed it is brought in from the outside on a consultant basis.

(Continued on page 314)

Right About Face in Kentucky

State creates research commission amply financed after letting 1936 legislative council die for lack of funds.

By GLADYS M. KAMMERER*

KENTUCKY, after allowing its Legislative Council to sink into virtual desuetude, has decided to wipe the slate clean and start over with a new Legislative Research Commission.

In his opening message to the 1948 General Assembly, the new governor, Earle C. Clements, took the lead in urging creation of facilities for legislative research. An administration bill to provide a Legislative Research Commission was hastily introduced and received wide support in the legislature. An ample appropriation—$50,000 for the first year and $75,000 thereafter—is provided in the act, establishing the commission on a basis never enjoyed by the Legislative Council.

The new commission, which comes into existence on June 17, consists of seven members: the governor who also acts as chairman, the president pro tem of the senate, the speaker of the house, and majority and minority floor leaders of the two houses. It will be both closely watched and carefully led by its chairman.

Four of the six legislative members belong to Governor Clements' wing of the Democratic party and will cooperate with him in all plans for the next legislative session. In effect, the new commission will probably resemble more closely a research and planning agency for the executive's legislative program than an instrumentality to enable the legislature to plan its own program.

The act provides for a permanent full-time director of research to be appointed by the commission. He must have had "graduate training in government in a recognized university or practical experience in governmental administration."

The act does not provide for regular meetings of the commission but leaves that to the commission to determine.

Students of government will be interested, when trying to assess the chances of success of the new commission, in ascertaining the causes of failure of the old Legislative Council. Its metamorphosis and decline may be attributed to the fact that Kentucky's legislators have until now shown little realization of the need for factual research in solving legislative problems. As a result they starved the council into a relatively useless appendage of the legislature, moribund long before it was officially buried this year.

History of Council

Originally the Kentucky Legislative Council was an integral part of the general program for reorganization of state government enacted in 1936 during the administration of

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Governor Albert B. Chandler. It was unique at the time in introducing executive representation on what was essentially a legislative arm. Indeed, the executive members gave it what strength it possessed during its early years.

The statute creating the council provided for fifteen members: five senators appointed by the lieutenant governor, presiding officer of the senate, five representatives appointed by the speaker of the house, and five officers from the executive branch appointed by the governor. The lieutenant governor and speaker were members *ex officiis* and the governor an honorary member. The majority party in each house was allotted no more than three-fifths of the representation.

Meetings of the Legislative Council could not exceed twenty days in any one calendar year, but they were to be held at least quarterly. They could be called by the chairman, provided for by resolution of members, or scheduled upon written request of any three members. Compensation was ten dollars to each member for each actual day of attendance.

The council was originally empowered to employ a research director and assistants and to engage the services of research agencies to help in the study and formulation of a legislative program. But, more significantly, money was not appropriated to pay the salaries of a research staff, and the power to hire professional assistants was, therefore, meaningless.

Since 1936 the council has undergone significant changes in organization. The first was an increase in the number of senate and house members to eight from each branch. In 1938 the speaker had apparently promised eight representatives places on the council without realizing that he had but five posts to fill. Therefore, he initiated the statutory change in order to fulfill his promises. The senate naturally demanded a like increase.

In 1943 the Republican party captured the governorship and all elective executive offices, but the Democrats retained their traditional majority in the General Assembly. One of the first moves made by the Democratic majority in the 1944 session was to lop off the council's administrative members, thus depriving the council of the last remaining research facilities available to the legislature.

The 1944 statute also rendered the council ineffectual in developing a legislative program by changing the frequency of meetings. Instead of meeting at least quarterly it was required to meet only on the second Monday in September preceding a regular session, which is also immediately preceding a regular election, and to remain in session not more than 60 days to prepare its program. If carried out literally, this stipulation would result in the preparation of the program for the new legislature by many "lame ducks" already defeated in the primary or retired under their own power.

Even though special sessions of the legislature might be called between regular sessions, the council was forbidden to sit more than 60 days in a biennium. Recommendations of the council were to be completed and made public 30 days before the opening of a regular session.

The experience of Kansas, Illinois, Maryland and other states which have established legislative councils points ineluctably to the conclusion that a competent research staff is essential to the effective functioning of a legislative council. The legislators themselves as the amateurs in government have neither the time nor training, to say nothing of the necessary objectivity, to marshall the facts bearing on legislative proposals. It was not, in fact, until Kansas obtained funds for a full-time research staff for its legislative council that the council began to operate with the notable success that led other states to copy this device.

Research Facilities

Research was never under the guidance of a permanent full-time director in Kentucky. The first director, who had the largest staff (eight persons) ever available for research, was a practicing attorney who also acted as a county attorney. The second director did not remain in his post because of lack of funds. Two others followed in rapid succession.

The staff thus became an ephemeral group from the first. It included one or two university faculty members who devoted spare time to legislative council work. Two of the original group besides the director were lawyers. Only two were qualified to do research in political science or economics.

The 1944 statute included a provision that the Legislative Council could request special studies to be made by state officers or departments including the state university and state colleges "within the limits of its appropriation." This was meaningless for the most part inasmuch as the university had no staff members it could afford to detail for extended periods. In fact, the state university was hard pressed for funds itself and needed every available faculty member to meet the mounting enrollment since 1944.

The legislature was niggardly in the appropriation of funds for research. In 1937-1938 it set aside only $5,000 for this purpose. Just as it has done for other legislative councils, the Spelman Fund provided over $16,000 for research in 1937-1938 on the premise that once the value of research was realized by the legislature adequate appropriations would be made to support it. That was a valid premise in both Kansas and Illinois but not in Kentucky.

The legislature tended to utilize the Legislative Council staff, when the latter existed, as a bill-drafting agency. When the legislators turned to the council staff at all, it was to request the immediate short-time drafting of legislation, not fundamental study of problems basic to the formulation of legislative proposals. Thus the legislature evidently failed to comprehend the purpose of employing a trained staff or even of the existence of the council itself.

Indeed, the council met infrequently and sporadically, and during the two administrations when the Democratic party controlled both the legislative and executive branches, it looked to the governor for the development of a legislative program.

As a matter of fact, during the first eight years the administrative departments did most of the research back of the legislative program. The presence of executive department heads on the council up to 1944 facilitated utilization of departmental staffs for special studies also. The 1944 act which stripped away the five department heads from council membership left the council floundering with no research facilities.

Struggle for Funds

To a few members of the General Assembly it was clear that the act of excising the executive members from the Legislative Council necessitated the building of an effective research agency to help the council if the latter were ever to formulate a comprehensive legislative program.

A bill introduced in 1944 would have required monthly meetings during the biennium of separate legislative commissions for the two houses beginning in April at the close of each session. This bill provided a "skilled and professional" staff to be financed by an appropriation of $100,000 for the biennium.

A proposed mechanism for cooperation between the legislative commissions of the two houses was a joint subcommittee of which both the speaker of the house and the president pro tem of the senate would be members. The bill failed to pass the house. Instead, $11,000 was appropriated to cover all costs of the Legislative Council, a sum barely enough to pay per diem expenses, particularly if the council met for the statutory limit of 60 days.

Again, in the 1946 legislature, the speaker introduced a somewhat similar bill to create a Legislative Research Commission of eight members from each house, the speaker of the house and the president of the senate. This bill also provided for a research staff and an appropriation of $100,000. One significant amendment adopted in the house reduced the size to three members from each house who would elect their own chairman. This time the bill passed the house only to meet defeat by being tabled in the senate.

Still undaunted, the speaker fought for an appropriation of $100,000 in the 1946 legislature for the staffing of the existing Legislative Council for research activities. Again it passed the house but was lost in the senate.

The failure of the 1946 legislature to appropriate the $100,000 item left the Legislative Council without any funds for 1947.

The fundamental reason for the failure of the 1944 and 1946 bills sponsored by the speaker was political. The lines had already been drawn for the 1947 gubernatorial election for which the speaker was clearly indicated as a candidate. The followers of his rival for the Democratic nomination, especially strong in the senate where his rival had been leader, were opposed to what they deemed to be a device to enable the speaker to enhance his political reputation and to provide him with political ammunition through a ready-made research staff under his control.

The 1936 statute creating the council outlined three functions:

(1) collection of data respecting the government and general welfare

of the state, examination of previously enacted statutes and recommendations of amendments, study of important issues of public policy and questions of statewide interest, all in order to prepare a program for the next legislative session;

(2) consideration of the reports of the auditor of public accounts in order to report to the General Assembly on handling of public funds by state administrative agencies;

(3) fostering interstate cooperation through encouragement and arrangement of conferences with officials of other states and other units of government as well as promotion of the state's participation in the work of the Council of State Governments.

Legislative Council's Work

Thus the Legislative Council may be viewed as a device for developing positive leadership both in policy formulation and in the promotion of interstate cooperation as well as for effectuating administrative responsibility by pointing up the facts about state administration revealed by the auditor.

Absence of a permanent full-time research staff, however, necessarily compelled neglect of the role of positive leadership. Thus the council was forced more and more into the second role as time passed until, in 1945, it actually usurped the role of the appropriations committees by holding budget hearings over a period of about a month. The program it submitted to the 1946 legislature was essentially a fiscal program recommending expenditures to the legislature unsupported by any broad research.

The second role of "watchdog" was especially suited to the political complexion of the legislature at the time because of its opposition to the governor and executive officers. No such scrutiny of the executive budget had taken place when party harmony prevailed between executive and legislative branches. Nevertheless, no useful purpose seems to have been served by duplicating legislative examination of the budget.

The Legislative Council had nothing to present to the 1948 legislature. When the council met in September 1947, it was forced to adjourn until after the November election because seven of the eight house members were "lame ducks."

When it met in November the only item on the agenda was selection of representatives to the convention of the Council of State Governments. It adjourned within less than an hour of convening to meet again at the call of the lieutenant governor only if the new governor desired to use it as a "sounding board" for his own program. It had reached the ultimate in ineffectuality.

During the period when the council included executive officers in its membership it served at least as an instrument by which the executive and legislative branches were united in support of a legislative program. True, the council had not prepared the program. But through the council one measure after another urged by the executive branch found support from the leaders of the General Assembly and was enacted into law. The legislative process functioned with a minimum of friction and legislators seemed satisfied that leadership was furnishing them with a program, irrespective of the fact that the leadership was not from their own branch of government.

Recent history in connection with Kentucky's Legislative Council supports the generalization that American legislative bodies have been unable to furnish leadership from their own ranks to formulate and secure a legislative program unless they are buttressed with tools for research equal to those in the executive branch.

At least the experience of Kansas and Illinois points to a correlation between the ability of the legislature to originate a program and the existence of a research staff to aid their legislative councils. Of course, the primary usefulness of the legislative council is in supplying factual data to the legislature. It is out of that information that a program can be developed. A legislative steering committee has, therefore, something concrete to support its proposals. In fact, the development of a legislative steering committee in the Kansas legislature, to see that Legislative Council bills are assigned to the proper standing committees and that the committees have council studies, is a logical outgrowth of the council idea.

The Kentucky Legislative Council never had an opportunity to function as a fact-finding and informational agency for the legislature. Because it never had a permanent full-time director, it was crippled from the start.

Thus Kentucky has gone full circle in the history of the legislative council. Just as a strong governor who led the legislature was responsible for the creation of the council in 1936, dominating it in the early years, again a strong executive has pushed the legislature into creation of a commission amply financed and fully staffed for research. Once again the governor, supported by the presiding officers of both houses and their majority leaders, will determine the direction legislative planning and research will take.

Legislative proponents of the new act admit privately that although they might prefer a commission strictly legislative in membership in order to make their branch coordinate in power, membership of the governor is essential to obtain adequate appropriations for legislative research.

The lesson the more intelligent and thoughtful legislators declare they have learned from the deterioration of the Legislative Council has been the overpowering need today for legislative research. The air has been cleared politically by the election of 1947, and the dominant majority within the majority party is in a position to bring Kentucky abreast of those other states with adequately financed and well staffed councils. A new page has been turned, and legislative leaders now seem ready to test the values of research in achieving an improved legislative product.

PERIODICAL DEPT.

They All Want to Stay Out

San Francisco City-County presses hard against its borders but efforts for consolidation with San Mateo County fail.

By JOHN C. BOLLENS*

CREATED as one of 27 counties by the California legislature at its initial session in 1850, San Francisco County retained its original size for only a short time. A corrupt and inefficient city government, in contrast to an honest and well run county government, spurred the legislature to take action.

City and county governments were merged in 1856 and a common boundary was determined which substantially reduced the county's size. What had been the southern portion of San Francisco County became a new county, San Mateo.

The city and county of San Francisco grew rapidly during the last part of the nineteenth century. It was an intensive growth, too, limited to an area of 42 square miles. Soon after 1900 the city-county was pressing hard against its corporate boundaries. Contiguous expansion could take place in only one direction, a southerly one in San Mateo County.

Meanwhile, San Mateo County was also growing, but its expansion was on a much smaller scale and development was spread over the much larger area of 447 square miles. Communities sprang up along the east side of the peninsula, close to the bay. Growth was in some instances intense.

But there were many sections of San Mateo County, such as the large areas in the southern part of the county and the less desirable mountain and marsh lands, which remained virtually undeveloped. Small, unincorporated coastal villages sprang up but none rivaled its eastern counterparts in size or population. For the most part expansion was limited to residential development.

Here then were two county jurisdictions, each with dissimilar but related problems. San Francisco was rich in population but poor in land area. It needed space for both its industries and its workers. San Mateo County had ample land, far more than it could use to advantage; yet, because of its scattered growth and multiplicity of governmental units, its people did not enjoy the maximum benefits of efficient government.

Such was the situation when early in the 1920's a few individuals began to consider the merits and disadvantages of consolidation.

The initial consolidation plan, publicly announced in 1923, was followed during the next five years by numerous equally short-lived proposals. A thorough study of the subject was made in 1928 by the San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research under the sponsorship of the local Chamber of Commerce. Liberalized state enabling legislation was passed in 1929. Two years later the mechanics of the borough plan became an integral part of San Francisco's new charter.

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By 1931 backers of consolidation felt that as soon as a limited number of details were worked out the matter was ready for submission to the voters of the two counties. Successful culmination of the consolidation movement seemed finally in sight after eight years of discussion. But such was not to prove true.

Charter Proposal Intervenes

In the latter part of 1931, at the exact time that it seemed propitious to submit the consolidation question to a vote, a county charter proposal was revived in San Mateo County. Opposition to consolidation suddenly crystallized. Seemingly overnight an unexpected dilemma had developed. To push aggressively for the consolidation election before San Mateo County could vote on a new charter, the consolidation strategists agreed, would appear to be a purely political maneuver designed to circumvent the wishes of the San Mateo County electorate.

The supporters of consolidation chose to wait, hoping that the new county charter would not materialize. But it was approved by a two to one vote in November 1932. Concurrently, the persistent economic depression intensified local governmental problems. Largely because of these two factors any immediate chance for success of the consolidation proposal was nullified.

The period from 1928 through 1932 might well be termed the peak period in the development of the San Francisco-San Mateo consolidation movement. Neither before nor after these years have so many groups in both counties been so intensely interested in unification possibilities.

Whenever consolidation came under discussion it inevitably became the source of numerous favorable and unfavorable arguments. While some were purely conjectural, the majority of favorable arguments were based on careful study and sound thinking. Simplification of governmental structure, elimination of much duplication of operation, increased coordination and attainment of a large degree of centralization would have been the almost inevitable products of a well administered consolidated government.

Assumptions such as those relating to cheaper utility rates and extension and expansion of port and industrial developments were made on a less solid foundation. For the most part, however, the favorable points were well taken and retained their validity throughout the period of greatest opposition.

The same conclusion can not be reached regarding the arguments used by opponents of consolidation. Too many of their arguments were based on ephemeral reasoning without thorough research and consideration. Others were little more than appeals to the emotions of newspaper readers and mass meeting audiences. But the effectiveness of these arguments can hardly be minimized. They succeeded in undermining the efforts of those working to unify the two county areas. Consolidation, it can be concluded, failed of achievement in the 1928-1932 pe-

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riod largely because the opposition worked effectively, even with inferior tools, in concentrated areas where a single unfavorable election could defeat the whole effort.

Active interest in consolidation, renewed in 1935, was soon stalemated because of disagreement over inclusion of a borough plan. Additional evanescent attempts were inaugurated in October 1940, August 1943, September 1944 and June 1945.

The 1940 proposal, introduced by a San Francisco County supervisor, called for unification of not only San Francisco and San Mateo Counties but also Marin County. The 1943 attempt began with a resolution passed by the San Francisco Board of Supervisors urging appointment of a citizens' committee to formulate a consolidation plan for San Francisco and San Mateo Counties.

A joint proposal from the Civic League of Improvement Clubs and Associations and the San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research initiated the 1944 attempt to bring the two counties together. In 1945 a San Francisco supervisor revived the old 1923 annexation proposal and introduced a resolution for the consolidation with San Francisco of that portion of San Mateo County lying north of Burlingame. The old pattern repeated itself in each instance; opposition developed, further constructive action was not forthcoming, interest died and the attempt was dropped.

A recent endeavor to bring San Francisco and San Mateo Counties together was begun in July 1947 when a San Francisco supervisor revived a resolution proposing that the mayor of San Francisco appoint a commission to work for consolidation. The resolution itself had been in and out of committee nearly a dozen times without formal action. It was finally adopted by a unanimous vote of the board of supervisors on August 4, 1947.

Inept Publicity

This proposal received a certain amount of immediate support from residents of San Mateo County oceanside communities but reaction in the rest of the county was largely unfavorable. Once again the customary anti-consolidation arguments were aired. In an interview with a reporter from a San Mateo County newspaper[1] an officer of the San Francisco Real Estate Board, while attempting to foster consolidation, actually gave the opponents of the movement considerable assistance when he said:

> In all fairness, we must recognize the fact that San Francisco has a problem of expansion—it must have more land. We of San Francisco own the future water supply of San Mateo County. I don't think the citizens of San Francisco will continue to let San Mateo use the San Francisco airport, water supply, the railroad, without some return. . . . Once we take San Mateo County over, the growth will be terrific. El Camino Real will make Wilshire Boulevard look like an alley.

This statement can hardly be regarded as an inducement to the citizens of San Mateo County to consolidate. Realizing that further action on the part of San Francisco was virtually useless at this time, the mayor did not appoint the committee requested in the supervisors' resolution.

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[1] San Mateo *Times*, August 6, 1947.

The sequel to this short-lived effort was initiated by the mayor-elect of San Francisco in November 1947 when he proposed the consolidation of Alameda, San Mateo and Marin Counties with San Francisco to form a "Greater San Francisco." Official reactions to the proposition were overwhelmingly negative in the Bay area outside of San Francisco.

A South San Francisco supervisor wanted to know, "Why do all these overtures for consolidation come from San Francisco? Why don't they wait until San Mateo wants it and asks for it?" The chairman of the Marin County Board of Supervisors, while expressing a desire to cooperate, pointed out that a similar consolidation plan had been discussed without success by nine cities in Marin County. The response of the mayor of Oakland was, "We are working toward a greater Metropolitan Oakland. Oakland will always remain a separate and distinct entity."

Reasons for Failure

Realization of this latest proposal would be dependent upon changing legal requirements in the state constitution, in state laws elaborating upon constitutional provisions and in the San Francisco charter.

Why have the backers of consolidation in nearly a quarter of a century of effort been so consistently unsuccessful in achieving their goal? It is evident that there is no simple explanation. Consolidation has failed for a complex series of reasons. Some of the more significant factors are:

(1) In many instances San Francisco rather than San Mateo County groups instigated attempts at consolidation. Peninsula communities have looked with suspicion on such proposals.

(2) Consolidation proposals initiated in San Mateo County usually came from real estate or other groups which stood to profit if consolidation were achieved.

(3) A majority of the newspapers published in San Mateo County usually opposed political consolidation with San Francisco.

(4) Well intentioned support by San Francisco City and County officials and members of San Francisco civic organizations often damaged the cause of consolidation. At other times, when support from these individuals was vital, they were only lukewarm toward the proposition.

(5) The complicated legal process upon which attainment of consolidation depended served in itself to dampen the enthusiasm and lessen the effectiveness of those working for unification.

(6) Officials of the numerous governmental jurisdictions in San Mateo County opposed, almost without exception, the many attempts to achieve consolidation.

(7) Relations between San Francisco and San Mateo Counties were seldom sufficiently amicable to further the cause of consolidation. This was especially true with regard to the peninsula's water supply and transportation problems.

(8) Many cities in San Mateo County were dissatisfied with representation accorded them on the various consolidation committees.

(9) The county charter move-

ment which materialized in San Mateo County in 1932 effectively counteracted gains previously made by consolidation forces.

(10) Depression-borne economic conditions aided in discouraging consolidation when it had its best opportunity for passage in 1932.

The chances for a successful San Francisco-San Mateo consolidation movement are little better now than they were when the initial proposal was introduced a quarter century ago. The old backers have largely concluded that consolidation is unlikely in their time.

New Approach Needed

An entirely different approach in working out solutions to mutual problems of the city-county of San Francisco and the county of San Mateo seems to be needed. Among governmental devices tried in the San Francisco Bay nine-county region the large special district has proven most successful in lessening or eliminating regional problems.[2] The East Bay Municipal Utility District, for example, supplies water to nine cities, six county water districts and ten unincorporated areas.

Since the consolidation plan has little chance of being adopted in the foreseeable future, the large special district is more feasible if its two customary weaknesses — increasing the excessive number of existing elected officials and contributing to the overabundance of tax pyramiding—can be rectified.

This device can be used in the San Francisco-San Mateo area and in other metropolitan centers, and these two defects can be avoided.

The key to the solution is the passage of general state enabling legislation permitting creation of large intercounty special or administrative districts. One such district could be established to include San Francisco and all or a substantial portion of San Mateo County.

The governing board should be composed of city councilmen or mayors and county supervisors of local units included within the territorial limits of the district.[3] This board, composed of members of local legislatures operating within the district boundaries, will not increase the number of elected officials. Neither is it likely that it will become involved in the high degree of friction frequently existing among elected councils and boards.

Tax pyramiding in the same governmental area, the other frequent inadequacy of special districts, will also be avoided. It seems logical that the district directors, who are simultaneously helping to direct other governmental units in the area, will give considerable attention to adequate financial planning. If the district possesses tax levying power, the directors will consider the overall tax revenue needs of the cities, counties and the administrative district. It seems probable that if the district budget must be approved by individual governing boards, such as city councils and county boards, which have director representatives, careful consideration will be given to intelligent fiscal management.[4]

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[2] Another means of attack is being tried by the Bay Area Council, which is the latest privately sponsored effort aimed at fostering regional unity among the nine Bay counties.

[3] The California legislature has passed special district legislation providing for governing boards of somewhat similar composition. One example is the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California which is directed by the mayors or councilmen of thirteen participating cities. England and Canada have comparable districts.

The administrative district must be given powers commensurate to the wide scope and serious nature of the problems with which it will be faced. Powers granted under the California Municipal Utility District Act of 1921 relating to matters such as transportation, water, light, power, sewage, refuse and garbage disposal seem appropriate for this type of district. The most aggravated problem is transportation and transit. An additional field in which it might participate is highway planning.

This suggestion is politically feasible since there are many special district acts in operation in California and since there is little or no public antagonism toward the concept "special district" as against "consolidated government." If comparable administrative districts are concurrently organized in other parts of the Bay metropolitan region, it is not inconceivable that they will eventually merge so that certain major regional problems can be dealt with most efficiently. The much discussed consolidation plan will then be arrived at by an indirect means.

EXPERTS FOR THE LAWMAKERS

(Continued from page 302)

This policy has proved advantageous because the men are in a better position to view problems broadly and are also in a position to carry a particular project through from preliminary outline to final drafted bills ready for introduction. This way the researcher does not have to depend upon the lawyer to put his ideas into bill form and the lawyer does not have to accept the researcher's conclusions blindly. They complement, supplement and educate each other.

As a rule, the generalist does a better job than the specialist of convincing legislators without irritating them. Domineering staff members will wreck any legislative research agency; researchers must assist and not direct.

The experience in Missouri indicates that a good staff of researchers working continuously with legislators from day to day can make a greater contribution in the long run to better government than a highly specialized staff charged with preparing a program of legislation to be handed to the General Assembly.

Undoubtedly Missouri's Legislative Research Committee has made and is now making a significant contribution to improved government in the state and will continue to do so as long as it reveres the principles laid down by its founders.

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[4] Important factors such as basis of representation will have to be worked out carefully.

Editor's Note.—This article is a summary of a section appearing in *The Problem of Government in the San Francisco Bay Region,* a forthcoming publication of the Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, Berkeley.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Transportation, Traffic Bedevil Municipalities

More Cities Feel Need of Adequate Planning

RESULTS of a recent Gallup poll in cities from coast to coast indicate that in all but the largest cities the worst problems, according to the people interviewed, were those connected with traffic and transportation—traffic jams and parking troubles, time wasting, outmoded transportation. In the cities of over 500,000 population these problems were topped only by poor housing and slum conditions.

At the three-day National Citizens' Conference on Planning in Newark, New Jersey, May 18-20, under the auspices of the American Planning and Civic Association, the urgent need for planning to solve urban traffic and transportation problems received primary attention. Loss of hundreds of millions of real estate values in urban centers by congestion and decentralization was stressed by Robert A. Mitchell, chief of the Philadelphia Bureau of Traffic Engineering. Besides development of off-street parking and loading, maximum use of existing streets for movement of traffic and essential parking, and increased attraction on the part of public transportation facilities, he urged more use of master city plans to enlarge the city's capacity for transportation.

A comprehensive study recently reported by the Urban Transportation Committee of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States emphasizes that increasing congestion of street traffic and local transportation threatens community development and urges urban planning to make provision for all forms of passenger and freight transportation, adoption of specific measures for traffic improvement and establishment of centralized traffic administration in cities.

The relation of a properly balanced street system to efficient urban transportation is stressed, with the need of careful planning of neighborhood and secondary streets and major thoroughfares, including limited-access expressways where traffic warrants.

Regulation of curb parking so as to keep traffic moving, and stimulation of off-street parking and truck-loading facilities are among the recommendations. Another is the encouragement of local transit agencies in the task of mass transportation; if adequately done this tends to relieve congestion caused by parked or moving private vehicles.

Cities Act

Such agencies, public and private, are taking steps to increase and modernize their facilities. Chicago's new transit authority is expanding the metropolitan rapid-transit streetcar and bus services in the first phase of a ten-year $150,000,000 improvement program.

San Francisco, also with all local transit now under public auspices, has undergone a transportation survey resulting in recommendations for 36 new transit lines and purchase of 50 new street cars, 416 trolley coaches and 190 buses over a period of years.

In Baltimore a revamping and modernization of transit is in progress, including extensive reroutings, new lines and conversions from street cars to trolley coaches and buses. A somewhat similar program is under way in Birmingham, Alabama.

The Philadelphia Transportation Company is making major transit changes, including conversions to trolley coaches and buses and adding to transit lines. It is cooperating with the City Planning Commission, which is preparing comprehensive plans of highways, land use and population distribution, with which plans for transit will be correlated.

As reported to the American Transit Association at its last convention by Leslie Williams, traffic engineer and city planner, federal, state, county and city authorities are working closely with the Pittsburgh Regional Planning Association in developing a comprehensive system of transportation for the Pittsburgh region.

Recently Allegheny County has created a Transit and Traffic Commission to help provide adequate highways for the Pittsburgh metropolitan area, eliminate grade crossings and traffic bottlenecks, and persuade its municipalities to adopt uniform methods of traffic control. It will not undertake new construction.

Pittsburgh itself has set up a Public Parking Authority to remedy congestion, particularly in the Golden Triangle where the rivers meet. A $36,000,000 program is contemplated over a period of years.

Portland, Oregon, has a Transportation Planning Commission, including representatives of the City Planning Commission and the Traffic Safety Commission and headed by the commissioner of public utilities.

Courses for Traffic Policemen and Judges

The New York University School of Law, with the cooperation of the Traffic Division of the International Association of Chiefs of Police, will conduct the eastern traffic police training course June 14-26, on its Washington Square Campus in New York City.

This basic 75-hour course in traffic control and accident prevention is open to all city, county and state police and highway patrol officers on active duty. Most of the officers expected to attend will be from the eastern area.

Instructors will be representatives of the IACP Traffic Division, the Northwestern University Traffic Institute and other leading safety organizations and traffic and police officials.

The course will deal primarily with police phases of traffic control, but will also acquaint officers with other elements of control and their relation to police activity.

From June 21 to 26 there will also be a conference for traffic court judges and prosecutors under the auspices of the New York University School of Law in cooperation with the American Bar Association and the Northwestern University Traffic Institute.

Judges and prosecutors from all sections of the east are expected to attend. A similar conference was held at New York University last year; others have since been held at Northwestern University, the University of California and Tulane University.

The conference is intended to give judges and prosecutors an opportunity to become more familiar with the proper handling of traffic cases, and broader and more intimate knowledge of traffic law enforcement principles and methods through exchange of information and ideas, organized discussion, lectures and demonstrations.

The tenth National Institute for Traffic Training will be held July 5-23 at Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, by the National Committee for Traffic Training, composed of leading organizations in the traffic safety field.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

The borough of **Bloomsburg, Pennsylvania,** (population 9,799) has become the 39th council-manager municipality in that state.

Two more California cities have adopted the council-manager plan, **Woodland** (population 6,637) and **Newport Beach** (4,438).

Mount Pleasant, Texas, (4,528) has adopted the council-manager plan.

On December 6, 1947, **Beaumont, Texas,** adopted a new charter which continues the council-manager plan adopted in 1919.

St. Laurent, Quebec, Canada, has also adopted the manager plan.

The **York (Maine)** Town Manager Association is working for adoption of the manager plan.

A Plan E Committee has been formed in **Beverly, Massachusetts,** to help obtain the manager plan and proportional representation for that city.[1]

Selectmen of the town of **Southbridge, Massachusetts,** have appointed a committee to study Plan E and to survey the town's finances and their administration.

Application of Plan E as now in effect in Saugus, Massachusetts, to the town of **Danvers** was discussed at a Lions Club meeting by Joseph Ambrose, secretary of a committee appointed to make a survey of the town government.

A movement for the manager plan is under way in the town of **Wilmington, Massachusetts.**

The bill to provide a council-manager charter for the town of **Jamestown, Rhode Island,** which passed the state senate unanimously on April 21, has been killed in the lower house. The manager plan had been approved by vote of the town meeting and had the unanimous endorsement of the town council. Three other council-manager bills have died in the Rhode Island legislature this year, including one for **Newport,** where the voters had approved the manager plan three to one.

The manager plan for **New Britain, Connecticut,** proposed by Alderman F. E. Zapatka, is backed by the Property Owners Association. Another supporter, William D. Boyle, urges that if the city council does not favor the plan the legislature be asked to put it to a referendum vote.

The Charter Revision Committee of **Meriden, Connecticut,** heard the manager plan explained by Mayor Cyril Coleman of Hartford, a native of Meriden.

Pursuant to the filing of petitions the circuit court has ordered a vote on the manager plan in **Pulaski, Virginia,** on June 8.

The town council of **North Miami, Florida,** has appointed a committee to draft a council-manager charter.

A campaign for the manager plan has again been instituted in **Steubenville, Ohio.**

The City Manager Charter Association of **East Liverpool, Ohio,** has endorsed a slate of fifteen candidates for a charter commission to be voted on August 3. All are pledged to the council-manager plan.

Efforts are under way in **Sheffield, Alabama,** for replacement of its commission government by the council-manager plan. Petitions calling for an election have been prepared.

The newly organized Citizens Committee for Charter Revision of **Ann Arbor, Michigan,** is working to secure a vote on the council-manager plan next April.

The charter commission of **Benson, Minnesota,** has submitted a home rule council-manager charter to the city council. The charter commission in **Crookston** has done likewise, after three years of work.

The Civic Affairs Committee of the

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[1] See also page 328 this issue.

Muscatine, Iowa, Chamber of Commerce is working for approval of the manager plan.

In **Marceline, Missouri,** a council-manager proposal was defeated 785 to 261 on April 6.

City managers in **Kansas** held their first manager school at Kansas University April 22-24. Fourteen Kansas managers attended, also four from Missouri and one from Colorado. Program items included a management "clinic," in-service training, and human problems of administration.

Delta, Colorado, recently defeated a proposal for adoption of the manager plan, as did **Perry** and **Wewoka, Oklahoma.**

A council-manager amendment for the **Miami, Oklahoma,** charter, drafted by direction of the city council and members of the board of public utilities, has been made public for suggestions before filing with the city clerk. A vote is expected to be taken in August or September. The amendment provides that a manager shall be appointed by the city council of five members (four from wards and one at large) and the four-member board of public utilities, a total of seven votes being necessary for appointment.

Twenty-one **Oklahoma** managers met at Oklahoma City, April 23-24.

An election on a council-manager charter will be held in **Greenville, Texas,** on June 15. The city attorney has challenged the legality of the charter and the commission that drafted it.

A council-manager charter for **San Antonio, Texas,** has been drafted for submission to the Council-Manager Association of that city for discussion by that group and the public. A council of eleven with three members at large and two from each of four districts is proposed; all, however, would be voted upon by the entire city.

A new attendance record, 42, was set for the annual meeting of **Texas** managers at Temple on April 25-27.

An active movement for the manager plan is under way in **Sheridan, Wyoming.**

Plans for an election in **Oceanside, California,** on the question of adopting the council-manager plan have been abandoned. According to the city clerk, "Because this matter had become a partisan issue, so much so that the outcome would not have represented the opinion of a majority of the voters, this proposition was eliminated from the ballot before call for the election was published. The city of Oceanside will, at least for the time, continue to operate under a limited form of city manager government as provided for by an ordinance creating the office of city administrator, in operation since July 1, 1947."

In **San Bernardino, California,** a charter revision committee recently appointed by Mayor James E. Cunningham is investigating the feasibility of the manager plan as well as other aspects of possible charter revision.

The newly elected mayor of **San Bruno, California,** Edward McGuire, has announced that he will work with two of the councilmen for adoption of the manager plan.

In addressing the **Medford, Oregon,** League of Women Voters, Councilman Dwight Houghton stated that all members of the city council desire a city manager. He commented that if Medford accepts the manager plan it should be prepared to pay well for a capable man, as in the case of a business corporation.

Cambridge Council Averts State Action on Mayor

Long-continued deadlock in the Cambridge, Massachusetts, city council over the selection of one of its members as mayor was broken on April 23, at the

35th recessed session of the council's "first meeting." A total of 1321 ballots were taken. No candidate had previously been able to secure a majority, as required by Cambridge's "Plan E" charter.

The state legislature appeared to be on the verge of entering the situation by passage of legislation amending Plan E so as to make the city clerk the acting mayor until a mayor is chosen by the council. This was not regarded as an ideal solution, and might have involved legal difficulties.

The Cambridge deadlock attracted widespread publicity, including some adverse to Plan E. However, the all-important features of Plan E—city manager appointed by a council elected under the system of proportional representation—were not responsible for the difficulty, and the city's government continued to function practically as usual under the city manager. The deadlock points up the desirability of different or alternative methods of selecting a mayor where this is to be done by a city council or commission out of its own membership.

New York Court Upholds City Manager Against Mayor

The Court of Appeals of the State of New York has in effect sustained the city manager as the chief executive, rather than the mayor, in cities operating under the council-manager plan. Appointments of two members of the Yonkers Municipal Housing Authority by one-time City Manager M. L. Rosenwasser, in December 1945, were not recognized by the authority, which claimed that appointments should be by the mayor. This view was upheld in the Supreme (lower) Court but was reversed by the Appellate Division, which was in turn unanimously upheld by the Court of Appeals, on April 22, without opinions. The term of one of the two appointees has expired; the other, William A. Schlobohm, is now approved as a member of the authority.

Alternative Charters Drafted for New Haven

The Taxpayers Research Council, Inc., of New Haven, Connecticut, has prepared drafts of strong-mayor and council-manager charters, for discussion and comparison with the present weak-mayor type in New Haven, where at present there are 57 elective officials. The strong-mayor draft resembles a charter prepared by a committee but rejected by the Board of Aldermen a year ago. It differs from the previous document in retaining the controversial Board of Finance with which the mayor would consult before preparing the budget. The city council would consist of eight members elected at large and seven from districts, with alternating four-year terms.

Cities Benefit from Aerial Mapping

Improvements in aerial map-making developed during the war are proving advantageous to cities where aerial photography is being used extensively, especially for planning superhighways and land use studies.

In Cleveland stereopticon cameras, taking pictures from an altitude of 3,500 feet, reduce ground surveying to a minimum and produce maps of marvelous detail. A saving of $2,000,000 is claimed.

The Chicago department of superhighways is using aerial maps in developing the new Congress Street expressway, an eight-mile eight-lane thoroughfare across the city; a great deal of expensive preliminary ground work is thus avoided.

Aerial mapping has been used recently in Atlanta, Fort Wayne and many other cities undertaking superhighway projects. Use of stereopticon cameras and advanced techniques permit determination of building heights and terrain contours with amazing accuracy.

The San Diego city planning department is using aerial pictures in developing new park and recreation property created by deposits of dredged material in Mission Bay. Many other planning agencies are using aerial photography, according to the American Public Works Association.

Muncie, Indiana, is completing revision of its zoning regulations after mapping the city by air to determine land use. Pennsylvania and various other states have prepared air maps for community use.

Air maps prepared before and after highways or other public works have been completed have been used by state and city governments in damage suits by property owners.

One-House Representative Body Urged in Ohio

A constitutional amendment to create a unicameral legislature, recently presented to the Ohio Association of Cities by Mayor Albert D. Cash of Cincinnati, was unanimously approved by the legislative committee of the association on May 13. Its purposes include more truly representative government as well as a more efficient legislative body. Mayor Cash stated:

"The cities of Ohio today are up against some very serious problems—housing, slum clearance, expressway development, financial stringency and other major matters. On every big problem the cities are stymied by inadequate or even hostile state legislation. The cities have not had fair, sympathetic consideration in the General Assembly. The goose that lays the golden egg is being strangled. The main reason is that cities have not been adequately represented. For example, Hamilton County has the same population as 30 rural counties. But in the present Ohio House of Representatives Hamilton County has nine spokesmen and the 30 rural counties have 30. . . . The cities do not want to control the legislature. They only want fair treatment, a genuine effort at Columbus to understand and meet their needs, and a chance to solve their own problems without hostile, irritating limitations in state law."

Constitutional Revision Studied in North Carolina

The legislature of North Carolina has established a commission to make a study of the needs for constitutional revision in that state. It consists of five members from each of the two houses, five from the courts, five appointed by the governor and, *ex officio*, the attorney-general. The commission is strictly an advisory agency. A popular vote on the question of a constitutional convention is not expected before 1950.

New York Limits Disability Preferences for Veterans

The Court of Appeals, highest New York State court, decided four to three on April 22 that under the 1945 veterans' preference amendment to the state constitution the special preferences for disabled veterans apply only where there is a Veterans Administration disability rating of 10 per cent or more. The majority opinion said that "the people took the preference disability out of the field of inquiry by making it only one to the extent of which the Veterans Administration had the power to certify, and that was one of 10 per cent or more."

Lower or so-called "zero per cent" disabilities are thus barred from giving disability preference.

The decision resulted from a suit by three New York City non-veteran firemen who became eligible for promotion

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to lieutenant by passing a competitive examination, but some 200 other candidates received disabled veterans' preference despite lower ranking.

The New York State Civil Service Commission had not observed the distinction as to 10 per cent rating. The decision was expected to affect some permanent appointments as well as applicants for positions or promotions.

Nine-State Compact to Purify Ohio River

Ratification of the Ohio River Compact by Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Virginia and West Virginia represents a long step toward better conditions as to drinking-water, fishing, swimming, boating and river transportation.

The states subscribing to the compact are pledged to the enactment of necessary legislation for abatement and control to make the waters of the Ohio River and its tributaries safe and sanitary. Administration will be in a commission of three persons from each state and three representing the federal government. Plans are being made through the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce for convening the first meeting of the new commission in Cincinnati during the coming summer, according to the Citizens Development Committee for the Cincinnati Area.

Discharge of millions of gallons of sewage and industrial wastes daily into the Ohio River and its tributaries has long been a serious menace to public health. Pollution of the river has been greatly increased in recent decades by growth of cities and installation of industrial plants. The compact commission will undertake to reverse the trend.

New Jersey Court Sustains Interstate Sanitation Commission

Operation of interstate compacts for pollution control and other important public purposes is notably strengthened by a recent New Jersey court decision.

Created by compact between the states of New York and New Jersey to control and abate pollution of New York Harbor and adjacent waters, the Interstate Sanitation Commission had ordered various municipalities to take steps to abate pollution. The New Jersey communities of Weehauken, Union City and West New York had been ordered to provide sewage treatment in connection with a joint outlet sewer and to contract for treatment works by September 1, 1946. When they failed to comply, the commission applied to the Chancery Court of New Jersey for an injunction against discharge of sewage and for sewage treatment by a fixed date. On April 13, 1948, Vice-Chancellor Fielder concluded that the injunction should issue.

The municipalities attacked the commission and the law under which it functions on constitutional and other legal grounds, but were unsuccessful.

Corrections.—A statement on page 266 of the May REVIEW, that Michigan's one-man grand jury had been held unconstitutional, is incorrect. The Supreme Court did not outlaw the one-man grand jury but decided against the practice of the jury in sentencing recalcitrant witnesses for contempt of court in secret hearings. Before a witness can be sentenced for contempt of court it will now be necessary to have open hearings on the charge.

On page 260 in the same issue the REVIEW was in error in stating that "Kentucky still follows its 1893 apportionment." A legislative reapportionment was made in 1942.

Human Concerns of Local Government

Race Relations Topic of Philadelphia Reports

THE **Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia,** Robert K. Sawyer, director, has issued two comprehensive reports on Negro-white relations in Philadelphia, both the work of G. Gordon Brown, a staff member.

Law Administration and Negro-White Relations in Philadelphia is a 183-page book covering Negro population, distribution and housing, employment and social status, and crime and delinquency. The Philadelphia police force is described and Negro-police and Negro-legal process aspects are discussed. Three basic recommendations are made: that a course of training in race relations be given to police officers, that a systematic means of estimating changes in race attitudes throughout the city be adopted by law enforcement agencies, and that a permanent civic public relations committee be established.

Recreational Facilities and Negro-White Relations in Philadelphia, a 53-page mimeographed pamphlet, covers the Negro need for recreational facilities, public recreation facilities in the Negro areas of the city and problems of race relations in the administration of recreation. Its three main recommendations are: that recreational facilities be increased as soon as possible, that all recreation administrators recognize that not only supervision but also community leadership is necessary, and that a further study be made into Negro recreational life. Appendices present proposed recreation standards for the city and techniques of research used.

Economic Development and Social Welfare

Some Factors in the Indian Problem in New Mexico is a 48-page study published by the **Division of Research of the Department of Government of the University of New Mexico.** "Liberate the Indians, yes," concludes Dr. Florence Hawley, the author, assistant professor of anthropology at the university, "but group by group" and not without adequate preparation for the assumption of the "rights, privileges, duties and competitive position expected of other United States citizens." Written from the anthropological point of view, the study is concerned mainly with the Pueblo Indians.

The **Baltimore** welfare study is the subject of an article in the GRA's *Notes and References* by D. Benton Biser, director of the **Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy** of that city, which made the study and issued the report.[1]

Mr. Biser discusses the plan of the study and its general findings and recommendations. He advocates greater citizen attention not only to the welfare situation in Baltimore but also to the larger aspects of the entire welfare system on a national scale.

Subsidization of Industry in Forty Selected Cities in Wisconsin, 1930-1946 (206 pages) is a report by W. D. Knight, published by the **University of Wisconsin Bureau of Business Research and Science.** It deals with subsidization of industry in cities which have lost lumber or other employment. Subsidization in communities lacking balanced industrial development is also considered. The author concludes that, in general, the communities studied "would not have obtained an equivalent amount of employment and payroll without the use of subsidization."

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[1] See the REVIEW, February 1948, page 101, and March 1948, page 159.

Utah's unemployment compensation program is compared with those of other mountain states in a *Research Report* from the **Utah Foundation**, Henry R. Pearson, director.

The San Francisco Bay Area: Its People, Prospects and Problems has been prepared by Industrial Survey Associates, Stuart P. Walsh, director, for the **San Francisco Bay Area Council.** The 48-page report, with charts and supplement, considers population changes in the area, the working pattern, potential growth of economy and transportation problems.

The **Citizens Budget Commission of New York,** Henry J. Amy, executive director, has examined the proposals of the World Trade Corporation and the Port of New York Authority to assume the rehabilitation and development of the waterfront facilities of the city. Comparing the proposals of each body, side by side, the commission concludes that "neither proposal is acceptable in its present form, but that the authority and its offer furnish the better base for an early and desirable development of the waterfront resources of the city."

Industrial Regulation Taxes and Licenses, one of the five reports which are to comprise a survey of *Industrial Resources of Tennessee*, has been issued by the **Tennessee State Planning Commission,** Hayden B. Johnson, executive director.

A master financial plan for the physical development of the city is advocated in a bulletin from the **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research,** Alfred F. Smith, director.

Organization and Areas of Public Administration

The new city manager of Golden, Colorado, has been provided with a 170-page study of the city undertaken in preparation for their theses by the graduate fellows of the **University of Denver's Department of Government Management,** Henry K. Stanford, director. *An Administrative Study of the City of Golden, Jefferson County, Colorado*, was prepared at the request of the council and civic groups and is "directed primarily to Golden's city manager in order that he may have at his fingertips the background information necessary for the efficient administration of the city."

The **Cleveland Citizens League,** Guy C. Larcom, Jr., director, in its *Greater Cleveland* advocates reorganization of Cuyahoga County government by the drafting of a county charter to centralize many governmental functions in the metropolitan area.

The **Toronto Bureau of Municipal Research,** Eric Hardy, director, has issued a newsletter advocating a unified administration for the thirteen governmental units making up Greater Toronto rather than the alternate plan to adopt the borough system.

The proposed department of administration in Michigan's state government is advocated and diagrammed in *Bureau Notes* of the **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research,** Loren B. Miller, director. A contrasting chart of the present organization of state management is also presented.

Organization and Function of State and Local Government in Arkansas is a study by Henry M. Alexander of the department of history and political science of the **University of Arkansas.** The 201-page survey is published by the university's **Bureau of Research**, C. O. Brannen, director.

School Districts

The **Dauphin County Branch of the Pennsylvania Economy League,** John L. Herber, executive secretary, at the request of the county superintendent of schools, has prepared a study of the nine contiguous school districts in the county entitled *Toward Better Schools Through Cooperation.* Concluding with a number of recommendations designed to consolidate the resources of the districts, the report covers population trends, school enrollment, school plant facilities and a fiscal analysis. Sixteen tables and charts support the text.

In a *Newsletter* the **Pennsylvania Economy League's Western Division,** Leslie J. Reese, director, summarizes its report on vocational training in the high schools of six school districts in Allegheny County. The study was undertaken because, though the area is highly industrialized, there are now no trade or industrial curriculum or trade extension courses offered in the public schools. The league recommends that the six districts be consolidated and that such courses be instituted.

The **Wyoming Taxpayers' Association,** Percy F. Jowett, executive director, presents a report advocating the reorganization of the present twelve school districts in Platte County into one.

The People Speak: Elections, Representation and Control

The **Pennsylvania State College Institute of Local Government** has published *Registration in Pennsylvania Elections, 1926-1946* (68 pages). Prepared by H. F. Alderfer, executive secretary of the institute, and Fannette H. Luhrs, research assistant, the report discusses registration laws, the number of registered voters during the period, registration by counties and the deviation between party registration and voting. There are tables, graphs and a map.

Elections in Rural New York (38 pages mimeographed) gives legal provisions and statistical facts on various aspects of the subject. Prepared by C. A. Bratton and E. A. Lutz, it is published by the **Department of Agricultural Economics of the Agricultural College of Cornell University.**

"Apportionment in State Legislatures: Its Practice in Florida" is a recent issue of *Economic Leaflets*, Roland B. Eutsler, editor, published by the **University of Florida's Bureau of Economics and Business Research.** In this article, J. E. Dovell, assistant professor of history and political science, examines the principles and practice of apportionment in general and in Florida in particular.

Christian L. Larsen and Conrad Cowan of the **University of South Carolina Bureau of Public Administration** are authors of *South Carolina State Constitution Amendment Procedures.* They conclude that "the possibility of constitutional change in South Carolina largely is controlled by the General Assembly" and recommend several ways in which the participation of the people might be increased. The appendix consists of the constitutional provisions for amending each of the 48 state constitutions.

Traffic, Transportation and Public Works Problems

The installation of parking meters in eleven Montana cities has solved traffic problems and increased municipal revenues, according to *Taxpayer* of the **Montana Taxpayers' Association,** R. A. Neill, executive secretary. A table gives financial statistics about the meters in each city.

Parking meters in Kansas and Colorado cities are discussed in an article

ERIODICAL DEPT.

in the *Kansas Government Journal* of the **League of Kansas Municipalities,** John G. Stutz, executive director, and a sixteen-page reprint from *Colorado Municipalities* **(Colorado Municipal League)** entitled "Parking Problems in Colorado."

Future Springfield, Inc. (Massachusetts), Sherman P. Voorhees, executive director, has issued its *Consolidated Traffic Report* comprising a traffic survey and the results of a public opinion poll on the traffic problem.

Buffalo's progress in traffic safety is outlined in *Just a Moment,* bulletin of the **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau,** George G. Sipprell, managing director.

Airport Approach Zoning in Colorado (36 pages) has been published by the **Colorado Municipal League,** Allen E. Pritchard, Jr., executive secretary.

E. S. Fabian, director of the Airport Development Laboratory of the **University of Tennessee,** describes the progress in developing Tennessee airports under the Federal Airport Act of 1946 in "State Aids in Local Airport Plans." The article appears in *Tennessee Government,* Eleanor Keeble, editor, of the University's **Bureau of Public Administration.**

Guy C. Larcom, Jr., director of the **Cleveland Bureau of Governmental Research,** and Raymond D. Metzner, president of the **Cuyahoga County Bar Association,** have prepared a report on the location of the county morgue for which funds have been appropriated. It discusses the functions of the county coroner, the equipment necessary for his work, several proposed locations for the building and other factors.

The **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research** summarizes in a recent pamphlet the 1947 progress on seven major projects—airports, public transit, highways and bridges, hospitals, water supply and distribution, sewers, sewage collection and treatment—in the City Planning Commission's 1948-53 program. Issues of *Citizens' Business,* on the other hand, discuss the present inaction on two proposed smoke-abatement measures and outline the benefits to be expected were a complete smoke-control program inaugurated.

Municipal Employees and How Much It Takes to Hire Them

According to the **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research,** many of the new salary rates proposed by the Civil Service Commission are higher than the highest salaries for similar work in either public or private employment. The bureau recommends adjusting the rates in question downward to avoid compelling private employers to raise salaries or lose their own employees. A table shows some of the classes in which civil service recommendations are high.

A liberalization of the **Los Angeles** vacation policy for city employees is discussed in *For the Record* of the city's **Government Research, Inc.,** Ed. F. Thompson, executive secretary.

Two information bulletins from the **Michigan Municipal League,** John H. Huss, director, present data in tabular form about municipal employees. One covers vacation and sick leave practices in 60 Michigan municipalities over 5,000 population and the other gives salary and wage figures for 44 Michigan cities of over 10,000 population.

A recent *Tax Bulletin* from the **Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico,** Rupert F. Asplund, director, includes a compilation of state payrolls summarized in six-month periods from June 30, 1941, through December 31, 1947, and presented in detail for the last half of 1947.

Governmental Research Association's

Notes and References contains an article by Bruce Smith of the Institute of Public Administration on "Better Policing for Less Money." Mr. Smith makes a number of recommendations concerning better personnel controls, police leadership, the structure and function of police departments, salaries and pensions, traffic regulation, criminal investigation, crime prevention and uniformed patrol.

Research Brevities (**Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research,** George L. Nichols, managing director) outlines the reasons for the high cost of the police department in Schenectady and makes a number of recommendations to reduce costs and improve protection.

The **University of Kansas Bureau of Government Research,** Ethan P. Allen, director, describes the office of county coroner in Kansas in *Your Government.*

Teachers' Salaries

Teachers' salaries in Hartford are discussed in *Taxpayers' Business* of the **Hartford Governmental Research Institute,** Leslie M. Gravlin, director.

The **Civic League of Winnebago County** (Rockford, Illinois), Arthur D. Logan, executive secretary, has issued a comparative tabular analysis of school teachers' salaries in Rockford and sixteen other cities.

The **New Jersey Taxpayers' Association,** A. R. Everson, executive vice president, has issued a digest of its proposal to change completely the administration of New Jersey's teachers' pension and annuity fund in order to save the state many millions of dollars each year.

According to the **Providence Governmental Research Bureau,** Robert E. Pickup, executive director, a proposed increase in Providence teachers' salaries is not necessary to compete with other Rhode Island communities for teachers. His conclusion is supported in a bulletin and supplements discussing a bill urged by the Providence School Committee which would raise the property tax limit from $25 to $28 per $1,000 and establish a separate maximum school tax of $15 per $1,000.

Information For and About Local Government

A "dictionary" of the sources and types of technical information and assistance which Tennessee state and local officials may obtain on request has been published by the **University of Tennessee** for the **Tennessee State Planning Commission** and the **University's Bureau of Public Administration,** Lee S. Greene, director. The 168-page volume is the first of a series to be issued in Alabama, Kentucky, Mississippi and North and South Carolina. Divided into 30 fields of interest —legal assistance, purchasing, public health, judicial administration, etc.— the directory lists under each the national and state agencies from which information may be obtained.

The **University of Pennsylvania's Institute of Local and State Government,** Stephen B. Sweeney, director, has released the outline of one of its series of short courses for public officials.[1] This course, on municipal public relations, covers employee-citizen contacts, publicity and press relations, municipal reports and other topics.

The preparation of city reports has received attention in bulletins from two bureaus.[2] Both discuss contents, "how to enliven the facts," layout, etc. They are: *A New Kind of City Report*, **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research,** and *If It's Worth*

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[1] See the REVIEW, March 1948, page 164.

[2] See the REVIEW, March 1948, page 160.

Doing . . ., **Rhode Island Public Expenditure Council,** Robert M. Goodrich, executive director.

The **Cleveland Citizens' League** advocates a number of changes in form and content of the annual budget designed to make it more clear and more timely.

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Bureau Notes

Future Springfield, Inc. (Massachusetts), Sherman P. Voorhees, executive director: report on 1947 activities and future plans.

Illinois Legislative Council, Jack F. Isakoff, director of research: annual report for 1947 (including list of current research studies).

Kansas Legislative Council, F. H. Guild, director of research: March 1948 progress report.

Oklahoma Legislative Council, L. D. Melton, director: *Journal* covering organization and preparation of a program.

A citizen-sponsored **Bureau of Governmental Research** has been established in **San Antonio, Texas,** as an activity of the Planning Board of San Antonio and Bexar County. Edward G. Conroy has been appointed director.

The **Lake County Civic League** (Waukegan, Illinois) was organized late last year, and Walton R. L. Taylor has been appointed executive secretary. The league, whose board of directors comprises men from each township, city and village in the county, is making surveys of local governments in Lake County, analyzing budgets and doing other fact-finding work.

The **University of Florida** has established a **Public Administration Clearing Service** in accordance with the program of the university to make its service more accessible and to provide data pertaining to problems of the state. Dr. Arthur J. Waterman, Jr., has been named director of research.

Members of the **Western Governmental Research Association** in Boise, Idaho, have organized a WGRA chapter there. James B. McCool is president and A. W. Empie is secretary-treasurer.

The first issue of the *Western Political Quarterly*, a new professional journal in the field of political science, came out in March. Published by the **University of Utah**, the journal is edited by Professor F. B. Schick.

The **University of Utah Bureau of Economic and Business Research** has published a special issue of its magazine entitled *Measures of Economic Changes in Utah, 1847-1947*. The **Utah Foundation** in Salt Lake City supplies the volume for $2.

The proceedings of its 1947 conference, in San Diego, *Workshop in Governmental Research,* have been published by the **Western Governmental Research Association**, John C. Bollens, executive secretary. The 32-page pamphlet summarizes discussion at the six panels[1] and reports of three talks, "What Government and Business Can Learn from Each Other," "The Relative Roles of University, Citizen and Government Research Agencies," and "The U. S. Department of Commerce as a Source of Material for Researchers." It can be secured for $1 from the association at 117 Library, University of California, Berkeley.

Strictly Personal

Dr. Elwyn A. Mauck, professor of government and politics at the University of Maryland, has just assumed his duties in connection with his appointment as director of the new State Fiscal Research Bureau of Maryland.

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[1] See the REVIEW, November 1947, page 584.

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Massachusetts State Civic Group Born

Local Plan E Organizations Form Statewide Association

MASSACHUSETTS citizen groups to support Plan E (council-manager government with proportional representation for election of council and school board) continue their activities for the movement. One significant development is completion of the organization of the **State Plan E Association.** The requisite number of local Plan E groups, including Beverly, Boston, Cambridge, Medford, Quincy, Revere, Somerville and Worcester, have now ratified proposed by-laws[1], and further ratifications are expected. Each group which approved the state association was entitled to send a representative to the April 30th organization meeting, which elected George A. McLaughlin, former president of the Cambridge Civic Association, as president.

Major purposes of the state association, as reported by Courtney R. Sheldon in the *Christian Science Monitor,* are: To unite all Plan E organizations; to provide a common agency to represent local Plan E organizations on a statewide basis; to serve as a central information bureau for exchange of ideas and experiences; to assist voters in communities not having a Plan E charter in securing its adoption; to inform voters on the advantages of the proportional representation method of electing public officials; and to encourage and support intelligent leadership and civic interest in public affairs.

Now that its program of political reconstruction is "firmly anchored in a thriving city managership," the **Cambridge Civic Association,** Donald Spencer, president, is starting a campaign for the securing of recreation, school and highway improvement projects. "The time has now come," said Mr. Spencer, "to take the next step in the reconstruction of the city." The city adopted Plan E in 1940.

Worcester boasts two Plan E groups, **The Citizens' Plan E Association,** Paul S. Krantz, president, and the **People's Plan E Charter Committee,** Timothy F. Daley, chairman. Now that Plan E has been adopted by the voters, both groups intend to support candidates for the first councilmanic election under the new charter in 1949.

Plan E for Boston has the support of 57 per cent of the city's voters, according to a recent poll of public opinion by the Boston *Globe.* A year ago a similar poll gave the plan 45 per cent support. Against the plan this year was 24 per cent of the voters; no opinion, 19 per cent. Forty-eight per cent of the Democrats queried were for Plan E, 79 per cent of the Republicans, and 61 per cent of the independents. Boston is unable to vote on Plan E though legislation to make this possible has been requested for a number of years. Francis X. Ahearn is chairman of the **Plan E For Boston Committee.**

Citizen Groups Support Candidates

In **University City, Missouri,** candidates supported by the **Charter Committee,** which campaigned for the city's council-manager charter adopted last year, won the city council election this spring. Proponents of the new form of government feel that the vote shows a definite increase in charter support. "Results of this election," said a Charter Committee statement, "combined with concrete savings already shown in more efficient operation of the city government under the charter, prove conclusively that the system is successful and approved by the voters." Harold C. Ackert is president of the organization.

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[1] See the REVIEW, April 1948, page 222.

McMinn County, Tennessee, will hold its first election under its county manager charter in August—the first council under the new charter was appointed by the legislature to serve until the next general election. According to *News Notes,* issued by the **McMinn County Good Government League,** E. R. Lingerfelt, executive vice president, seven of these appointed members (out of nine) have announced they will stand for election on a nonpartisan ticket. Says *News Notes,* "All were selected because of their ability and fitness for the office and because of their recognized nonpartisan attitude toward the problems of government. The splendid record they have made is a vindication of the wisdom of their selection and certainly merits the vote of confidence they ask in their announcement."

The **City Club of Chicago,** William H. Haight, president, "mustered a strong crew of poll watchers for the **Joint Civic Committee's** effort at the April primary," reports the club's *Bulletin.* Forty-one members formed the club's lineup in addition to those signing independently with the joint committee or serving in party campaigns.

Toledo's nonpartisan **Get-Out-the-Vote Committee,** which did an excellent job in 1946, became active again this spring previous to the May primaries. Purpose of the committee is to stimulate citizen interest in the election by means of newspaper publicity, radio spot announcements and stories, restaurant table tents and posters in industrial plants. The **Toledo Parent-Teacher Association** cooperated by issuing bulletin board posters for each classroom in the city's schools.

State, Local Organizations Seek Better Government

The **New Jersey Constitution Foundation,** Robert Cruise McManus, public relations secretary, is keeping the public informed on progress in implementing the state's recently adopted constitution. It points out in a recent release that many of the provisions of the document, the new court system, for instance, are not yet in operation. The same holds true of state administrative reorganization and reform of local government. "The old state and local governments that we had before the new constitution was written are still filling in the gap," says the release. "The new constitution's savings and efficiency won't really begin to show up for a good many months yet. . . . The citizens' job wasn't finished with that constitution vote last fall."

The **Civic Council of the Milwaukee City Club,** Howard L. Peck, chairman, has issued a "Civic Program for Milwaukee" which is "selective rather than inclusive and sets up general principles considered of prime importance." The points listed are: Functional consolidation in Milwaukee County, reorganization of the county and city government, development of the master plan, a comprehensive permanent improvement and financing program, lake front exclusively for lake front purposes, extending city limits, and a just share of legislative representation for Milwaukee city and county.

An informal group of political scientists in Washington, D. C., has been holding meetings to discuss governmental problems of the District of Columbia and the legislation now before Congress to give the city home rule. Elwyn A. Mauck is secretary.

Citizens of **North Providence, Rhode**

Island, have formed a **Committee to Study the Forms of Town Government,** Norman I. Turner, chairman. The group is investigating the council-manager plan.

Publications, Studies, Reports Issued by Civic Groups

Cambridge—A Great Place to Come Home to, issued by the **Cambridge Civic Association,** in connection with its recent councilmanic campaign, is one of the best pieces to come our way. The story of Cambridge's civic revival, its six years of progress under Plan E (council-manager plan with P. R.) is told via a conversation between a returning GI and the taxi driver bringing him from the station to his Cambridge home. "I never thought I'd see the day when a city would be run like a business," the soldier says finally as the cabbie points out repaved streets, veterans' housing units, playgrounds, a passing police cruiser, the modernized city hospital, commenting meanwhile on the steady reduction of the tax rate.

Ten Points to Progress, a folder of the **Augusta (Georgia) Citizens Union,** Dr. Reginald Maxwell, president, itemizes the organization's program: city-county consolidation, combined city-county building if the old courthouse is razed, study of the present hospital, full registration of voters, improvement of Augusta streets, reassessment of all real estate, clearance of slums, smoke abatement, incorporation of outlying districts without adequate services with Augusta or their incorporation into "districts" for making contracts with the city for municipal services and, last but not least, an informed citizenry.

Report of the Second National Conference on Citizenship, (104 pages, 50 cents) may be secured from its publishers, the National Education Association, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. The conference was held in Boston in May 1947 and was sponsored by the **Citizenship Committee** and the **Commission for the Defense of Democracy Through Education of the National Education Association,** with the advice and cooperation of the United States Department of Justice.

The **San Francisco Planning and Housing Association,** Donn Emmons, president, has published *Blight and Taxes,* a sixteen-page, slick-paper illustrated brochure contrasting two sections of the city—the Marina district with its pleasant surroundings and comfortable homes and the decayed Geary-Fillmore district with its poverty, disease and squalor. Statistics for the two communities on fire costs, arrests, juvenile delinquency and disease are compared.

The New Look in Pittsburgh, a six-page folder illustrated in blue and yellow, issued by the **United Smoke Council of the Allegheny Conference on Community Development,** Park H. Martin, executive director, reports that Pittsburgh received 39 per cent more sunshine this winter because of the city's efforts to combat "smog."

Two articles by Hartley W. Barclay, appearing in the *New York Times,* "Depression-Proofing a City—Pittsburgh Cited for Leadership," describing efforts of Pittsburgh to "rebuild and to try to make itself depression-proof," have been reprinted as a small pamphlet by the **Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce.**

The proceedings of the September 1947 **Conference on the Citizens Participation in Public Affairs,** held under the auspices of the American Bar Association, American Political Science Association and the School of Law of New York University, are now available (176 pages, New York University School of Law).

An article on the council-manager plan, containing a summary of its growth, a chart of its operation, and arguments for and against the plan, was published in *The Wisconsin Taxpayer* of the **Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance,** Paul N. Reynolds, executive director.

"A Challenge to Good Citizens," appearing in *Men and Events,* organ of the **Union League Club of Chicago,** Edward M. Martin, editor, is an interview by President Frank C. Rathje of the league with Erwin W. Roemer, president of the **Chicago Bar Association.** Discussed is the role of the judiciary and the changes in the method of selecting judges advocated by the bar association.

Houses for Family Living (52 pages, twenty cents each in quantities of fifteen or more), by Frederick Gutheim, illustrated by Dong Kingman, has been published by the **Woman's Foundation, Inc.,** 10 East 40th Street, New York City.

The **Minneapolis Taxpayers Association,** George Bestrom, executive vice president and manager, has issued its 1948 *Tax Calendar for Minneapolis and Minnesota* (twelve pages).

The **Rotary Club of Chicago** has published a report of its Youth Service Committee, compiled by James W. Gilman, *Chicago's Teen-Age Canteens* (23 pages, 50 cents).

Annual Reports

The *Annual Report* of the **Citizens Union of the City of New York** (six pages) sets forth the past year's accomplishments in capsule form. Objectives for 1948 are also listed. It has also issued a twelve-page leaflet aptly illustrating its service to the voters. The union, of which George H. Hallett, Jr., is secretary, regularly has a representative at state legislative sessions as well as at city council meetings.

The *Annual Report for 1947* of the **Hamilton County Good Government League,** Majory J. O'Hara, executive secretary (ten pages, mimeographed), starts off with a chart showing the league's organization and stating its purpose, "To discuss matters of civic importance and to advance good government." Listed are officials, meetings and activities of committees, topics of weekly radio broadcasts—"Cincinnati's Town Meeting of the Air," and activities of the Young Voters Group.

The *Annual Report of the President* of the **Central Atlanta Improvement Association,** Clark E. McDonald, executive vice president, reports as one of its 1947 activities "a drive toward the annexation of densely populated sections to the north of Atlanta and to assist in any way the state legislature in the preparation of its annexation bill." It succeeded in getting a bill through the legislature but was unsuccessful in securing a favorable popular vote on the measure. Other activities included a clean-up campaign and work on planning and parking.

Newspaper Editorial Bears Fruit

Organization of the **Dallas County Citizens' Association** on May 12 was a direct result of a provocative editorial appearing in the Garland, Texas, *News.* A statement of eight purposes, drafted by a committee headed by W. H. Bradfield, publisher of the *News,* was read and approved at the organization meeting, attended by representatives of all parts of the county. It was suggested also that a research unit of the new organization be formed to make thorough studies of courthouse practices.

Titled "A New Broom Needed," the editorial declared that: "The taxpaying citizen voter of Dallas County today faces a difficult problem. For years he has heard rumors and whisperings of the doings of the 'Courthouse Ring.' . . . Now the citizen must decide what to do about it. . . . The *News* believes the change can be effected by an organization that will serve the citizen as the Better Business Bureau serves the businessman. Such an organization—perhaps called the Good Government Association—could easily give the citizen the good government he wants, pays for and is entitled to. . . . The association should function continuously to see that the citizen's county business is run as efficiently as is the citizen's household or private business."

The Dallas *Morning News* reprinted the editorial, heartily endorsing its neighbor's suggestion. "It is high time that everyone interested in Dallas County's welfare—and that should be all of us—looks into the possibility of drafting capability to run the county's business. Publisher William H. Bradfield has something there."

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Community Improvement

A Workshop in Community Action, conducted by the **School of Education of New York University** in cooperation with the **New York State Citizens' Council,** will be held at Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, New York, July 7-23, 1948. Four sections include: Dynamics of Community Behavior, Experiments in Community Action, the School in Community Life and Techniques of Community Research. Baker Brownell of Northwestern University is director of the workshop staff; other staff members include Frederick T. Rope, Rhea M. Eckel and Ellen D. Mattinson, all of the New York State Citizens' Council; Edward C. Solomon of Sarah Lawrence College and Harvey W. Zorbaugh of New York University. All persons, lay and professional, are eligible to join the workshop.

A **Conference on the Community for the Northeast Region** is being arranged by the **Council for Democracy,** James E. Greer, executive director. Meeting at Princeton University June 25-27, the conference has as its purpose "to develop feasible methods of creating and maintaining citizens' councils for over-all community development."

A **Town Management Conference,** held May 28 in Boston, was sponsored by the **Community Development Committee of the New England Council,** Alan McClennen, secretary. Speakers included Professor Morris B. Lambie of Harvard University's Graduate School of Public Administration, and Bernal B. Allen, city manager of Auburn, Maine. The afternoon session was devoted to "a review of problems in citizen participation and organization for modern adminstrative procedure."

With civic, business and professional leaders in attendance, the **National Council for Community Improvement,** Carroll M. Shanks, president of the Prudential Insurance Company of America, president, held its first conference in Washington, D. C., May 24-26. Purposes of the conference, said Thomas H. Beck, chairman of the Board of the Crowell-Collier Publishing Company and presiding official for the conference, is "to give impetus to increasing interest in sound community development programs. We wish to help our communities become more self-reliant and put themselves in position to meet effectively any situation or emergency that may arise."

* * *

Progress Report

Public Personnel Notes, bulletin of the **Citizens' Civil Service Association of Illinois,** Harry W. Knight, president, devotes an issue to the "evolution of personnel administration in government since 1882"—the year the association was founded. The Chicago Civil Service Commission has received $52,000 more than it originally requested for its 1948 budget, reports the bulletin, so that salaries may be increased, its examination program strengthened, and position classification initiated. The association gives credit for this to the civil service commissioners, the city's budget director and other city officials who gave special attention to the problem, as well as to the **Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry**, the **League of Women Voters** and itself.

* * *

Advisory Council

"The advisory council of the **Fort Wayne (Indiana) Civic Association,"** reports that group's *News Letter*, Lee J. Ninde, editor, "will consist of a representative from each of the neighborhood groups and organizations which affiliate with the civic association. It will meet once a month and discuss both local and citywide problems." Each neighborhood group will choose an advisory committee of three, the chairman of which will be its official representative in the advisory council. "Through an advisory council," continues the *News Letter*, "the whole community can express well considered opinions on public projects for the enlightenment of public officials, can advise with each other on local problems, organize a speakers' bureau," etc.

The association, which has been devoting much thought to planning, zoning and kindred topics, listened to Major General U. S. Grant, III, president of the American Planning and Civic Association, as guest speaker at its seventh annual dinner early in May.

Daytona Beach 'Cleans Up'

A clean-up program sponsored by the **Chamber of Commerce,** Harry R. Hall, executive manager, is under way in **Daytona Beach, Florida.** A sprightly folder, well illustrated, discusses garbage and trash disposal, pest control and the appearance of vacant lots and the beach. As to homes, "paint outside to please our visitors, paint inside to please yourself." "Dress Up Daytona Beach—Do it Now," is the chamber's concluding admonition.

* * *

Strictly Personal

Members of the Cambridge Civic Association have presented a sterling silver box to their retiring president, **George A. McLaughlin,** pioneer worker for Plan E in Cambridge and recently elected as president of the Massachusetts Plan E Association. The box, presented by Mrs. George Howard Parker, a former CCA president, will be inscribed with the initials of some of the original participants in the Plan E movement. The association's new president is **Donald C. Spencer.**

Wayne E. Huson, first president of the Yonkers Municipal League, organized about a year ago, has been reelected to that office by the league's board of directors. **James H. Moseley** and **Frederick W. Maxwell** have been elected vice presidents; **Isidor Sack,** treasurer; and **Bertha W. Smith,** secretary.

At its seventeenth annual meeting, the New Jersey Taxpayers Association paid special honor to **A. R. Everson,** who has been the organization's executive vice president since its founding. Donald R. Stevens, past president of the association, presented a gold watch to Mr. Everson at a surprise ceremony and commended him on his service.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

P. R. for Presidential Electoral Votes Advances

Amendment Reported by Congressional Committees

A PROPOSED amendment to the United States constitution, to provide that electoral votes of each state be credited to presidential and vice-presidential candidates in proportion to the votes they actually receive in the popular election, is at last making progress in Congress. The proposal would abolish the Electoral College but would retain the present electoral vote strength of the states.

House Joint Resolution 9, which embodies this proposed amendment, was favorably reported without a dissenting vote by the House Committee on the Judiciary. Representative Ed Gossett of Wichita Falls, Texas, introduced the present measure. Authors of earlier measures along the same lines are Representative Clarence F. Lea of Santa Rosa, California, who introduced such a resolution nearly twenty years ago and was the author of H. J. Res. 124, identical with the present measure, at the last session, and Representatives Emanuel Celler of Brooklyn, New York, Estes Kefauver of Chattanooga, Tennessee, and Bertrand W. Gearhart of Fresno, California. Mr. Gearhart is a Republican, the others Democrats.

In the Senate a corresponding measure, introduced by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., of Massachusetts, has also been favorably reported, six to one, by the Committee on the Judiciary.

In his remarks on March 16, reported in the *Congressional Record,* Senator Lodge said that he was introducing Senate Joint Resolution 200 as a substitute for S. J. Res. 91, which proposed election of the president and vice president by direct popular vote. He said he still preferred the direct popular vote proposal but was substituting the proportional electoral vote resolution in order to permit united effort by the members of both houses of Congress who believe in the reform of the presidential election system.

The House committee report on H. J. Res. 9, the remarks of Representative Lea last June and July, and the remarks of Senator Lodge on March 16 are all eloquent in pointing out the unfairness and erratic operation of the present system and in outlining the improvements to be gained by the proposed system.

Representative Lea pointed out that although the several states are free to adopt any method of selecting presidential electors, the view has long prevailed that so long as some states provide for their entire electoral vote to be cast for the candidate having a statewide plurality, it is a matter of political self-defense for others to seek to enhance their weight by keeping a similar provision. The committee report on H. J. Res. 9 analyzes the result of this practice as follows:

> In effect, under the present system, minority votes are counted for the leading candidate within a state regardless of how they may have been cast. For example, in 1944 Governor Dewey received 2,997,586 popular votes in the State of New York, yet all of the votes in the State of New York were counted for Mr. Roosevelt. In other words, nearly 3,000,000 Republicans in the State of New York were compelled to vote for Mr. Roose-

velt. It is interesting to note that in this same campaign, while Governor Dewey received no electoral votes for the almost 3,000,000 popular votes cast for him in the State of New York, he did receive 62 electoral votes from 2,663,484 votes cast for him in ten other states.

Representative Lea's remarks give two reasons for thinking that the proportional electoral vote proposal might have a better chance of adoption than the proposal of election by direct popular vote.

One is the fact that the electoral vote of a state includes an allotment equal to its representation in the House of Representatives, which is in proportion to population, and an additional allotment of two corresponding to its two senators. This arrangement increases considerably the political weight of the sparsely settled states, although the effect over the whole nation is not so large as to be likely to elect a minority president as has happened three times under the present system.

The second factor is that direct popular vote would, by making all votes equal, decrease the relative strength of the states in which a smaller proportion of the population takes part in the voting. Representative Lea cited figures showing a great disparity in this factor, the major difference being the relatively low vote in the states having large disfranchised Negro populations.

Because the present proposal does not disturb these advantages possessed by a considerable number of states, it apparently has a better chance of being ratified by the legislatures or conventions of three-fourths of the states as required by the constitution for its amendment.

P. R. Election Gives Italy First One-party Majority

Italy's second postwar P. R. election has resulted in a realignment and concentration of parties, with Premier Alcide de Gasperi's Christian Democratic party obtaining a slight majority, 53.5 per cent, of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies with 48.7 per cent of the popular vote.[1] De Gasperi's government is now in a strong parliamentary position because the Communist-led Popular Front obtained but 31.7 per cent of the seats and all remaining groups are, like de Gasperi's party, strongly anti-Communist.

The Christian Democrats did not obtain as much proportional strength in the Senate, which is a partially appointive body, but with other anti-Communists it has enough strength in that body to have working control there too.

Comparison of the election with the previous election, held March 2, 1946,[2] shows a rise in the strength of the Christian Democratic party, which was already the largest in 1946 with 35.4 per cent of the popular vote and 37.2 per cent of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies.

The Socialist party, which obtained 20.7 per cent of the vote in 1946, was split in the period between the two elections as the result of dissatisfaction of a large faction of the party with Communist policy and with the pro-Communist attitude of some Socialist leaders. The anti-Communist "right wing" Socialists polled 7.1 per cent of the vote at the recent election, while the remainder voted with the Communists (who had 18.9 per cent of the vote in 1946) for a single list of candidates, Popular Front, which obtained 30.7 per cent of the vote.

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[1] Although the Italian list system of P. R. makes elaborate provision for giving each party its full share of the members, a few votes cast for unsuccessful independents and very small parties remain ineffective, there being no provision for transfer of votes across party lines to the voters' next choices as under the Hare system of P. R. used in English-speaking countries. This, together with minor inequalities in districting, explains the slight discrepancy between votes cast and seats won. The Christian Democratic party presumably had a clear majority of the votes cast for parties with enough votes to deserve any separate representation.

[2] See the REVIEW, July 1946, page 372.

Since the election another faction of the Socialists has become dissatisfied with the apportionment of places between Communists and Socialists on the combined list (an inherent difficulty of combined lists of which the Communists have taken great advantage in countries where they have been able to impose this device upon other groups by duress) and another split in the Socialist group seems to be in prospect.

Although the Communists and their allies lost more by their isolation and by consolidation of their rivals than they lost by decline in total vote, there was a remarkable decline in Communist and pro-Communist votes in the industrial northern part of the country, where the Communists formerly possessed their greatest strength. This was considerably offset by an increase in the vote for the Communist-led Popular Front in the poorer agricultural sections of southern Italy and Sicily.

The method of counting votes used in the Italian P. R. system, as described in recent press dispatches,[a] shows it to be a combination of familiar list system features with a few novelties of its own. The voter casts his ballot for one or another of lists of candidates entered by the various parties. A voter may express his preference for one or more candidates within the list he selects, but not for more than 10 per cent of the seats assigned to the constituency in which he votes.

There are 32 constituencies and, except for one single-seat district, each is initially assigned from seven to 36 deputies, according to its population. Parties which present lists of candidates in at least six constituencies may also present lists of not more than 31 candidates for nation-wide contest.

When the votes are counted, seats are allotted to the parties in each constituency on the basis of a quotient obtained by dividing the total number of votes cast in each constituency

ITALIAN NATIONAL ELECTION, 1948

Party	*Votes*[a]	*Per Cent Votes*	*Seats*[a]	*Per Cent Seats*
Christian Democrats	12,751,841	48.7	307	53.5
Popular Front	8,025,999	30.7	182	31.7
Right-wing Socialist	1,860,528	7.1	33	5.7
National Bloc	1,100,156	3.8	18	3.1
Monarchists	729,987	2.8	14	2.4
Republicans	650,413	2.5	9	1.5
Others	1,144,052	4.4	11	1.9

[a]As reported in the *New York Times*, April 22, 1948.

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[a]See New York *Herald Tribune*, April 11.

by the number of seats plus one or two, according to whether the constituency has less or more than 20 seats assigned to it. When this quotient is then divided into the number of votes cast by each party, the result is the number of seats won by each party in that constituency.

Seats and votes left over are put into the contest between the nationwide lists of the various parties. The apportionment of seats in the nationwide contest is made in the same manner as in the constituencies, except that any remainder seats are distributed to parties with the largest numbers of votes left over.

The seats won by each list go to the particular candidates on it who have received most individual preferences from the party's voters.

Says P. R. Vindicated by Italian Elections

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The letter to the editor published below, from Richard S. Childs, chairman of the Citizens Union of the City of New York, appeared in the *New York Times* of May 3.

The gratifying results of the Italian election show how wrong you were in your editorial attack of April 19 on Italy's use of proportional representation.

In spite of much evidence to the contrary, you have persistently held that P. R. regularly tends to break up the electorate into small groups and to make stable government difficult. Yet Italy has now given a parliamentary majority to a single party, and this happened under a system of P. R.

There have been very few such instances in European history regardless of election methods but Sweden a few years ago gave a majority of seats in its parliament to a single party, and that also happened under P. R. It never happened there before P. R. was adopted. Eire (Ireland), under a better form of P. R. similar to the one we lost last fall in New York, has given a single party a majority of the seats nearly all the time since 1933. Northern Ireland also had a one-party majority under P. R. France, the country usually cited as the worst example of blocs and parliamentary difficulties, had its worst trouble in that line before P. R. was recently adopted.

P. R. Countries

In your editorial you made the astonishing statement that proportional representation "has proved to be a grave-digger of most democracies on the European continent." In refutation, it is only necessary to remind you that Eire, Switzerland, Belgium, the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway and Sweden have all had P. R. for national elections for the last quarter-century or more, with the exception of the period of German occupation of some of them.

Of the countries that have gone behind the iron curtain, some used to have P. R., but it was their propinquity to Russia, not any election method, which spelled their doom. Those without P. R. fared no better. The one country close to Russia which is still valiantly holding out is Finland, which has P. R. Czechoslovakia's mistake was not in giving the Communist minority its proportionate share of the seats, since as the largest party the Communists might well have elected more without P. R., but in letting that minority take charge of the police and other key administrative posts.

Without P. R. the Communist party might have elected more in Italy. Since it turned out not to be the

(Continued on page 343)

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Studies Seek Solution to County Problems

Intergovernmental Relations and Consolidations Discussed

FOUR recent pamphlets relate to the problems of county government and organization. Though they were issued by separate organizations, and the purposes behind their publication differed, improvement and strengthening of the county were common goals.

Grass Roots: A Report and an Evaluation[1] is an attempt by the Federal Council on Intergovernmental Relations to measure the results of the activities of local councils studying the relationships of federal, state and local agencies within their borders: Santa Clara County, California; Blue Earth County, Minnesota; Henry County, Indiana; Colquitt County, Georgia; and Skagit County, Washington.[2]

The beliefs of the federal council were formulated and adopted in the following resolution:

"(1) That control over local affairs and local government has gradually been more and more centralized into the state and federal governments;

"(2) That, unless checked, this gradual drift will continue;

"(3) That the rapid expansion of government has confused the minds of people at the grass roots and there is no clear-cut understanding as to what phases of government should properly and profitably be federal, state or local;

"(4) That, unless clarified and the trend reversed, it may eventually undermine democratic government;

"(5) That this gradual centralization of authority and control has been due in part to the feeling, by those at the top and in control, that the people at the local level are not capable of handling the problems which arise;

"(6) That the council does not believe this to be true. It believes that the feeling has arisen not as a result of the incapacity of the people but rather it is due to the absence of interagency coordination at the local level and a positive citizen interest and participation in the direction of 'our government';

"(7) That greater responsibility for operating and improving government services should rest in the hands of persons at the local level."

Grass Roots describes the problems and activities of the councils in each of the five experimental counties in considerable detail. It attempts to evaluate their accomplishments up to September 1947, the date of publication of the report.

Continuation Recommended

To secure an impartial appraisal the council secured the services of Dr. Rowland Egger, of the University of Virginia, who visited each of the counties and discussed the program with more than 100 persons. Dr. Egger concluded in part:

"It is my considered opinion that both the accomplishments and the promise of the council's program merit the expenditure of maximum effort to sustain the undertaking and to broaden its experimental base. . . .

"As I have viewed the work in the experimental areas it has seemed clear that the approach to problems of community organization and administration through the avenue of intergovernmental relations has attracted an extraordinary degree of talent, ability and application in the work of the local councils on intergovernmental relations. I am convinced that a program combining the intellectual challenge and the practical opportunity presented by the local councils offers a highly significant basis for the organization of the moral and intellectual forces of the community along lines of sustained constructive common endeavor. . . .

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[1] Federal Council on Intergovernmental Relations, Washington, D. C. 53 pages.

[2] For further information on some of these councils see: the REVIEW, February 1946, page 90; April 1946, page 206; November 1946, pages 540 and 551; April 1947, page 194; July 1947, page 414; and October 1947, page 535.

"There is an atmosphere of tough realism tempered with fairly sweet reasonableness which has achieved some truly amazing results in the engineering of common consent and support for certain actions which have altered in a very fundamental way prevailing patterns of administrative and political power.

Much Accomplished

"The process of self-education which has gone on inside the local councils, the results of which are quite definitely perceptible in the five experimental communities, has been no mean accomplishment for which the program should be given credit. Some of the council members, and some considerable segments of community opinion, have seen some of their best-beloved and most warmly nourished prejudices pretty well reduced to ashes in the process of the local council's work. . . .

"The intergovernmental relations approach has forced the local councils and the local people to think in functional rather than institutional terms, which has contributed significantly to getting local and state institutional arrangements in their proper perspective. . . .

"My recommendations are, in brief, as follows:

"1. The council at the federal level is fully justified in seeking to continue the experimental program and to expand its base: (a) by securing the establishment of additional experimental areas; (b) by assisting existing local councils to pursue their work on certain basic problems to which their efforts to date have actually been preliminary.

"2. While the principal needs in connection with the program are for the continuation of the staff at the federal level and the expansion of the technical facilities which it should provide in assistance of the local councils, the fact that local funds are to some extent available for the maintenance of the local councils does not, in my judgment, justify at this time the discontinuance of assistance from the council at the federal level to the local councils, although support may be substantially reduced. . . .

"3. If the council at the federal level continues its policy of 'noninterference' in the processes by which the local councils work out their programs and procedures, operations for clearance and consultation among the local councils should be greatly strengthened, since there is now probably sufficient available experience for the 'co-equals' to work out programs and procedures without the substantial wastes of effort which have sometimes been encountered to date. . . .

"4. Considerably more attention and money should, in my opinion, now be directed toward the provision of adequate technical 'backstopping' for the local councils. . . .

"5. The entire project would, I think, be considerably strengthened if its philosophical roots reached a little deeper. The confession of faith promulgated by the council at the federal level, under the title 'What the Council Believes,' is a step in the direction of establishing an ideological substructure for the program, but developments have long since outrun the substance of this document."

A Practical Basis for Developing Better Intergovernmental Relations[3] describes the activities of the Santa Clara County, California, Council on Intergovernmental Relations under the sponsorship of the Federal Council on Intergovernmental Relations. After a survey of all governmental activities in Santa Clara County, the local council reached the following conclusions:

Santa Clara Recommendations

1. Because of general lack of public interest in government affairs and because of demands for legislation from small groups of citizens, the local, state and federal governments gradually have built up a system of public services which have become duplicative and overlapping in many fields. Wherever possible, offices performing similar or identical services should be located close together in order to provide greater convenience to both private citizens and public officials. If such functional grouping of government services reveals unnecessary duplication, consideration should be given to possible consolidation of such functions.

2. Lack of coordination between various units and levels of government results in waste of the taxpayers' money, confusion in the minds of citizens and gaps in public services.

3. Intergovernmental coordination depends in part upon the willingness of persons working for different branches or levels of government but performing similar public services to seek methods by which gaps can be filled and wasteful duplication eliminated.

4. The greatest incentive to bringing about better intergovernmental relations is increase in citizen interest. Improvement in intergovernmental coordination, which has been the function of the Santa Clara County Council on Intergovernmental Relations, must become a continuing process if results are to have lasting value.

5. Citizens should be furnished with complete, accurate and timely information on every important problem of government. When fully informed by the press and other media, citizens display an increased interest in government affairs, which results in more intelligent conclusions in this field.

6. Cooperation between local units of government (county and municipal) is the first essential of good intergovernmental relations.

7. When the citizens' committee in any community determines that local government is able to assume greater responsibilities, the representatives of local government should be given a stronger voice in determining how local problems are to be handled by state and federal agencies maintaining offices in the community.

8. Proximity of offices to one another encourages good intergovernmental relations and makes possible the improvement of services rendered to the public. A government center simplifies greatly a citizen's search for the appropriate office to give him desired information or service and tends to reduce public confusion regarding governmental operation.

Maryland Study

Improving Government in Dundalk, by Joseph M. Ray,[4] constitutes the result of a survey conducted at the request of an unincorporated community in Baltimore County, suburban to the city of Baltimore. The report analyzes the structure of the Baltimore county government, lists the alternatives from which the unincorporated community might choose its course of action, suggests improvements in the county government which would prove beneficial to all the residents of the county, and finally makes suggestions that would be of especial benefit to the Dundalk community.

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[3] Santa Clara County Council on Intergovernmental Relations, San Jose, California. 51 pages.

[4] Bureau of Public Administration, University of Maryland, College Park. 53 pages.

Alternatives open to the community include (1) annexation to the city of Baltimore, (2) incorporation as a separate municipality and (3) improved and adequate services from the county. The third course of action appears to the author to be most feasible, and he suggests the following improvements in the county government:

1. The county should adopt a home rule charter. Such a proposal was defeated by the voters in 1920.
2. The county should have a manager plan to replace the present three-man legislative-executive board.
3. The county should adopt a merit system for its employees.
4. The county should do a better job of reporting to the people.
5. The functions of the water and sewage disposal district should be integrated into the county's administrative structure.
6. The county should engage in new functions or expansion of old functions, including those of recreation, street lighting, libraries, public health and training of its employees.

Miami Consolidation

The Truth About City-County Consolidation[6] is admittedly a campaign document to secure the adoption of a constitutional amendment permitting the consolidation of Dade County, Florida, with its municipalities, including the city of Miami. The staff of the Dade County Research Foundation concludes that:

1. There are too many governments in Dade County and there is urgent need for consolidation of city and county under a home rule charter.
2. The public works program cannot be executed unless a strong and unified government is adopted.
3. The arguments in favor outweigh those against consolidation.
4. The proposed amendment, despite its defects, is basically sound and workable.
5. The question of its constitutionality should be settled as quickly as possible.
6. The provision for the continuous appointment of additional charter boards until finally a new charter is adopted should be invalidated.
7. Great care should be taken to draft the best possible charter.
8. If the present plan is defeated, renewed efforts to secure a new charter should be undertaken.

To support their conclusions, the authors examine and summarize briefly the experiences elsewhere in city-county consolidation. Also they trace the movement in Dade County and analyze minutely the provisions of the proposed amendment. They describe the effects that would result from adoption of the plan, and, in conclusion, they list with approval the arguments in favor of the plan and answer those advanced by the opposition.

County Finances 1946 Published by Census Bureau

The latest publication on county government issued by the Governments Division, Bureau of the Census, is an eleven-page pamphlet, *Summary of County Government Finances in 1946.* In a series of seven tables it reveals that county governments experienced sharp changes in revenue and expenditure during 1946. General revenue of counties rose 14.5 per cent from the

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[6] Dade County Research Foundation, Miami, Florida. 55 pages, $1.

1945 level as contrasted with 7.4 per cent for cities and 7.0 per cent for states. The rise in general expenditure of counties was 16.0 per cent, as compared with 9.9 per cent for cities and 6.6 per cent for states. County debt had decreased slightly during the year.

The report relates primarily to nation-wide totals of data for county government finances. A companion report, *Large County Finances in 1946,* previously reported in this section,[1] gave individual county data for the 56 largest counties—those having 1940 populations over 250,000. The present report is based on a representative sample of county governments throughout the nation.

General revenue of the 3,050 county governments totaled $1,970,000,000 in 1946, as compared with $1,720,000,000 in 1945. This increase of 14.5 per cent is in contrast with the increase of only 3.9 per cent between 1944 and 1945. County governments spent $1,967,000,000 in 1946, as compared with $1,696,000,000 the year before. This increase of 16.0 per cent contrasts with the increase of only 4.1 per cent between 1944 and 1945.

Although there was a sharp increase in the amount of new debt issued during 1946, this was not sufficient to halt the downward trend in county indebtedness. Gross debt outstanding at the close of 1946 amounted to $1,463,000,000, or 4.4 per cent less than the $1,531,000,000 outstanding at the close of 1945.

The 56 largest counties (those with populations over 250,000) accounted for nearly 30 per cent of the 1946 revenue and expenditure of all county governments. Nearly another 30 per cent was accounted for by the next 367 counties (those with populations from 50,000 to 250,000). Thus 40 per cent was accounted for by the remaining 2,627 small counties.

Statistics presented in the report are based on information obtained in a survey covering nearly one-third of the 3,050 county governments in the nation. National aggregates and state totals are derived by sampling methods. Financial data for the selected counties were obtained from (1) county data on file with state agencies, (2) census mail questionnaires filled out by officials of the selected counties, and (3) published or unpublished reports of individual counties. For a few states, statewide totals for county revenue, expenditure and debt were obtained from state sources. Where thus available, such totals were substituted for the totals estimated from the sample.

Wisconsin Codifies County Law

The Wisconsin Legislative Council, the attorney general's office, the revisor of statutes and the counties are undertaking the codification of the county laws of the state. The plan has developed as a result of a recommendation made to the recent session of the state legislature by the County Boards Association.

Texas County Adopts Retirement Plan

The commissioners of Travis County, Texas, have placed into operation the retirement, death and disability compensation plan approved by the voters last August. Under the plan all appointive employees who desire to become members of the system will have 5 per cent of their salaries deducted monthly and the county government will contribute an equal amount to the fund.

Wisconsin Counties Lag in Joining Retirement System

Although an estimated 75 per cent of all eligible local government employees are now members of the Wisconsin Municipal Retirement Fund, only 33 of Wisconsin's 71 counties have joined to the present time. The 38 remaining counties represent the principal lag in joining the system, although for the most part they are the smaller counties. Some of them have expressed a preference for joining the federal social security system if permitted to do so under legislation now pending in Congress.

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[1] See the REVIEW, March 1948, page 173.

Satevepost Urges County Reform

The *Saturday Evening Post* published an editorial in a recent issue entitled "We Must Not Neglect Our Local Governments" in which it urged the need for public interest in improving county government throughout the country.

South Carolina County to Vote on Manager Plan

The voters of Charleston County, South Carolina, will have an opportunity on September 14 to vote on three alternatives in regard to the structure of their county government. Plan A embodies the manager plan and the transfer of considerable financial authority from the county's delegation in the state legislature to the manager and county council. Plan B provides for an elective council of eleven but with its actions subject to the approval of the state legislature, which, because of the practice of "legislative courtesy," means approval by the county's legislative delegation. The third alternative to be presented to the voters will be the retention of the present system whereby full control over county affairs is exercised by the county's legislative delegation. A majority of the votes cast at the election is necessary for adoption of either Plan A or B.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

(Continued from page 337)

largest party there, the odds are somewhat against it, but there are plenty of instances under the district plurality plan of a smaller party electing more than a larger one merely because its votes were more favorably distributed in districts. When we were looking forward to the crucial Italian elections, one of the most reassuring aspects of the situation was the assurance given by P. R. that no electoral fluke could possibly give the Communists and their allies a majority of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies unless they actually polled something closely approaching a majority of the votes.

On one point you seem to take a self-contradictory view! You deplore the fact that one-third of the Italian Senate is appointive; you deplore that feature, I assume, as I do, because it could prevent Senate representation from being proportional!

The party list system of P. R. used in Italy and elsewhere in Europe is sounder than any plurality system but inferior to the more flexible P. R. system used in America which permits second and third choices across party lines.

Jackson County, Missouri, Commission Studies P. R.

The Charter Commission framing a new charter for Jackson County, Missouri, which includes Kansas City, is considering proportional representation as the method of electing the county's legislative body. The Kansas City *Star* reported on April 12 that, "The commission especially will look into the plan to see if it might offer a guarantee against suppression of minority interests by machine domination of the county government."

Richard S. Childs

Taxation and Finance . . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

New Orleans Plans Union Railway Terminal

Elimination of Grade Crossings Provided

FEW American cities have a single union railroad passenger terminal and almost none lack serious grade crossing problems. The city of New Orleans, however, has just launched a program which will put it in a unique position in the solution of these problems. Through a municipal agency it is starting construction of a union passenger terminal and is undertaking at city expense an ambitious program of grade crossing separations.

The program was authorized by a constitutional amendment adopted in 1938. This amendment gave the city permission to issue $15,000,000 revenue bonds to construct a union passenger terminal, to require the use of the terminal by passenger-carrying railroads entering the city and make charges for such use sufficient to meet the cost of construction and operation. The city was authorized to include such grade separation projects as desirable and to issue tax-supported bonds to finance them. After long study and negotiations, agreement was reached between the city and the railroads late last year.

The program proposed is expected to cost over $42,000,000. Of this, a little over $18,000,000 is the cost of the union terminal of which $15,000,000 has been raised by the sale of the revenue bonds (awarded April 28, 1948, at a net interest cost of approximately 2.731 for bonds due through 1998), the remainder to be provided by the railroads. Another $18,900,000 will be provided by the city for grade separation projects, $12,000,000 of it with proceeds of general obligation bonds authorized by the voters April 15, 1947, nearly $5,000,000 from funds to be raised in annual budgets at the rate of $500,000 per year, and the rest from reserves, reimbursements and federal highway aid credits.

In addition, the railroads will provide about $3,000,000 for various of the grade separation improvements involved and about $2,500,000 representing overpass construction will be paid for by the Louisiana State Highway Department.

Five Terminals Replaced

The union passenger terminal will replace five scattered terminals now used by the eight trunk-line railroads serving the city which, with the New Orleans Terminal Company, have jointly and severally guaranteed rentals adequate to operate the terminal and pay service charges on the revenue bonds. The railroads are the Illinois Central, Louisville and Nashville, Texas and New Orleans, New Orleans and Northwestern, Texas and Pacific, Louisiana and Arkansas, Missouri Pacific, and Gulf, Mobile and Ohio.

Management of the terminal will be vested in a special committee of representatives having an aggregate of 37 votes: three exercised directly by the city, three by representatives appointed by a city agency (the Public Belt Railroad Commission), nine by the railroads directly, and the remaining 22 distributed among the railroads on a user basis.

The grade separation project will provide for elimination of about 82 of the nearly 150 grade crossings now to be found away from the river front area, and at the same time railroad yards and lines will be rearranged or relocated, with some facilities abandoned and the land cleared and new construction substituted.

While municipal docks, wharves and water cargo terminals are common in salt water and inland port cities of the United States, the New Orleans venture is said to be the first instance of a municipal union passenger railroad terminal.

California Legislature Raises Local Aids

The California legislature met in 1948, the first time in regular session in an even-numbered year, with its business restricted to the state budget and emergency matters. It adopted two laws aiding local governments financially and defeated several regarded by the cities as detrimental.

One law directly assisting cities raised the auto in lieu tax from $1.75 per $100 to $2. The lower rate had been in effect since the establishment of the tax in 1935, and represented a tax on automobiles at half the average general property tax rate in effect in all California units. Since the valuation is the delivered price of the car, however, reduced annually in accordance with a legally established depreciation schedule, it actually represented a tax at the average rate in effect at that time.

Yield of the tax, half of which is distributed to the cities on the basis of population, has increased sharply since the end of the war, rising from less than $20,000,000 in 1946 to about $30,000,000 in 1947 and an estimated $40,000,000 for 1948.

Another law of benefit to the communities appropriates $50,000,000 from the state general fund for a local school building program. Last year $20,000,000 had been appropriated for capital improvements of school districts. This year's appropriation had been urged by the governor to be made from the $90,000,000 state aid fund for capital improvements of cities and counties, but the legislature left the city-county funds intact.

Bills defeated which were regarded by the cities as inimical to their fiscal welfare included one to reduce automobile registration fees by half and several bills which would have prohibited cities from levying local sales taxes or would have hedged that right with restrictions.

Small Washington Cities Form Joint Retirement System

Acting under 1947 legislation, seven small Washington cities established a retirement plan, effective March 1, set up on an actuarial basis. The cities were Aberdeen, Bellingham, Malden, Port Angeles, Raymond, Sumner and Yakima.

The system is administered by a retirement board appointed by the governor and including representatives of both the cities and their employees. Cities and employees both participate in the financing of the program.

Roanoke Loses Realty Tax Case

Efforts of Roanoke, Virginia, to get court sanction for its real estate sales tax of one per cent, which was invalidated last year after nearly $53,000 had been collected, failed late in April when the Virginia Supreme Court dismissed the city's appeal.

A taxpayer had refused to pay the tax and, in accordance with the terms of the ordinance imposing it, had been fined in the Roanoke Police Court. Judge Kuyk in Roanoke Hustings Court held the tax unconstitutional, however, and dismissed the case. The city's appeal to the State Supreme Court followed. That tribunal refused to hear the case on its merits, ruling that the proceedings were under the criminal law and the city therefore

(Continued on page 352)

National, International Conferences Planned

Canadian Officials Meet, Geneva Meeting Postponed

THE 1948 conference of the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities will be held June 22-25 at Halifax, Nova Scotia. Keynote of the conference is "The Relation of the Municipality to Senior Forms of Government." Topics within this theme include: tax exemption of crown properties, housing, city and town planning, taxation and assessment practices, and traffic and transportation.

Also on the agenda is a discussion of general problems facing municipal administrators. Officials planning to attend have been asked to send in their toughest problems, matters on which they would like to get the experience of other municipal officials, and to tell of solutions to problems which will be of interest to other cities facing similar situations.

The Congress of the International Union of Local Authorities, scheduled to meet in Geneva in June, has been postponed until the spring of 1949 because of the difficulties encountered in completing arrangements and printing reports. The 1949 program will include a round table discussion on refuse disposal, with inspections of the latest type of Swiss collection vehicles, a study of Swiss sanitoria, and visits to housing projects where large buildings have been converted into apartments.

In addition to arrangements for the 1949 conference, plans are under way for the major congress of the union in 1950. Subjects proposed for discussion include the relationship between local governments and technical services, and the functions of local authorities in connection with the housing problem.

The British section of the International Union, at its meetings May 7-8, discussed central heating and the functions of the local authority in the campaign for prevention of road accidents. Great Britain has urged the latter subject for discussion by the 1949 Geneva conference.

Thirty countries are now reported to be affiliated with the International Union of Local Authorities.

The Third Inter-American Congress on Municipal History met April 12-17 at San Juan, Puerto Rico. Mrs. Felisa R. De Gautier, city manager of that city, acted as hostess. Included was an exhibit of American city planning and architecture.

A congress and exhibition of the International Federation for Housing and Town Planning is scheduled for Zurich from June 20 to 26.

Bath Questions Value of Conferences

The city council of Bath has instructed its finance committee to inquire into the cost, in working days and money, incurred by attendance of its members and officials at conferences concerned with local government administration. The resolution was introduced by a member of the council who condemned such attendance, saying that "this conference business is a complete farce and racket, taking up too much time."

The intent of the inquiry is to find out whether a council gains from sending its members and officials to such conferences.

Plans for the City of Westminster

Substantial changes in London's famous West End are proposed in a newly published report on the replanning of the city of Westminster. Included are plans for making Piccadilly Circus into a square, for installing a new roundabout on the south side of Trafalgar Square, a relief road parallel to the Strand and many other new roads, and the replanning of Parliament Square.

Many of the proposals are a radical departure from the plan of the County of London, but the purpose of the report, the authors state, is "primarily to assist the Westminster city council in making detailed observations on the plan.

London's First Holiday Camp Planned

Work is expected to begin shortly on London's first holiday camp. This municipal project, which is expected to be the biggest recreation and camping scheme ever planned, will cost £150,000, and will provide chalet accommodation for 400, an open-air theater, swimming pool and playing fields. It is to be located at Grange Farm, Chigwell, Essex. Approved in principle by the London and Essex County Councils, it awaits only approval by the Ministry of Education.

At the present time the site is being used for camping under a council of management. This council represents jointly a number of voluntary and statutory interests, including Essex and London County Councils, Chigwell Urban District Council, the National Council of Y.M.C.A.'s, Y.W.C.A. of Great Britain, and the City Parochial Foundation.

Electricity Authority Takes Over

The British Central Electricity Board, set up in 1927, came to an end on April 1. Its functions have now been assumed by the British Electricity Authority which now becomes responsible for the management of electric utilities.

Criterion for Size of a Municipality

A bill introduced in the New South Wales Parliament, which would have amalgamated 69 municipalities in the county of Cumberland to produce only sixteen, has been rejected by the Legislative Council.

An alderman member of the Legislative Council, says the *Shire and Municipal Record* (Sydney), "pointed out that his little three-year old girl could ride her tricycle round Darlington in two hours. Members showed instant sympathy, for it is patently undesirable that she should be able to do such a thing. The obvious way to stop the alderman's little three-year-old girl from tricycling round Darlington in two hours would be to so enlarge the boundaries of the municipality that she couldn't make it."

It was further suggested by the *Shire and Municipal Record* that the select committee might easily gauge the desirable minimum of any local authority by visiting each municipality in turn and "any area which the alderman's little three-year-old girl could tricycle round in two hours would be out."

Books in Review

The Lightwood Tree. By Berry Fleming. Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1947. 378 pp. $3.

When an experienced novelist goes back to his old home town after being away for years, things which have become as familiar as the front porch to the natives hit him forcefully in his most sensitive spot.

Berry Fleming went home to Augusta, Georgia, a few years ago and was outraged by what he found. The result was a challenging and popular book, *Colonel Effingham's Raid,* which was a Book of the Month Club choice and later a motion picture, and now *The Lightwood Tree.*

Readers of the REVIEW who have been following the civic revolt in Augusta through its columns since 1941 will recognize some of the situations involved in this volume, as they did those of the earlier story about the retired army colonel who did battle with a political machine.

In *The Lightwood Tree* the author depicts with sensitive insight the thanklessness of the task of a citizen who tries to do something about it in a sea of supine helplessness and unawareness. The central incident parallels the true case of the man whom the boss of Augusta jailed without warrant or charge and held incommunicado for 24 hours for making a slurring remark about the politicians of the town.

But the author relates this, by numerous flashbacks, to the discouraging environments that past characters in local history encountered in their day and turns the parallel incidents into a pattern of gutlessness in electorates relieved by occasional leaders who lifted fearless flags and got few thanks. Without blame to anybody, the emerging pattern exhibits the problem as a novel should, without underlining it, and the book thereby constitutes a penetrating and useful contribution to civics.

RICHARD S. CHILDS

Specifications for the Annual Municipal Report. By Clarence E. Ridley and Herbert A. Simon. Chicago, International City Managers' Association, 1948. vi, 52 pp. $2.

In 1939 the International City Managers' Association published, under a similar title, the collected experience of the city managers on annual reports as a means of interesting citizens and keeping orderly statistics. This is a new edition which includes numerous illustrations and a check-list of nearly 300 facts which might be included in such a report each year. Citizens who find difficulty in looking things up in their cities might be interested to stimulate municipal consideration of standard and orderly reporting as outlined in this revised edition.

R.S.C.

Full Employment in Your Community. A report of the W. E. Upjohn Institute for Community Research. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1947. x, 119 pp. $2.75.

A thoughtful assemblage of ideas as to what can be done at the local level to mitigate a period of low employment and how to organize for it.

American Planning. Past—Present—Future. By Cleveland Rodgers. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1947, xiv, 290 pp. $3.

A breezy, informal, air-man's eyeview of the United States in terms of how it grew and got that way by an enlightened and imaginative member of New York City's Planning Commission.

Municipal Index and Atlas (22nd Edition). New York 16, American City Magazine Corporation, 1948. 791 pp. $5.

Lists official council-manager cities and their managers; mayors, city engineers, superintendents of water works, street and sewage treatment departments; purchasing agents in communities of over 10,000 population; police and fire officials; state highway officials; and engineering and municipal planning consultants. Discusses purchasing practices in larger cities. Lists who's who in equipment and supplies for construction and maintenance of streets, highways, airports; water supply and purification; sewage and garbage collection and disposal; lighting and power; fire, police, transit and traffic; parks and playgrounds, swimming pools, recreation; office equipment. Included are maps of the United States and of each of the states.

Presidential Campaign Funds. By Louise Overacker. Boston, Boston University Press, 1946. vii, 76 pp. $1.50 cloth; $1 paper.

Although published two years ago, this book is of more than passing interest with the 1948 presidential nomination conventions and campaigns in the offing. In her first chapter, A Problem in Democratic Control, the author comments that "One modern writer has gone so far as to characterize the financing of political campaigns as 'the greatest unsolved problem of democracy.'" Other chapters discuss the "Hatch Act—Limitations Which Do Not Limit" and "Trade Union Contributions."

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments.)

Courts

The Federal Courts. By John P. Frank, Stefan A. Riesenfeld, John N. Hazard, etc. Durham, North Carolina, Duke University, *Law and Contemporary Problems*, Winter 1948. 243 pp. $1.

Education

How Shall We Pay for Education? Approaches to the Economics of Education. By Seymour E. Harris. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1948. vii, 214 pp. $3.

School Enrollment of the Civilian Population: April 1947. Washington 25, D. C., Bureau of the Census, 1948. 12 pp.

Housing

A Housing Program for Now and Later. Washington 5, D. C., National Public Housing Conference, 1948. 60 pp. 25 cents.

Intergovernmental Relations

The Municipal Position on Current Issues Involving Intergovernmental Relations. As expressed in resolutions adopted at annual conventions held during 1947 by the state leagues of municipalities and their national federation, the American Municipal Association. Chicago, American Municipal Association, 1948. 46 pp. $2.

Labor

Municipal Mediation Plans. Urbana, University of Illinois, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, 1947. 16 pp.

Parking

Parking Meters in the United States. Year Ending December 31, 1947. Canton 5, Ohio, Vehicular Parking, Ltd., 1948. 33 pp.

The Prohibition of Curb Parking. By Charles S. LeCraw, Jr., and Wilbur S. Smith. Saugatuck, Connecticut, Eno Foundation for Highway Traffic Control, 1948. 25 pp.

Personnel

Personnel Rules and Regulations. Oxnard, California, City Manager's Office, 1947. 17 pp.

You and Your City Job. Cincinnati, Department of Personnel, 1948. 29 pp.

Planning

Colorado State Planning and Zoning Acts and Related Legislation, including Building Codes, Subdivision Control and Urban Redevelopment Laws as of June 1, 1947. Denver 2, University of Denver Bookstore, 1948. 65 pp.

Diary of the Trials and Tribulations of the Seattle Planning Commission. Being Annual Report of 1946-47. Seattle, the Commission, 1947. 13 pp.

Planning 1947. Proceedings of the Annual Meeting, American Society of Planning Officials, at Cincinnati, May 5-9, 1947. Chicago 37, the Society, 1948. 192 pp. $3.

Town of Dedham, Massachusetts, Master Plan, Survey and Report. By Arthur A. Shurcliff and Sidney N. Shurcliff. Dedham, Planning Board, 1947. 93 pp. Illus., tables.

Public Administration

The Administrative State. A Study of the Political Theory of American Public Administration. By Dwight Waldo. New York, Ronald Press Company, 1948. viii, 227 pp. $3.25.

The Process and Organization of Government Planning. By John D. Millett. New York, Columbia University Press, 1947. xii, 187 pp. $2.50.

Public Utilities

Results of Publicly Owned Electric Systems (Ninth Edition). Record of 590 Cities under Public Ownership Rates in Effect 1947-1948. Kansas City, Missouri, Burns & McDonnell Engineering Company, 1948. 383 pp. $10.

Public Works

Report on Plan Preparation of State and Local Public Works. Washington, D. C., Federal Works Agency, Bureau of Community Facilities, 1948. 74 pp.

Race Relations

Prejudice and Property. An Historic Brief Against Racial Covenants. By Tom C. Clark and Philip B. Perlman. Washington 8, D. C., Public Affairs Press, 1948. 104 pp. $2 cloth; $1 paper.

Proceedings of the National Conference on Local Race Relations and Minority Group Problems. Chicago 1, American Council on Race Relations, 1948. 31 pp.

Resources

Tennessee Valley Resources—Their Development and Use. By M. H. Satterfield. Knoxville, Tennessee Valley Authority, 1947. 145 pp.

Rural Areas

Our Rural Communities. A Guidebook to Published Materials on Rural Problems. By Laverne Burchfield. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1947. xiii, 201 pp. $2.50.

Pattern of Rural Settlement. Local Government Units. Joint Investigations Columbia Basin Project. Washington, D.C., United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Reclamation, 1947. 49 and 259 pp. respectively. 25 cents and 70 cents. (Apply Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C.)

Sewage Disposal

Sewerage and Sewage Treatment (Sixth Edition). By Harold E. Babbitt. New York, John Wiley & Sons, 1947. xx, 692 pp. $6.50.

Slum Clearance

Overall Plan for Redemption of Slum Areas. By Charles C. Pratt. New York, 1947. 6 pp. (Apply author, 101 Park Avenue, New York 17.)

Slum Clearance. Report of a Subcommittee of the Joint Committee on Housing, Congress of the United States. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1948. 34 pp.

Slum Land Acquisition. The Pattern of Payments for Land Acquired for Prewar Public Housing Sites. Washington, D. C., National Housing Agency, 1947.

Smoke Abatement

Preventing Excess Smoke from Locomotives. (Report on replies to questionnaire to cities in New York State.) Albany, New York State Bureau of Municipal Information, Conference of Mayors and Other Municipal Officials of the State of New York, 1947. 5 pp.

Social Security

Old-Age and Survivors' Insurance. A Report to the Senate Committee on Finance from the Advisory Council on Social Security. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1948. ix, 67 pp.

Some Basic Readings in Social Security. By Federal Security Agency, Social Security Administration. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1947. 94 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Constructive Economy in Government. By Charles Redfield, Francis M. Cummings, etc. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada. *Municipal Finance,* May 1948. 32 pp. 50 cents.

Governmental Costs and Tax Levels. By Lewis H. Kimmel with the collaboration of Mildred Maroney. Washington 6, D. C., Brookings Institution, 1948. x, 153 pp. $2.50.

Inheritance and Estate Taxes in Kentucky. Frankfort, Kentucky Department of Revenue, 1947. 104 pp.

Large-City Finances in 1946 (the 37 cities covered are those having 1940 populations over 250,000). **Summary of City Government Finances in 1946** (the 397 cities covered are those having 1940 populations over 25,000). Washington 25, D.C., Bureau of the Census, 1947. 58 and 12 pp. respectively.

The New York State and Local Tax System. By Research and Statistics Bureau. Albany, New York State Department of Taxation and Finance, 1947. 40 pp.

Ohio and Its Finances. By Don H. Ebright (address before the Municipal Forum of New York. New York, the Forum, 1948. 9 pp. 50 cents. (Apply Monroe V. Poole, chairman, Committee on Publications, 37 Wall Street, New York.)

Oklahoma Sales Tax Including Operation of the Use and Music Box Tax. Statistical Report for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1947. Compiled by Division of Research and Statistics. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Tax Commission, 1948. 41 pp.

Philadelphia's Program of Capital Improvements and Plans to Finance Its Completion. An Address by Herman N. Schwartz. New York, The Municipal Forum, 1948. 7 pp. 50 cents. (Apply Monroe V. Poole, Committee on Publications, 37 Wall Street, New York.)

A Program for Minneapolis. Report of the Mayor's Tax and Finance Commission, 1947. Minneapolis, Mayor's Office, 1947. 16 pp.

Reducing Realty Taxes with Remedies for Illegal and Excessive Assessments and Methods of Proving Realty Values (Third Edition). Revised and Enlarged with Statutes—Forms and Precedents. By Henry M. Powell and Louis P. Jacobs. New York, Clark Boardman Co., Ltd., 1947. v, 664 pp. $12.

Report of Assembly Interim Committee on State and Local Taxation. Report of the Senate Interim Committee on State and Local Taxation. Sacramento, California State Printing Office, 1947. 315 and 61 pp. respectively.

A Six-Year Financial Plan Including a Program of Capital Outlays 1947-1952 for the City of Quincy, Massachusetts. By Quincy Planning Board, William Stanley Parker, Consultant. Quincy, the Board, 1947. 27 pp.

State Finances 1946. Statistical Compendium. By the Governments Division, Bureau of the Census. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1947. 58 pp. 25 cents.

State Income Tax 1947 Returns. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Tax Commission, Research Division, 1948. 36 pp.

The Taxation of New Jersey Railroads. Third Report of the Commission on State Tax Policy. Trenton, New Jersey, the Commission, 1948. 52 pp.

What Your Taxes Buy! A Survey of Municipal Services Added to the Government of Madison, Wisconsin, from 1900 to 1948. Madison 1, The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, 1948. 16 pp. 25 cents.

Traffic

Recommendations for Traffic Control and Administration, Elgin, Illinois, 1947. By J. A. Carrothers. New York, National Conservation Bureau, Association of Casualty and Surety Companies, 1947. 55 pp.

Traffic Speed Enforcement Policies. By Wilbur S. Smith and Charles S. LeCraw. Saugatuck, Connecticut, The Eno Foundation for Highway Traffic Control, 1948. xi, 90 pp.

Trailers

Trailer Ordinance of the City of Elmira, New York. Elmira, City Clerk, 1947. 14 pp.

Transportation

Proposed Transportation Plan. Part I—Motor Freight Terminals, Port Facilities. Detroit, City Plan Commission, 1948. 16 pp. Illus.

Zoning

Can Zoning Be More Practical? By Walter H. Leimert. Washington, D.C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land*, January 1948. 4 pages.

Duties and Powers of Zoning Boards of Adjustment in Bergen County. By C. Earl Morrow. Hackensack, New Jersey, County Planning Board, 1947. 34 pp.

TAXATION AND FINANCE

(Continued from page 345)

lacked a right to appeal. Members of the city council reportedly are considering beginning civil proceedings, in order to secure a State Supreme Court ruling on the merits of the case. No taxes have been collected since the action began.

Constitutional Amendments Submitted in Kentucky

The 1948 session of the General Assembly of Kentucky, which finished its regular 60-day session on March 19, submitted two constitutional amendments to the people for approval. One raises the $5,000 salary limit as follows: a $12,000 limit for officers whose jurisdiction is statewide and for the mayor of first class cities (Louisville); a $8,400 limit for circuit (district) judges; and a $7,200 limit for all other officials. Last November the limit as it related to university and college faculty members was removed by judicial decision on the ground that they are not state officials.

The other amendment would permit an increase of the equalization fund for public schools from 10 per cent to 25 per cent of the amount appropriated by the General Assembly for common school purposes. Both amendments will be voted on in November 1949.

These two constitutional provisions were among the chief issues in the campaign for a constitutional convention which was voted down last November and some opposition is expected to the amendments particularly to the salary limit changes. Leaders of both the proponents and opponents of a convention, however, have promised their support and those who favor constitutional revision will try hard to avoid suffering another defeat.

J. E. Reeves

University of Kentucky

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The League's Business

Executive Committee Meets

The Executive Committee of the National Municipal League met May 28 at the League office with the following present: Richard S. Childs, William Collins, Charles Edison and Carl H. Pforzheimer. Alfred Willoughby, executive secretary, and John Venable, assistant to Mr. Edison, also were present.

Plans for the 1948 National Conference on Government November 22-24 at Boston were discussed, payment of dues to the American Committee for the International Union of Local Authorities was authorized and the auditor's report for the year 1947 was accepted.

Mr. Collins, finance chairman, reported on the progress of the financing program, citing the need to recruit additional local and state finance chairmen.

Recognition Here and There

An editorial by Margaret Hickey in the Public Affairs Department of the June *Ladies' Home Journal* discussed the current great civic revival and the National Municipal League's relation to it as "a clearing house for the troubles of communities suffering from poor government."

This is one of many recent examples of favorable mention of the League and its accomplishments in important publications. In view of the large circulations of these publications, it may be assumed that the League has been brought to the attention of a considerable part of the population.

An editorial in *Life* referred to the League as a source of civic information; *Coronet*, with an article entitled "Does Your Town Need a City Manager," advised "First, get factual ammunition from the National Municipal League," etc.; *This Week* magazine, a supplement of 15,000,000 or more Sunday newspapers, published a story entitled "Terror in the U. S. A.," which told of the civic revolution in Augusta, Georgia, mentioning the League's coaching and technical help; *Reader's Digest* republished from the REVIEW the article "Why Don't More Americans Vote?" by Vice President George H. Gallup; *New Republic* had an article entitled "Bosses Leave Town" which identified the League as the key organization in civic revivals.

Newspapers from the *Anchorage* (Alaska) *Times* to the *New York Times* have made mention of the League. The Memphis *Press-Scimitar* called the League "a congregation of leading citizens who support good local and state government"; the New Brunswick *Home News* said "the League's record in helping the people to establish more honest, more efficient and more economical local governments is outstanding," and the Richmond *Times Dispatch* called the League "a first rate organization" and "one of the agencies which has done most to promote good local government."

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Party Leadership

YONKERS, NEW YORK, is an interesting political laboratory from which many significant truths have been emerging and in which healthy debate of civic issues is fostered by the enlightened daily newspaper, the *Herald Statesman*.

It happens that a fusion of Republicans and independents elected four of the seven members of the city council now serving. Lately the regular Republican leadership has been none too delicate in its efforts to stake its claim on these councilmen and call them to heel.

The Republican city chairman publicly declared that there is no such thing as an independent Republican or an independent Democrat. He minced no words in serving notice on independents that they should accept party discipline or get out of the party.

In a series of vigorous editorials, one of which was headed "In Moscow, Yes; In Yonkers? No!", the *Herald Statesman* challenged "this totalitarian attitude" and citizens wrote letters to the editor dissenting from the chairman's view.

It is taking many politicians too long to learn that, particularly in local affairs, people have become thoroughly fed up with the old shibboleths, party regularity, party discipline, party loyalty and the like. They are coming to realize that interest in public affairs dies in the hands of a monopoly, whether that monopoly goes by the name of Communist or anything else.

Public opinion polls show that 86.8 per cent of the voters want "good government" but that seven out of ten parents do not want their children to go into politics. This is a clear indication that people do not believe the orthodox political leadership tends or intends to produce good government—at least in their communities where citizens are able to see what goes on.

The politician himself is to blame for the low esteem into which he has fallen. Granted that there are many unselfish, decent people in politics, the flagrantly unprincipled performance of some tends to overshadow the good works. The habit of treating politics as a rough anything-goes game, the object of which is to win, control and dictate, makes sensitive, thoughtful people hold aloof.

This unfortunate aloofness of "good" people is proof of the serious damage professional politicians have done to our self-governing system. The people cannot help being painfully aware, too, of the fact that most fundamental progress in public affairs (except, perhaps, in the national government) is achieved in spite of, not because of, party so-called leadership. Indeed, almost every such advance—modern city and state charters, the merit system, honest election methods, etc.—is resisted by one or, more often, both parties. Sometimes a high-minded governor, mayor or member of a legislature or council fights for such improvements, but this civic leadership is seldom popular with "the boys," and the party machine sets to work almost automatically to box it in or dispose of it.

It is encouraging that more and more outstanding citizens are taking a strong, intelligent interest in local civic problems. Nearly every time they recapture control from the professional politicians, party leadership improves. It has to.

What Makes Us Great?!

SPEAKING of political "leadership," the party chairman referred to in the accompanying editorial, while extolling the virtues of party regularity, used this old chestnut:

"We owe the great progress this country has made to the two-party system which our forefathers founded and upon which we have so ably progressed for well over 150 years."

A distinguished lawyer pulled the same gag on C. A. Dykstra in 1940 while introducing the then president of the National Municipal League as the main speaker at a regional conference on government in Minneapolis. "Dyke" turned his big smile on the introducer and replied:

"The fact that we have perhaps 8 per cent of the world's population and 40 or so per cent of the natural resources may have had SOMETHING to do with our wealth and greatness."

Taking credit for progress and handing others blame for failure is something the political gentry have always done pretty adroitly. So have others. Recently a quite worthy and well behaved association blandly took full credit for the increase in average personal incomes in its state, overlooking the fact that the same thing has been happening in about 47 other states in which the association has no influence.

Assuredly the two-party system and the one-party system have had a lot to do with inflating the cost of local government. Plenty of examples are generally known. Most of the time we have been rich enough to be relatively indifferent to a lot of political monkey-business but, with skyrocketing payrolls because of general inflation, we can no longer afford the luxury of back room politics as usual.

Experiment, progress and efficiency have been the boast of American business. Most of the 800-odd council-manager places in the United States, and many other communities, too, have demonstrated that the same principles pay off in public as well as in private affairs. People in some parts of the country don't realize that for two generations there has been a powerful trend to nonpartisan local elections until today more than half of all cities with populations of over 5,000 have them. That's chiefly what hurts the feelings and not infrequently the purses of old school party leaders.

It has always been "the American way" to try to do things better than our forefathers did. That, plus our natural wealth, is chiefly what has made this country what it is.

Governor Sigler Wins Again

After killing administrative reform bill, lawmakers give him "tools of management" as citizens circulate petitions.

By LOREN B. MILLER*

UNDER the heading "Riding for a Fall" and speaking of Michigan's Governor Kim Sigler and the close of Michigan's special legislative session, *Time Magazine* for May 10, 1948, reported that "his own Republican state legislature bucked off every reform proposal like an unbroken pony with a burr under the saddle."

What *Time* did not report was the amazing reversal three weeks later. In an unprecedented action on *sine die* adjournment day, a bill establishing a department of administration, the major feature of the Governor's program, was reintroduced and adopted! The new act constitutes one of the most significant changes in Michigan's administrative structure in many years, is a major achievement toward Sigler's announced desire to modernize Michigan's government, and should offer a model for other states. Few if any states have its equivalent in concept and scope.

To report the hectic developments leading to establishment of the department of administration cannot be attempted in detail. Yet the story is of importance, for seldom has a change in state administrative organization of such major and fundamental proportions been achieved so quickly. If but a small part of the pace can be continued, Michigan should finally be on its way to overhauling its clumsy, sprawling, irresponsible state government.

Since his election Governor Sigler had spoken frequently of the need for strengthening and modernizing the state structure, particularly in giving the governor administrative authority commensurate with his responsibility as chief executive and organizing the functions of the state into some semblance of a manageable pattern. Comment frequently pointed to the hundred-odd boards, bureaus, agencies and commissions into which Michigan's government is divided, many of them semi-independent of executive direction through overlapping terms of administering bodies.

With the convening of the special legislative session in March, the principal order of business offered it by the Governor was a reorganization program. Included in the Governor's proposals were five constitutional amendments dealing with such subjects as appointment of elected state officers, four-year terms, removing constitutional salary limitations on executive and legislative salaries. In addition, as the chief feature of the program, the Governor proposed the creation of the new department of administration.

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*Mr. Miller is director of the Bureau of Governmental Research of Detroit, assistant director of the National Training School for Public Service, and a trustee of the Citizenship Education Study now being conducted in Detroit public schools. He has had a long career in the governmental research field, notably in Newark as assistant director of the Citizens Advisory Commission, then with the Bureau of Municipal Research, and as director of the Civic Research Institute of Kansas City, Missouri.

As announced by *Time,* the nominal close of the session found the program all but scuttled. Two constitutional amendments on salary limitations had been put on the ballot for next November. In the closing days of the session the department of administration had passed the house by a large majority and the assurances were widespread that the necessary votes were on hand in the senate.

Deal Refused

A last minute upsurge brought demands for a "deal" on highway funds, with swapping of support. The Governor refused. Enough votes were gathered to amend the bill to make the department responsible to the state administrative board (elected state officers) rather than the governor and its own supporters joined in killing it 27-2. The bill was dead.

Late on the night of adjournment Governor Sigler appeared before the legislature denouncing the "obstructionist tactics" that had defeated the measure. The newspapers the following morning carried headlines such as "Seething Sigler Hits Legislature." They called the defeat crushing, the most thorough ever administered by a Michigan legislature to a chief executive at a special session.

In his dramatic appearance before the legislature, Governor Sigler announced his intention to seek initiatory petitions on a constitutional amendment which would strike directly at Michigan's governmental maze by requiring organization into not more than eighteen departments, with the governor to effect such reorganization if the legislature failed to do so. The Citizens Committee for Better Government in Michigan, a recently formed group, agreed to support the effort. Petitions were printed and first circulation of them started.

Against this background the proposal was made that in lieu of a controversial petition campaign, with its threatened disruption of "party harmony" and uncertain outcome, an effort be made to re-introduce and pass the department of administration bill. Hurried conferences with legislative leaders showed such a possibility to exist. Valuable assistance was rendered by a group of senators headed by Elwood Bonine and Harold Tripp, who put forth yeoman effort to secure their colleagues' support. Eighteen senators agreed to sign the bill as introducers —enough to assure its passage in the upper house. When the legislature reconvened for final adjournment, the bill was re-introduced, passed and the petition campaign dropped.

Seldom has so major a change developed and been adopted so quickly. Students of government rate it the most significant change in Michigan's government since the creation of the state administrative board 25 years ago—with the further difference that the department of administration is sound in concept. Principal objections to the act have centered around the theme of "centralization of power," voiced by those who genuinely feared any increase of executive authority over administration as well as those who misunderstood the purposes and effects of the act and those who simply opposed change of any kind.

Purposes of Department

In proposing the department of administration to the legislature Governor Sigler emphasized its purpose as creating and bringing together the "tools of management." That is what it does. Purpose of the act is two-fold. It assembles the staff agencies or management-control functions directly under the governor, giving him a right arm in administering all operations of the state. Secondly, these functions are under a unified command, assuring a balanced and harmonious relationship among them and in their necessary effects upon one another.

Highlighted by the Governor in his message submitting the bill to the legislature was the following:

> I propose at this time the creation of a department of administration. This department will provide, under one head, the tools of management now scattered in a number of boards and agencies. A capable, experienced and trustworthy administrator should be placed at its head. He should be appointed by the governor and responsible to him.
>
> The chief executive is looked upon, both in law and practice, as the chief administrator. He must be given the tools to do the job. This department will give him those tools so that he can carry out his duties efficiently. If he does not, he will be held responsible by you and by the voters.
>
> Budgeting, purchasing and accounting will form the core of the department. All are parts of the over-all housekeeping functions of state government. The operation of each depends upon close association with, and information furnished by, the others. Like peas, they belong in the same pod. They should be coordinated for greater efficiency, economy and better management control. These functions are the same in character and purpose. Each relates to the operation of all state functions. A control over them is the only way the chief executive can perform the functions for which the people hold him—and him alone—responsible. They are the means by which administration is made intelligent and effective—or lacking them, bungling and ineffective.

The department will be under the supervision and direction of a controller appointed and removable by the governor. It will be the responsibility of its six major divisions, grouped under him, to:

1. Prepare and administer the state budget,
2. Install, supervise and operate a uniform state accounting system,
3. Administer a centralized state purchasing system,
4. Supervise building construction,
5. Maintain, equip, repair and assign space in all state buildings or rented quarters,
6. Acquire, operate, maintain and repair state-owned motor vehicles,
7. Administer travel regulations,
8. Determine the number, size, form, binding, typography and distribution of all state reports and publications,
9. Maintain and operate central duplicating, mailing, stenographic and other essential office services,
10. Survey and examine the organization and operation of all state agencies and prepare for the governor plans for improvement in the efficiency and economy of their operations.

The extent of the reorganization can perhaps be appreciated when it is realized that budgeting has been under the governor, accounting under the elected auditor general, who thus audited his own books, purchasing and building construction and management supervised by committees of the state administrative board, printing and building maintenance under a board of state auditors. The improved coordination made possible by the new act is obvious.

More to Be Done

By no means does the new act finish the task. It accomplishes one great step forward and should be a means for effecting a steadily improving quality of administration in much of the state government. But remaining are the problems of independent, elected administrative officers not responsible to the governor as well as the multiplicity of agencies under but tenuous executive supervision and direction.

Present Budget Director John A. Perkins, formerly secretary of the Institute of Public Administration at the University of Michigan, has been announced as Governor Sigler's appointment as the first controller when the act takes effect in August. His performance in his present position, coupled with his knowledge of the concepts underlying creation of the new department, should go far to assure its success in operation.

Upon invitation of Governor Sigler the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research worked with the Governor and his office in the development of the program and will continue to aid in the installation of the new department and the development of further proposals.

Since the close of the legislative session Governor Sigler has announced that he will continue his efforts to complete a program of reorganization, pending the day that Michigan's state government will compare with others which have achieved a modern plan. He has appointed an interim legislative committee to work on the problem, and the citizens committee has offered its assistance. In the meantime Michigan has achieved something which it already can offer other states as a model.

Legislators Usurp Counties

Members of South Carolina General Assembly whittle away local governing powers; new manager act offers first curb.

By ANNE KING GREGORIE*

A PECULIAR evolution has been taking place in the government of South Carolina counties ever since World War I. County legislative delegations—one state senator and members of the House of Representatives from the county—have gradually usurped most local governing powers. Upon returning to their respective counties on adjournment of state legislative sessions they have continued, as organized groups, to administer county government throughout the year.

The first break in this evolution appears in the form of a special act passed by the 1948 legislature which provides a system of municipal government for Charleston County "under either of two alternative plans" to be voted on by the electorate September 14. Actually three alternatives will be offered the voter. If neither Plan A nor B appeals to him he may vote to retain the present system.

Plan A would place the county government back into the hands of the county's governing body. It provides for a county council of seven members who shall appoint a county manager as chief executive officer, the council to have power to legislate upon all local matters including the levying of taxes for county and school purposes.

Plan B, however, would continue ultimate control of the county in the legislative delegation. It provides for a county council of eleven but not for a manager. The council would have no power to provide funds and substantially no legislative power except to provide a "reasonable ordinance for the control of motor vehicular traffic." Like Plan A, however, it transfers to the council powers now vested by law in the present county board of commissioners, county police commission and several other separate boards.

Under Plan B all county funds must be provided for by action of the state legislature and the county council must report to the county legislative delegation on all ordinances enacted by it and all moneys received and expended.

Although the state constitution declares that the "legislative, executive and judicial powers of the government shall be forever separate . . . and no person or persons exercising the functions of one of said departments shall assume or discharge the duties of any other,"[1] county delegations have not been deterred from administrative activities in the counties.

Nor have they been abashed by admonitory decrees of the State Su-

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*Dr. Gregorie, former state director of the Historical Records Survey, is editor of the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine.* Her article was prepared as part of a study being made by the Charleston League of Women Voters, of which she is an enthusiastic member.

[1] South Carolina Constitution 1895, Article I, Section 14.

preme Court, as in the case of *Bramlette* v. *Stringer et al.*, in which the court ruled that executive functions of the delegations shall be limited to general supervision and to such matters as are essential to the carrying on of legislative duties.[2]

In Charleston County today no administrative official can make a decision in any routine matter of importance. If a new school bus is needed, if clay is desired for a school playground, a citizen or a citizens' committee calls upon the delegation. As a result, the members of the delegation, acting in the dual role of state legislators and county executives, violate the constitutional provision that "no person shall hold two offices of honor or profit at the same time."[3]

Activities Financed

To carry on their self-imposed administrative functions, the members of the delegation organize by electing one of themselves as chairman and another as secretary. In Charleston County the delegation has an office in the courthouse, employs a clerk at an annual salary of $300 and an office secretary at $2,400. An annual allowance of $375 is made for office equipment, supplies, telephone, etc.

To finance its county activities between legislative sessions the delegation votes itself a contingent fund in the annual supply act for the county which is passed by the General Assembly. The germ of the contingent fund first appeared in 1923 as an appropriation of $75.22 to pay incidentals, stationery and other bills on warrant of the secretary of the delegation. A decade later it had grown to a $3,000 contingent fund and $90 for incidentals. In the course of the next ten years the contingent fund reached $6,000 and the office fund $900. In 1947 the contingent fund had reached $20,000 and the office expenses $3,075.

From time to time, as it deems expedient, the delegation meets in its office for public hearings on administrative matters; the proceedings are recorded in the minutes and are duly reported in the newspapers. At other times the delegation holds what it calls "executive sessions" from which the public is excluded and on which no reports are published.

The great power of the delegation lies in the fact that the annual county supply act must be passed by the state legislature. This is usually referred to as "the power of the purse," because the supply act names the appropriations for each county office, item by item, and determines the county tax levy. Since 1868 taxes for local purposes have been assessed upon estimates prepared by each board of county commissioners and sent to the state controller general for submission to the General Assembly, which in turn incorporates the levy for each county into a single appropriation act for the whole state.

In practice, this has to be worked out by placing the budget for each county in the hands of its legislative delegation. Custom has made it a breach of legislative courtesy for delegations from other counties to oppose the will of a particular delegation in regard to its own budget.

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[2] S. E. 195-257.

[3] Article II, Section 2.

As long as government was simple and expenditures were small, a single paragraph in the state supply act served for each county. With the increasing complexity of government, the statewide supply act grew more and more unwieldy as each county was given a longer paragraph. In 1916 the county legislative delegations were enjoined to present to the ways and means committee their respective estimates in time for a general county supply act to be presented not later than February 6. In 1920 the general county supply act was broken down into 46 separate county supply acts, each presented at the convenience of its own delegation. Before drafting a supply bill, the delegation usually receives estimates from each county office, sometimes direct, sometimes through the board of county commissioners.

Appointing Power Usurped

With the power of the purse goes the delegation's power of appointment. By enacting special laws which apply only to their respective counties the delegations have given themselves the power to appoint many county officials, even some that once were elected by the people.

This administrative work in a county by a group of state legislative officials has developed rapidly in South Carolina in recent years through a process of evolution which must be traced in detail to be fully understood. Such a development would not have been possible if the constitutional status of the board of county commissioners, now the nominal administrative body of the county, had not been repealed in 1889 by amendment to the constitution. This repeal gave the General Assembly a free hand to interfere in county matters. Thereafter, legislative enactment of a series of local laws foreshadowed the beginnings of the usurpation of executive functions by the state legislative body.

The board of county commissioners began to lose its powers over county roads in 1900 when a special act established the sanitary and drainage commission in Charleston County, to be elected in the general election of 1902 for four-year terms and to serve without compensation. The act was amended in 1906, 1915 and 1917. This commission now exercises all the powers formerly held by the board of county commissioners in connection with building and maintenance of county roads, and both the board and the commission are appointed by the legislative delegation.

In 1925 a special act set up the Charleston County police commission. This body likewise has been reorganized a number of times and is named by the delegation.

In 1936 a special act combined the county board of health with the board of health for the city of Charleston, the delegation naming the county members and the city council naming one member.

In 1931 the county board of education, which names the formerly elected county superintendent of education, came under control of the legislative delegation. In 1939 the delegation in another special law

(Continued on Page 376)

Redevelopment Without Plan

State laws enabling cities and private capital to work for slum clearance and housing have resulted in little progress.

By RUTH G. WEINTRAUB and ROSALIND TOUGH*

FOR years everyone has talked about and been aware of the disastrous shortage of housing and the need for the elimination of slums. Tragically little, however, has been accomplished.

As of January 1948, 25 states[1] and Congress for the District of Columbia had passed urban redevelopment legislation permitting cities to demolish outworn structures en masse and to rebuild.[2] Catalytic agents for such legislation include city planners, motivated by desire for general urban betterment; veterans groups, moved by the need for a place to live; realtors, influenced by the need for stabilizing property values; and insurance companies and savings banks, stimulated by swollen reserves to find new acceptable investments.

Seven years of legislation, however, have thus far produced few actual improvements. Other than two housing projects in New York City, Stuyvesant Town for whites and Riverton primarily for Negroes, both Metropolitan Life Insurance ventures scheduled for completion in 1948, and two other undertakings, one in Indianapolis and the other in Detroit, neither of which has reached the site clearance stage, state legislation has rebuilt no blighted areas.

The translation of the program from paper to happier urban living has experienced many handicaps, perhaps the most important of which is a non-materialization of a federal subsidy.

In contrast, in Great Britain the role of the central government in redevelopment has been crystallized, a Ministry of Town and Country Planning has been established and subsidies are available to local authorities for the acquisition and clearance of land necessary in replanning. Britain, of course, had one additional catalytic agent, the blitz, and rehabilitation of areas thus affected receives top priority.

Today, in terms of municipal finance, both the slum and blighted area represent economic liabilities. While land values are generally high, determined largely in terms of potential rather than actual use, buildings are old, dilapidated, often actually unsafe. As a result, tax revenues from substandard areas are low, tax delinquency is high. Generally speaking, excessive expenditures for policing, health services, social welfare, fire protection and other governmental services far exceed the yield of the real property tax.

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*Dr. Weintraub, a member of the New York bar, is associate professor of political science and Dr. Tough is associate professor of sociology at Hunter College, New York City. Over the past few years the authors have collaborated on numerous articles concerning veterans' preference, housing and other subjects in their fields.

[1] Alabama, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, South Carolina, Virginia and Wisconsin. Alabama's law on urban redevelopment was declared unconstitutional in 1946.

[2] This article considers only attempts to encourage private interests in the rehabilitation of blighted areas with public aid in site assembling and tax exemption.

Cities as far apart as Atlanta and Buffalo experience excessive costs in areas of blight and slums. A recent report indicates that in Atlanta 5½ per cent of the tax revenues from real property but 53 per cent of the city's service costs were attributable to blighted areas. In Buffalo annual public health costs were stated to be more than three times as high per family in blighted areas as in other sections.[3]

Rehabilitation of blighted areas on a large scale should result in what has been termed recentralization within the larger community. What this involves is the creation of a series of small community units within the city, each one complete in the sense of supplying its residents with a place to live, a place to work and transact business, a place for recreation and, in general, a place to fill the needs of everyday living. What this involves, too, is a redistribution of population, lesser density in the recentralized communities and, to use British terminology, a distribution of the excess to overspill areas, even if necessary outside city limits.

The American interpretation of urban redevelopment has not been community reconstruction as a whole but has limited itself largely to one phase of community life, housing. In this respect it has envisioned urban redevelopment and the development of new communities as separate undertakings and not, what is far more fundamental, two blades of the pair of scissors which should fashion the new design for American living.

What has been visioned is possible federal grants-in-aid to municipalities, joint federal and local contributions to enable the city to assemble large tracts of land and to write down inflated land values, before the land is made available for new utilization. Embodied in title 8 of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill (Senate 866) which passed the U. S. Senate on April 22, the federal subsidy is still merely a future possibility; there is no likelihood of immediate action.

Urban redevelopment in the United States, therefore, is strictly a product of state and local activity. The only federal subsidy which exists is for rental housing for families of low income. Even for this limited objective funds are no longer available for new projects.

Public Library
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Nature of State Laws

During seven years of legislative activity a change in the role to be played by private initiative has become apparent. In general, statutes adopted from 1941 to 1944 look to private enterprise to accomplish two fundamental phases of urban redevelopment: (a) land assembly and clearance and (b) housing and community replanning. Laws passed since then place the responsibility for land assembly and clearance on local communities and assign to private enterprise the role of actual redevelopment of the area.[4]

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[3] *Reference and Source Material on Housing and Housing Needs,* compiled by the Federal Public Housing Authority, National Housing Agency, January 1947, 36 pages.

Projects anticipated under state laws have the benefit of one or more public privileges and exemptions; on the other hand they are subject to regulation and supervision by public bodies. Assistances take the form of eminent domain exercised either by the corporations, known generally as redevelopment companies, or by municipalities. The corporations are granted all necessary general corporate powers including the power to borrow money and issue bonds and their obligations have become authorized investments for public and private agencies and fiduciaries. Partial tax exemption for a period of years, exemption from increased assessment for tax purposes, land at prices below market rate because of governmental subsidies and grants of public lands in the form of streets, parks and playgrounds are illustrative of additional public aid.

Urban redevelopment laws provide a relatively uniform pattern of regulation; what differs, however, are the supervisory agencies—the planning commission, the local legislature, the controller, superintendent of insurance, local housing authority (set up originally to administer low rental housing legislation) and a specially created redevelopment agency.

Regulations usually require submission of plans for the project, including a description of the area to be developed, type of buildings, anticipated costs and methods of financing, approximate rentals, and data regarding the dislocation of the families living in the section to be improved. Generally speaking, dividends that the redevelopment company may pay are limited to a specified percentage, restrictions are made as to the transfer of the project to some use other than that designated, and the corporation's financing procedures are supervised.[5]

New York Law in Action

New York State's redevelopment companies act,[6] the first of its kind, has been translated into action. As already indicated two projects are now nearing completion. One of these, Stuyvesant Town, located along Manhattan's East River from Fourteenth to Eighteenth Streets, will house 8,755 white families; the other, located in Harlem, bounded by 135th and 138th Streets, covering six city blocks, will provide accommodations for 1,236 Negro families.

The Stuyvesant Town area constituted one of the older sections of New York City. Its pattern, established between the Civil War and 1900, included primarily tenement houses and later some industrial establishments. In 1920 a population of about 27,000 was on the site; in 1943, when the City Planning Commission gave its approval to the project, it had declined to 11,000 persons.

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[4] Della Richman, "State Urban Redevelopment Legislation," the *Municipal Yearbook,* 1946, pp. 311-316.

[5] *Comparative Analysis of the Principal Provisions of the State Urban Redevelopment Corporations Laws.* National Housing Agency, Office of the General Counsel, June 1, 1944, 27 pages; *Comparative Analysis of the Principal Provisions of State Urban Redevelopment Legislation.* National Housing Agency, October 31, 1945, 74 pages.

[6] New York, Laws of 1942, Chapter 845; Laws of 1943, Chapter 234; Laws of 1941, 892. The law of 1942 as amended is the first one usually cited because it made fundamental changes in the law of 1941.

Comparable conditions existed in the Harlem site—all but three of the eleven tenements in the district had been built prior to 1900. Paper, rag and junk shops, small automobile establishments and high coal pockets occupied the greater part of the land. It took little vision to see that once the area was cleared the site, overlooking the Harlem River, had natural charm.

Legal Action Taken

The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, operating through the Stuyvesant Town Corporation and the Riverton Development Corporation, was attacked both at public hearings and in the courts. Criticisms were of two types: those which pointed up the weaknesses in the law and those which dealt with specific aspects of the Stuyvesant Town building project. Fear was expressed that there might be racial discrimination in tenant selection, that there were not sufficient controls to prevent high population density, that the law permitted the development corporation to escape from regulation by the city upon the payment of the tax differential plus interest. Upon such payment the partial tax exemption of the project ceases and it is no longer subject to the restrictions and public controls applicable to tax exempt projects.[7]

Objection was also made to the use of eminent domain by the city in assembling the site and to the surrender of city streets to a private corporation which might at some future time be outside public control.

Stuyvesant Town itself was designated as a "walled city," because of the thirteen-story buildings around the periphery. Other criticisms included the lack of a school within the development and the size of apartments which would accommodate on an average 2.75 persons compared with 3.6 for urban families generally.

Hardly had the plans for Stuyvesant Town been completed before the critics instigated legal action. The right of New York State to grant to the city the use of its power of condemnation in connection with a project that might result in profit to a private corporation was challenged in the courts. The New York Court of Appeals, in the case of *Matter of Mary V. Murray et al.* v. *LaGuardia et al.*, took the position that there was a public purpose behind legislation which was designed to interest private capital in the task of slum clearance and the correction of blight. That private interests may incidently reap a benefit the court considered immaterial to the issue of public purpose.[8]

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[7] It has been argued that, from the point of view of long term revenues, it would have been much less expensive to give an initial subsidy to the redevelopment company by transferring the land for Stuyvesant Town at a written down value, the city assuming the loss. Under this condition, it is estimated, tax revenue from the development would have been about $1,000,000 a year, sufficient to compensate the city for its "write down" in comparatively few years. Under the present agreement, since tax exemption extends for 25 years, there is a possible total loss throughout the whole period of $25,000,000, considerably more than the initial cost of the site. Charles Abrams, *The Future of Housing.* Harper and Brothers, 1946, page 380.

An action for an injunction to prevent the redevelopment company from proceeding with its plan was started several months later. Here again the suit was lost on the ground that the action was premature in that although there were rumors about a possible tenant selection policy in violation of the "equal protection" clause in the state constitution, no policy had been officially announced and no selection of tenants had begun.[9] The court took the position that injury to some complainant must be established in order to have a cause of action, and obviously no such complainant could exist and therefore the judiciary could not intervene in advance.

The issue was adjusted at two levels. The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company announced the Riverton project in Harlem and the city council of New York passed an ordinance providing that no tax exemption be given new projects which practice discrimination, racial or religious, in tenant selection.

Off the record comment is that, for New York City at least, this legislation ends the usefulness of the state's urban redevelopment companies law so far as new projects are concerned. General feeling among realtors is that local prejudices, being what they are, implications of both the local ordinance and the state law would make investment of private funds extremely precarious. On the other hand, the logic is sound. Can the state give such bounties as the benefits of condemnation and tax exemption to agencies practicing race discrimination in tenant selection?

Experience in Great Britain

All this in the United States is contrary to conditions in Great Britain where planning in terms of community rebuilding has come of age. A series of town and country planning acts from 1943 to 1947 recognize the necessity for a national policy prepared by a central authority.[10] The first provides for a separate minister of planning. The act of 1944 greatly enlarges governmental powers of acquiring land for planning purposes. The bases of the plan, as carried out in Plymouth for example, is "a large scale relocation of excess population and industry from the war damaged and obsolete central wards and the redevelopment of these wards on more spacious lines."

Not only the areas of extensive war damage are to be redeveloped but adjacent or, in British terms, "overspill" areas needed to reduce population density and relocate industry. The Minister of Town and Country Planning has power to authorize the compulsory acquisition of all the land required for the purpose, even outside the boundaries of the local planning authority. Compulsory purchase of land can also be used where there is no extensive war damage but where there are "conditions of bad layout and obsolete development."

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[8] 291 N. Y. 320, 1943, cert. denied, 321 U. S. 771 (1944).

[9] 47 N. Y. Supp. 2d. Series 359 (1944), 294 N. Y. 842.

[10] The Town and Country Planning (Interim Development) Act 1943, 6 & 7 Geo. 6, ch. 29; The Town and Country Planning Act 1944, 7 & 8 Geo. 6, ch. 47; New Towns Act 1946, 9 & 10 Geo. 6, ch. 68; *Town and Country Planning Act 1947, Explanatory Memorandum,* Cmd. 7006, Jan. 1947, H. M. Stationery Office, London. *First & Second Interim Reports of the New Towns Committee,* cmd. 6759, Jan. 21, 1946; cmd. 6794, April 1946, H. M. Stationery Office, London.

Barbara Bliss (Editor), *The New Planning Redevelopment and Relocation,* Faber and Faber, 1944, see chapter by R. L. Reiss, "The New Planning, Redevelopment and Overspill."

1947 Town and Country Planning Bill, Town and Country Planning Association, 26 King Street, Covent Garden, W. C. 2, London.

Much of the effectiveness of the British act will depend upon the interpretation by the Minister of Town and Country Planning of such phrases as "area of extensive war damage," conditions of "bad layout and obsolete development," and "standards of density."

Cooperation of local authorities in replanning is essential. In Plymouth the central wards of the city have been designated as either "areas of extensive war damage" or of "obsolete development." The population of these areas will be reduced from 100,000 to 38,000 and some industries will be moved. Ultimately two thirds of the population will be relocated in "overspill areas," some in the immediate neighborhood, some in the city's outer wards and some in communities outside the city.

Financial assistance from the Exchequer takes the form of paying the loan charges incurred by local authorities for the purchase of land.[11]

The new towns act of 1946 gives recognition to that aspect of the overspill program dealing with the accommodation of excess population in new communities outside city limits. The Minister of Town and Country Planning is enabled to set up corporations, acquire land and promote and finance the building of new towns.

Additional basic reforms in the planning system are proposed in the town and country planning act of 1947. Under this legislation a planning scheme, prepared first in broad outline, will determine which towns and villages are suitable for expansion, the number of people to be accommodated and the location of industry and housing. Local authorities are given wider powers to buy land compulsorily to develop it themselves or to lease it to a private developer who will conform with the plan. An owner, not allowed to redevelop his land under the provisions of the plan, will have under certain conditions the right to require the local authority to buy his land. Contrary to the act of 1944 local authorities are no longer restricted to development projects which private enterprise will not undertake.

Where private enterprise is permitted to improve the site, a source of revenue to the government will result from the collection in whole or in part of any increase in land value above that for the existing use. This is to be known as a development charge. Thus the market value of land in the future will be determined by its existing use, prior to the new development.

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[11] In other words, the central government assumes the cost of the money which the local authorities have borrowed. In areas of extensive war damage these grants run as long as ten years and in exceptional cases fifteen years. For the overspill areas the full cost of money is met for the first two years by the exchequer; for the second two years only half the cost is met; for the remaining period of the loan the responsibility becomes that of the local authority. Rt. Hon. W. S. Morrison, "The British Town and Country Planning Act." *The American City,* April 1945, pages 65, 66.

The contrast between redevelopment in Great Britain and that in the United States is so great that the plans appear to be two entirely different spheres of activity. In the one instance power rests with the central government and legal mechanisms to relocate population with its necessary services have already been adopted. In the United States no comparable philosophy of planning exists. What legislation has been passed, what projects have been undertaken, are strictly the results of piecemeal planning within the framework of a private enterprise economy and at the local level.

Though 25 states and Congress for the District of Columbia have met the challenge by passing urban redevelopment laws, no broad movement to clear the slums and to rehouse large sections of the population has resulted.

Here, as in Britain, urban redevelopment on a broad scale necessitates planning not just at the state and local level but, more important, at the national level. Assemblage of land in urban communities is expensive, too costly to be used for housing middle income and low income families. Inflated land values must be written down prior to building and this, if undertaken in quantity, requires federal financial aid.

So far the only attempt in this direction, still unsuccessful, is found in the Taft-Wagner-Ellender bill with its federal subsidy for urban redevelopment—because of congressional opposition the National Resources Planning Board, whose vision was broad enough to encompass the rebuilding of our cities, has ceased to exist.

The pertinent question might well be asked: how long can America afford to do without a long-time plan for the future development of its cities—how long can it afford the costs of blighted areas and slums, the inevitable result of the policy of "muddling through".

Metropolis at the Crossroads

New planned communities, restoration of old neighborhoods, with well rounded community life, seen as basic need of cities.

By **PAUL WINDELS***

THE New York Metropolitan Region includes the five counties of New York City and 17 counties in New York State, New Jersey and Connecticut surrounding them—in all about 7,500 square miles. Within it are over 500 separate units of local government serving a population of 13,500,000 of whom approximately 7,800,000 live in New York City.

It is estimated that by 1970 there will be an increase in population over the entire region of some 2,000,000 people.

Because of the decreasing size of the average family, it requires more housing units than heretofore to accommodate a given number of people. To provide for the expected increase in number of family units we shall need, by 1970, a total of 1,100,000 additional living units in the entire region.

This population increase, with its 1,100,000 additional living units and related business, industrial, recreational and institutional facilities, will be equivalent to the creation, within this metropolitan region, of 80 new municipalities of the present size of Stamford, Connecticut, White Plains, New York, or Montclair, New Jersey—more than 500 square miles of new development, all within the next 25 years.

This gives a picture of the magnitude of the problems of expansion in the New York region, but the facts have application to other metropolitan areas throughout the nation. In them now live almost half the nation's people. They have increased two and a half times in population since the turn of the century.

Recently F. J. Osborn of England, an international leader in the field of regional and city planning, came to see what was going on in this country. On the eve of his return he made some informal observations on the state of urban and regional planning.

He pointed out that sometimes in the field of human endeavor advocates of progress have to go along for many years with apparently little to show for their efforts. Then, for some reason, the political or social climate changes and, by a combination of circumstances or events, the door of opportunity is suddenly opened and it becomes possible to make notable progress.

Mr. Osborn said that had been the experience of city and regional planners in England and he wondered, if the same situation were to arise in this country, whether we would be ready for it. It was his observation that the public's interest in abstract ideas is limited and, to be ready to seize opportunities if and when they come, our thinking must be advanced to the point where we know at what we are aiming and have fairly definite ideas to propose.

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There is a good deal of truth in this. What would we do if there were suddenly placed at our disposal the means to secure comprehensive regional planning here? What are the conditions with which we are confronted?

Two Million More

The process of urban growth continues. How long and how far it will grow and spread we do not know, but we believe the estimate of a total increase of 2,000,000 persons in this region in the next quarter century is reasonable.

What are the dominant characteristics of this growth? We have first the centers or cores of the area: New York City, Newark and a half dozen smaller but substantial municipalities. In them all there is a trend from the center either toward its periphery or out of the city. People are steadily moving farther away from central places of employment. A striking illustration of this is the fact that whereas in the fifteen-year period from 1925 to 1940 population in the area increased 26 per cent, the newly built up area increased 56 per cent.

The centers of cities are becoming outmoded for residential purposes. It is not yet economically practicable to modernize them without vast public subsidies and the population simply drifts away, but the major part of it comes back to the centers for employment.

Chief characteristic of our present day trend is the constantly increasing distance between places of residence and places of employment and recreation. This means an enormous amount of travel, congesting railroads and city transportation systems, increasing tremendously the number of bus lines, and making travel on arterial vehicular highways at times almost an impossibility. Within this region the combined means of transportation bring daily more than four million people from outlying areas to central points for work or recreation.

We estimate an increase in the commuter population to and from New York City, if present trends continue, of 70,000 additional daily travelers by 1970 which means approximately 70 more commuter trains twice a day. How they can be provided for in view of existing congestion nobody yet knows. It is also estimated that by 1960 automobile traffic may be double that of today and nobody knows where the money is coming from to double our highway and parking facilities.

Obviously this increase in daily travel cannot go on forever at the accelerating rates of the past years. We cannot keep on forever creating more and more facilities for the mounting tidal wave of population surging toward the few regional centers in the morning and out again at night. There must be some limit to the financial ability of states and municipalities to increase transportation and vehicular facilities to meet the needs not only of more people but of longer journeys by people as a daily routine. As a matter of sheer physical and financial necessity part of the solution of the traffic and transportation problem must be found in avoiding much of the increase of travel by better organization of the region.

The problem is not necessarily one of mere numbers of people. It is primarily the basically wrong design of our metropolitan area and the way in which the comings and goings of the population are organized.

What happens now when our cities grow? Invariably their population spreads out over the surrounding terrain like a solid flow of lava. They are mere formless sprawls. They simply spread in every direction and in their progress overwhelm everything that lies in their paths with a type of intensive and continuous development basically resembling the older parts of the city.

In the areas surrounding such cities are found many attractive towns and villages, each with its own clearly defined boundaries, traditions and interests where some degree of local, intimate community life is maintained.

As the overwhelming mass of city population moves toward each of these and over it, it is enveloped and absorbed and ultimately becomes another indistinguishable part of the great metropolitan sprawl. The old city pattern is perpetuated and extended, creating an increasing number of urban wanderers seeking places less obsolete but ever more remote in which to live.

With that type of urban sprawl and the disappearance of these smaller distinctive communities into the conglomerate urban mass come the problems—human, political, social and financial—which plague us today and will press on us with increasing weight unless we control and correct them. In these surroundings arise the anti-social mass emotions which sweep such areas. There is little in them of human scale and participation that people can cling to and build their lives on. They need living conditions based less on anonymity and more on intimate community life and association to rekindle a sense of individual dignity and significance and social responsibility.

New York at Crossroads

PERIODICAL DEPT

Now it is evident that provision must be made for the growth which we face. What shall it be? Shall we let population continue to spread aimlessly as it has, repeating in new areas all of the mistakes of the past, letting congestion pile on congestion and confusion on confusion, until the whole system breaks down through impossible crowding or municipal bankruptcy? Or shall we try to channel this growth of population into a more human and better coordinated pattern?

The New York metropolitan area is today at the crossroads. This may be the best, it may also be the last, opportunity for an effective decision as to our future. Building, held back for years because of depression, war and inflation, is now under way. New development will either help to achieve the better metropolitan region or it will make it more difficult, even impossible, to attain.

Is this metropolitan region to become finally and permanently a massive and monolithic structure keyed largely to a few centers with a daily ebb and flow of millions of people to those relatively small areas or is it to develop as a metropolitan region of many centers of housing, trade, industry and recreation, each clearly defined with its own distinctive identity, with people living closer to places of work and possessing greater opportunities for participation in home community life?

Growth Must Be Guided

In sheer financial self-defense and, even more important, for more desirable living conditions, we must channel and guide this new growth in such a manner that we create many new regional centers.

From its study of this problem the Regional Plan Association knows that additional growth takes place continually on the outskirts of previously built-up areas. The continuation of this trend is actually in force in the building now under way.

This continuous spread and sprawl of the city over the countryside should not be accepted as inevitable —it is not inevitable unless we will it or, by our default, tolerate it.

In the London metropolitan area they propose to meet this threat but by methods which to us seem arbitrary. Certainly we would not be prepared in this country to favor the execution of metropolitan planning by having government appropriate all development rights in all land. We still believe in private initiative and the free enterprise system.

But what we can do is to agree on some fundamental principles and broad objectives and then use such public and private instrumentalities as are available to us or within the reasonable range of governmental authority and move toward the achievement of those ends.

Instead of permitting a disorganized sprawl of growth we should deliberately set about to preserve the essential identity and character of the small towns. Bronxville, New York, had the foresight to surround itself almost completely with publicly owned open spaces. That community is not in danger of being overwhelmed and losing its identity. We should channel a major part of the region's growth toward a much larger number of centers. We should deliberately design and create entirely new and distinctive self-sufficient communities for the purpose of accommodating a substantial part of our regional growth.

This last may sound like a radical proposal, impossible of accomplishment, but there is nothing radical or impossible about it. It has heretofore been done and is being done now by the development of large scale private residential projects, by building up residential areas around great industries and by relating new industrial plants or business enterprises to new communities.

The next major development in the field of planning in this metropolitan region will be when the governing authorities in each of our three states have the courage, imagination and foresight to apply, on a larger scale, to the creation of entire towns and communities the procedures we are learning to use in urban redevelopment projects under statutes expressly designed for the wholesale redevelopment of blighted areas within cities. This calls for state leadership.

As a next step I should like to see one of our great insurance companies lend its aid to an enterprise of that size in cooperation with one of the states and one or more industries seeking more favorable location and modernized design and setting within the region.

This is not decentralization. It is creating new centers to provide for future growth. There will always be a tremendous number of people who will want to live in the great cities which will have their purposes and serve particular needs. But, instead of concentrating all the employment of our increased population on, perhaps, only a half dozen centers we must spread it out and let the increase find its residence and employment in 50 or more intelligently planned and developed centers throughout the region—some of them new towns. This will make for efficiency, economy in operation, reduction of congestion and infinitely pleasanter lives for the people.

And we have the problem of our great cities. In New York City alone there are 16½ square miles of blighted areas. In the region there are 25 square miles of blight. What are we to do with them? Of course we must rebuild them, but today it costs approximately $10,000 a unit and if we were to provide modernized housing for all of the people presently living in these areas the total cost would be five billion dollars, a substantial part of it an outright subsidy. With land and building costs as they are today, we simply cannot rebuild blighted areas exclusively with private capital, and barely with public capital, unless with such concentrations of population per acre in the new housing as to threaten the creation of new blighted areas.

Neighborhood Units

What we shall have to aim for in the rebuilding of urban centers, just as in the building of new towns, is clearly defined neighborhood units. Decades ago New York City consisted of many such neighborhoods.

Our redevelopment has heretofore been entirely by individual projects not yet big enough, except perhaps in one or two cases, to create distinctive neighborhood patterns.

We have been shortsighted in placing all our reliance on housing. People do not live in housing alone. To live normal, wholesome lives they should also live in communities. We have made notable progress in the development of modernized housing but from now on we must build communities with all the features that make possible a well rounded community life.

It may well be asked, "assuming we decided to build our new areas and rebuild our older areas along the lines here suggested, how can we do it? How can we achieve balanced metropolitan development without a drastic curtailment of local municipal autonomy and free enterprise, such as is today being experimented with in England?"

We shall have to work it out in the American way under our American system of government and constitutional powers. We need first a policy and a purpose. Thus far there has been no policy of metropolitan development behind state or federal housing and redevelopment legislation. Every federal law affecting urban development, and every state housing and redevelopment corporation law, must be tested for its application to orderly metropolitan growth. Statutory policies and aids are required for the encouragement of public and private capital in this field.

Unofficial citizens' organizations, such as the Regional Plan Association, also have an important role to play in acting as an impartial neutral ground where federal, state, county, local and private representatives meet and work out matters of joint interest affecting regional development.

We must have in the development of our metropolitan areas the kindred and supremely important objectives of the reestablishment of neighborhood life in our cities, the creation of new towns, the preservation of our smaller regional communities and the wider distribution of employment throughout the region.

Along this path lies the hope of a wholesome development of all metropolitan areas.

LEGISLATORS USURP

(Continued from Page 363)

took over the appointment of the city of Charleston school board formerly elected by the people.

During the depression of the 1930's, when the federal government made large appropriations for local relief, a special act of 1937 set up a county welfare board with three members elected by a majority of the legislative delegation.

The state constitution prohibits local or special laws in ten specified fields, which are required to be regulated by general laws, declaring that "in all other cases where a general law can be made applicable, no special law shall be enacted."[4]

Ignoring the constitution and decisions of the Supreme Court, county delegations have become so obsessed with county matters that the General Assembly is congested with local bills—514 were enacted in the 1948 session as compared with 72 statewide measures—which get no consideration and are passed merely by legislative courtesy unless they are contested within the delegation concerned. The results are three great evils:

1. State legislation is neglected;
2. Length of the legislative session is extended beyond constitutional limits;
3. Members of the General Assembly argue that they are underpaid, and vote to pay themselves unconstitutional extra pay in the guise of "expense money."

The charter vote set for September 14 is Charleston County's opportunity to serve notice on the members of its delegation to the legislature that they are to confine their activities to the offices to which they are elected.

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[4] Article III, Section 34, xi.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Ohio Cities Demand Unicameral Legislature

New Hampshire Stubs Toe *Illinois Looks to Revision*

A PROPOSED constitutional amendment to provide a single-chamber legislature for the state of Ohio was unanimously approved in principle by the Ohio Association of Cities at its Youngstown meeting in May.

As prepared at the initiative of Mayor Albert D. Cash of Cincinnati (see the June REVIEW, page 320) and somewhat revised by the association's legislative committee, the amendment would repeal a considerable portion of the present Ohio constitution as it relates to the legislature and substitute provisions for the single chamber, its election, organization and, in important respects, its procedure.

The legislature as established by the amendment would consist of 70 members elected every two years from 39 assembly districts; each district would comprise one or more counties. Cuyahoga County, including the city of Cleveland and other municipalities, would have twelve representatives whereas four of the other districts would each consist of four counties of relatively small population with one representative per district.

A reapportionment is provided for in 1951 and every tenth year thereafter, based on the federal decennial census, "or in such other mode as the General Assembly may direct"; the state population would be divided by 70 to produce a "population ratio" that would determine the number of representatives per district, with a minimum requirement of seven-tenths of such ratio. If the legislature fails to reapportion by October 1 of any such tenth year the secretary of state is directed to make such apportionment before the end of the year (except that the 1951 apportionment may be delayed until 1953). Thus persistently inequitable apportionment could be guarded against.

Standing committees would be limited to fifteen and provision is made for discharge of bills from committees in the session following introduction. A legislative council and director of research are provided for.

As Ohio citizens can put such an amendment on the ballot directly by a 10 per cent initiative petition it can happen!

Constitutional Reform Set Back in New Hampshire

The thirteenth constitutional convention in New Hampshire adjourned on June 4 after approving six main propositions to be voted on by the electorate next autumn:

1. Each town, regardless of size, to have one representative, with some additional representation for large towns and cities dependent on population but no increase in the total in the house of representatives;

2. State taxes on gross incomes and inheritances permitted;

3. Taxation of stock in trade differently from other property permitted;

4. A tax on electric energy generated instead of utility franchise taxes permitted;

5. Legislature to be permitted to adjourn for periods up to five days rather than for only two days;

6. A uniform election procedure for calling constitutional conventions every eight years instead of seven.

The first proposition has aroused a storm of protest and opposition, primarily in the cities, as it would further reduce urban representation in the legislature, where already the small rural towns have disproportionate power. In New Hampshire each town now has a representative, but in partial recognition of the small population of some towns, their legislative representatives sit only in certain years. The new proposal would give the smallest town continuous representation, grossly disproportionate to population.

The *New Hampshire Sunday News* of Manchester states that 113 towns with a combined population of 13,000 would have greater representation than the cities of Manchester, Concord and Nashua with nearly 150,000 population.

"The net effect would be to rob the cities of representation and establish a rural hierarchy over the cities," says the newspaper editorially, "and, since the rural areas are overwhelmingly Republican, it would strike a further blow against the two-party system. . . .

"It penalizes the large towns in just the same way that it strips representation from the people of the cities. By setting up a whole new group of arbitrary and unrealistic geographical divisions as the basis of voting power it encourages insularity in the state. Friction and disparity of interest between city and county will receive new impetus."

The fear is expressed that the representation proposal will not only increase bitterness between urban and rural communities but will jeopardize all the proposed amendments.

Five non-controversial resolutions for eliminating obsolete constitutional provisions were also approved and will be submitted to popular vote in 1950.

The convention authorized its president to appoint a committee to prepare information on pertinent subjects in the event the convention is reconvened and approved the suggestion that similar preparation be made as to future conventions.

Illinois Moves Toward Constitutional Revision

Hope for a modernized constitution for Illinois has been expressed by the Peoria *Journal Transcript:*

"The possibility of revising the present outmoded, antiquated 1870 constitution under which the state of Illinois operates has been revived by action of the Illinois State Bar Association and the Chicago Bar Association.

"The presidents of the two bar associations sent letters to Governor Green and to Adlai Stevenson, his Democratic opponent in the November gubernatorial election, asking their sentiments regarding submission to the voters of Illinois in 1950 of a proposal for the holding of a constitutional convention.

"Both Governor Green and Mr. Stevenson indicated their approval of efforts to bring the state's basic law up to date and their willingness to participate in an attempt to call a convention to write a new state constitution.

"Similar attempts have been made several times before but all have failed to bring about the desired changes, largely because of down-state distrust of any measure that might give control of the state legislature to Chicago and Cook County. Both Mr. Stevenson and Governor Green allude to these fears in their replies to the bar associations' letters, but both assert that such difficulties should be possible of solution.

"Few persons will deny that a revision of the state constitution, which is 78 years old, is extremely desirable."

Florida to Vote on Amendment Procedure

The people of Florida will vote in November on a proposed constitutional amendment (House Joint Resolution 118) which would permit complete amendment of any article of the constitution by one amendment. At present an amendment can relate only to a single subject. Representative Perry E. Murray originally introduced the resolution so as to provide that any and all portions of the constitution could be revised by one amendment, but the limitation that each amendment should consist of no more than one revised article was strongly supported by many and was accepted by him.

New Jersey Reorganizes Seven State Departments

Seven out of fourteen state reorganization bills have been adopted thus far by the New Jersey legislature and signed by Governor Driscoll. The other seven are to be considered by the legislature when it resumes on August 18.

The seven departments set up by the newly adopted laws are defense, civil service, public utilities, treasury, highway, banking and insurance, and institutions and agencies; they go into effect July 1.

The defense department is headed by a chief of staff, appointed by the governor to serve at his pleasure. He exercises the functions of the former adjutant general, quartermaster general and state military board.

Civil service will continue to be directed by a commission of five, with five-year terms, except that the president, who will be the executive head, will be a member of the commission chosen by the governor to serve at his pleasure.

The department of public utilities is under a three-man commission with six-year terms, as at present, with the new proviso that the president be designated by the governor to serve at his pleasure.

The treasury department will be headed by the present treasurer while his term lasts; his successor will be appointed by the governor to serve at his pleasure. The treasury department will consolidate all state fiscal functions, with divisions of budget and accounting, purchase and property, local government, taxation, tax appeals and the state racing commission. The budget director will take over the duties of the present comptroller also. Four state pension funds will be under the treasury. The governor appoints the directors of the budget, purchasing, local government and taxation, but the treasurer can himself exercise any of their authority if he sees fit.

The highway commissioner is appointed by the governor to serve at his pleasure (instead of for six years as previously) and appoints his own engineers.

The commissioner of banking and insurance, also serving at the governor's pleasure, will head his department and appoint deputy commissioners of banking and insurance as well as building and loan. The department also takes in the real estate commission of five members appointed by the governor.

All appointments by the governor are subject to the consent of the senate.

There is substantially no change in the department of institutions and agencies.

Short State Ballot Urged for Minnesota

The executive committee of the Minnesota constitutional commission, authorized by the legislature to revise the 90-year-old state constitution, has made various recommendations to the full commission.

State executive officers elected by the people to be reduced to three—governor, lieutenant governor and attorney general; those to be made appointive instead of elective would be the secretary of state, the treasurer and the clerk of the supreme court.

The state auditor, heretofore elective, would be chosen by the legislature, with his term extended from four years to six.

Terms of governor, lieutenant governor and attorney general would be extended from two to four years.

The merit system for selection of state employees would be perpetuated and protected by being written into the constitution.

Succession to the governorship in case of death, resignation or removal of the governor would be, in order, by the lieutenant governor, senate president *pro tempore,* speaker of the house. If none of these are available, the oldest member of the senate would be authorized to call the senate in special session to elect a president *pro tempore* who would then become governor.

The governor would be required to submit a budget three weeks after the opening of each biennial session of the legislature.

Kentucky Combines Social Security Agencies

A new department of economic security, created by the Kentucky legislature this year, begins functioning July 1. It will unite unemployment insurance, employment service, public assistance and child welfare. The University of Kentucky is offering extension courses to the department's employees in various technical subjects.

South Carolina Seeks Better Legislative Methods

At its regular 1948 session the legislature of South Carolina created an interim committee on improvement of legislative procedure. According to *State Government* it will investigate and report on reorganization of the standing committee system, reduction of the volume of local legislation, revision of engrossing procedures and establishment of research, reference and bill-drafting facilities.

40 State Planning or Development Agencies

With the creation of an agricultural and industrial expansion board by recent legislation, Kentucky becomes the 40th state with a regular agency engaged in planning or related activities, according to the Association of State Planning and Development Agencies. A recent survey by the association disclosed that states are spending somewhat more than $8,000,000 during the current biennium on planning and development.

The Kentucky agency, backed by an appropriation of $150,000 a year for the next two years, will undertake research and advertising to "attract favorable attention to the industrial, commercial, recreational and agricultural possibilities of the commonwealth." The program will involve: (1) coordinating economic development plans of localities and regions, (2) studying land utilization, (3) mapping the physical and economic development of the state, (4) helping other agencies promote development of resources, and (5) dovetailing local improvement programs into an integrated statewide plan.

In Virginia, recent reorganization enactments put the state planning board in a new department of conservation and development and renames it the division of planning and economic development. Research will be conducted in sixteen major fields "affecting the economy of the state." Other divisions in the new department are forestry, geology, parks, water resources and ports.

Use of Interstate Compacts Extended

With the participation of Kentucky, Mississippi and South Carolina in the Interstate Compact for the Supervision of Parolees and Probationers, the number of states that have ratified the compact is raised to 44, according to the Council of State Governments. It is thus the most widely accepted formal interstate agreement "calling for coordinated effort and cooperative practices."

Preparatory work for pollution control is advancing under the New England Interstate Water Pollution Control Compact, ratified last year by Connecticut, Massachusetts and Rhode Island, with the approval of the federal government. The present members of the resultant commission hope that the other New England states and New York will soon enter. Each signatory pledges to provide for the abatement and control of pollution of interstate waters in accordance with requirements approved by the commission.

The Western Interstate Committee on Institutional Care, established as a result of a regional meeting of the Council of State Governments in 1946, has recently been considering a proposal for an interstate compact among ten western states to provide for a central institution for women criminals. It also contemplates a survey of mental deficients in western state institutions, a plan for segregation of juvenile delinquents by types, and a plan for joint use by two or more states of technical personnel on a part-time basis.

A broad program for industrial expansion in eleven western states is to be drafted before November by the commissions on interstate cooperation in the respective states.

Council Manager Plan Developments

On May 18 the voters of **Meridian, Mississippi,** (population 35,481) adopted the council-manager plan as provided by the legislature earlier this year. The vote was 2,802 to 831, largest ever cast in Meridian in a special election. The plan takes effect on January 1.

Pulaski, Virginia, (population 8,792) adopted a limited town manager charter, authorized by the legislature, on June 8 by a vote of 711 to 432. The new charter retains the ward system previously in use with the mayor elected at large. Under it the manager, to be appointed by the council, has no authority to "hire and fire" department heads but that power may be designated to him by the council. Petitions to place the plan on the ballot were circulated by the local newspaper, *The Southwest Times,* which conducted a vigorous campaign for its adoption.

The voters of **Albany, Oregon,** (5,654) have approved a charter amendment instituting the council-manager plan. Sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce and other citizens' groups, it was submitted by the city council and was approved 1,897 to 871.

The borough council of **New Holland, Pennsylvania,** has enacted an ordinance providing for appointment of a borough manager. The new appointee took office on May 17.

The town of **South Berwick, New Hampshire,** adopted the manager plan on June 2 at the largest town meeting in its history. The plan is to go into effect following the next annual town meeting in March 1949.

A group of citizens in **Nashua, New Hampshire,** is planning to conduct a campaign to acquaint the people of that city with the benefits of the council-manager plan.

The board of aldermen of **Rutland, Vermont,** after setting the tax rate for the year at $3.60, decided unanimously on May 24 to study the manager plan.

A **Boston** charter bill was signed on June 3 by Governor Bradford of Massachusetts.[1] It will give Boston voters an opportunity to ballot on a change in government to one of three forms: Plan A, mayor and nine-member council elected at large; Plan E, city manager chosen by council elected by proportional representation; and Plan D, city manager chosen by a council elected at large by "limited voting"—each voter being permitted to vote for six candidates for the nine council seats. The first of the three plans to obtain sufficient signatures—10 per cent of the total registration—will be the only one to appear on the ballot, as against the existing form of government, at the next city election in 1949.

A revised Plan D bill, optional for all cities except Boston, with each voter permitted to vote for all council seats, was adopted by the **Massachusetts** legislature and signed by the governor on June 3.

A bill permitting **Massachusetts** towns to adopt a specified standard form of town manager government, sponsored by Speaker Frederick B. Willis, was defeated in the house of representatives. It was vigorously opposed by town officials.

A bill permitting **Nahant, Massachusetts,** to adopt the town manager plan has become law; 10 per cent of the registered voters may petition for the plan before May 15, 1950.

The Plan E Committee for **Beverly, Massachusetts,** has been circulating a petition to place on the ballot the question of a new charter providing for a city manager and proportional representation council.

An organization for adoption of the council-manager plan has been formed in **Derby, Connecticut.**

Charter revision is reported in progress in **Kingston, New York,** with interest in the manager plan.

The Republican Club of the village of **Endicott, New York,** is exploring the pros and cons of council-manager government.

An active and organized movement is under way in **Olean, New York,** to obtain the manager plan. This is a revival of a similar movement interfered with by the war.

A citizens' group in **Beacon, New York,** is circulating petitions seeking a charter amendment to provide for the council-manager plan.

The Taxpayers Association of **North Bergen, New Jersey,** is sponsoring petitions for an election on the council-manager plan.

The **Plainfield, New Jersey,** Citizens Association, which has been advocating the council-manager plan, has temporarily dropped plans to file petitions for a special election. Its board of governors voted on May 18 to request the mayor and council to employ a national authority on municipal government to make a survey and report. It has been pointed out that a special committee appointed by Governor Driscoll is studying local government in New Jersey.

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[1] See also page 396 this issue.

The borough of **Manheim, Pennsylvania,** is considering adoption of a manager ordinance.

The House Committee on the District of Columbia has before it a bill of Representative Auchincloss of New Jersey providing for the manager plan, home rule and a general reorganization for the **District of Columbia** (city of Washington). The local governing body would be a district council of twelve members with four-year terms and numbered offices. Six of the twelve would be elected at large every two years at primary elections, or at final elections in cases where no candidate receives a majority of the votes cast for a given office—the two with the highest votes to take part in the final election. The district council would appoint a city manager and may pass ordinances as to certain matters and legislative proposals as to others, the latter, to require approval of Congress.

The city council of **Columbia, South Carolina,** has unanimously approved the principle of the council-manager plan.

Five of six ordinances adopted by the **Augusta, Georgia,** city council, to restore the office of manager after the voiding of the new council-manager charter by the Georgia Supreme Court on a technicality,[2] and vetoed by Mayor W. D. Page who was restored to office by the court's action, have been declared legal by the Superior Court. The court has ordered publication of the ordinances which will officially enact them into law. In its decision it stated that since the ordinances were not appropriation measures they were not subject to veto. An appeal to the Supreme Court is expected.

Norway, Michigan, will vote July 12 on general charter revision and on an advisory proposition for adoption of the manager plan.

Proposed changes in governmental structure in **Coldwater, Michigan,** including the manager plan, elimination of several boards and establishment of a municipal court, were defeated on May 24 by a vote of 1,874 to 212.

On May 4 voters of **Columbia, Missouri,** elected a commission to frame a charter for the city. It is expected that the new document will provide the council-manager plan.

A group of members of the **Alabama** House of Representatives has been studying reorganization of local government, including the manager plan.

The board of directors of the **Shreveport, Louisiana,** Chamber of Commerce has adopted a recommendation of its legislative and taxation committee calling for the introduction of a bill in the state legislature to provide for a nine-member charter commission to draft a charter to replace the present 50-year-old document. The manager plan would be a leading possibility.

A citizens' committee in **Ruston, Louisiana,** is making a study of council-manager government.

It is proposed that the charter of **Fergus Falls, Minnesota,** be amended to provide for a city manager chosen by a council of seven elected at large.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Columbus, Kansas,** has appointed a committee to investigate the possibility of obtaining the manager plan.

A council-manager charter is in course of preparation for **Miami, Oklahoma.** The Chamber of Commerce is interested in furthering the plan.

Interest in the manager plan, supported by the mayor, is active in **Britton, Oklahoma.** A citizens' committee to draft a manager charter has been proposed.

Citizens of **Midwest City, Oklahoma,** have voted overwhelmingly for a new charter. It is expected that the new document will provide the council-manager plan.

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[2] See the REVIEW for May, page 260.

The **Sheridan, Wyoming,** Junior Chamber of Commerce has opened a campaign for adoption of the manager plan, with petitions to be circulated calling for a special election on the question.

A campaign for the council-manager plan in **Riverside, California,** is continuing despite an opinion of the city attorney voiding petitions that had been circulated. The *Daily Press* is supporting the move.

A proposal to create the post of manager for **Alameda County, California,** has been placed on the November 2 ballot.

Cottage Grove, Oregon, has abandoned the manager plan, by the close vote of 561 to 523, after less than a year's trial. A proposal for a county manager in **Lane County, Oregon,** was defeated May 21 by a vote of 16,323 to 10,300.

A movement for the manager plan is active in **Yakima, Washington,** and it is expected that the question will be on the ballot next fall.

Managers Meet

The International City Managers' Association will hold its 34th annual conference on September 12-16 at Mackinac Island, Michigan.

The first manager institute for newly appointed managers was held at the Chicago headquarters of the ICMA June 3-5 and was attended by twelve managers from seven states. It was conducted on the conference method. A second institute will probably be held in the late autumn.

Nine city and town managers of **New Hampshire** met at Durham under the auspices of the University of New Hampshire's Bureau of Government Research on May 4 and organized the New Hampshire Municipal Managers' Association. Woodbury Brackett, Dover, was elected president, and Donald E. Dunn of the university, secretary. Problems of administration were discussed at an all-day session.

Fourteen **Georgia** managers met at Waycross, Georgia, on May 22.

The second **Florida** Managers Institute was held at Gainesville, Florida, May 20-22, with 27 managers in attendance.

University of Kansas Trains Interns in Management

An apprentice training program in city management will begin next fall at the University of Kansas with the aid of a $50,000 grant by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, to be utilized at the rate of $10,000 a year. The K. U. Bureau of Government Research will conduct the program, which will be directed by Dr. E. O. Stene, head of the public administration curriculum.

The program will be of eighteen months duration for each of the six graduate students accepted yearly, with on-campus course study in the first half and off-campus internships in city government during the second. The course will lead to a master's degree and a certificate in public administration.

During his internship each trainee will serve as assistant to a city manager or as an assistant in a major department of a large city, with rotated duties.

There are now 25 cities in Kansas with the council-manager plan of government, which has spread so rapidly that a shortage of qualified personnel has developed.

The trainees will return to the campus every six weeks for exchange of ideas and reappraisals of course work. K. U. staff will visit the cities periodically. The interns will also participate in several conferences of city managers on the campus.

Researcher's Digest . . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Sources, Use and Control of Public Money

Revenue, Assessment and Other Fiscal Problems

A *COMPARATIVE Study of the Tax System of the State of Washington,* by Ralph I. Thayer, assistant professor of economics at the University of Washington (188 pages with charts and tables) has been issued by the state's **Division of Progress and Industry Development,** Herbert M. Peet, supervisor. Washington's tax system is compared with those of eight other states—Alabama, California, Idaho, Illinois, New York, Oregon, Tennessee, Wisconsin—over the period 1939 through 1944.

The municipal tobacco tax in Alabama is the subject of a report from the **Alabama League of Municipalities** by Ed E. Reid, its executive director. It covers administrative practices, monthly average yield and purposes and includes a sample ordinance.

Two recent issues of the *Taxpayer* of the **Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance,** Paul N. Reynolds, executive director, discuss the state's general fund condition, executive budget revenues and appropriations and total taxes collected in the state during the 1947 fiscal year. One issue tabulates cigarette taxes in the 38 states which have them.

The **Colorado Public Expenditure Council,** Fred Bennion, executive director, presents in its *Taxpayer* tables showing the number of miles of rural highways in the state and the 1948 revenue per mile of county road from various sources.

All the boroughs in Pennsylvania and the amounts each received in 1948 from the state liquid fuels tax are listed in a *Borough Bulletin* supplement of the **Institute of Local and State Government,** Stephen B. Sweeney, director.

North Dakota county taxes and municipal levies in 1947 are tabulated in a recent number of *Taxpayer* of the **North Dakota Taxpayers Association,** Archie H. McGray, secretary.

The **Tax Foundation,** Alfred Parker, assistant director, has published a 99-page study of *Recent Trends in Major State Taxes, 1941-47.* All types of taxes are discussed statistically. One of the important points brought out by the study is that 1947 tax revenues in 35 states were from 51 per cent to 148 per cent greater than in 1941.

Licenses issued in Buffalo and the fees for the various kinds are listed in *Comments,* issued by the **Lackawanna (New York) Tax Research Bureau,** James J. Kirkwood, executive director. The list is intended to help the Lackawanna common council in studying the present rather confused system in that city.

St. Louis County revenues from 1939 through 1947 are compared in *Dollars and Sense in Government* from the **St. Louis Governmental Research Institute,** Victor D. Brannon, director.

New Local Taxes

Recent developments under Pennsylvania's new local tax act,[1] which empowers 3,588 political subdivisions in the state to impose taxes on any or all subjects not already levied upon by the state, are summarized in *An Interim Report on New Local Taxes Levied Under Act No. 481* from the **Pennsylvania Economy League's Western Division,** Leslie J. Reese, director, and *Pennsylvania's New Local Tax Law in*

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[1] See also page 402 this issue.

Operation, by the **Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce Research Bureau.**

Legislative restrictions on the raising of additional revenue must be removed if Louisville is to develop an adequate and intelligent financial program, concludes the **Louisville Area Development Association,** Kenneth P. Vinsel, executive director, in its recent report on *Sources of Municipal Revenue* (with special reference to Louisville). The legislative background, sources of revenue now available to the city and sources requiring state legislation are discussed.

New taxes and present tax rates are tabulated and discussed in the following publications: *Comments,* **Lackawanna (New York) Tax Research Bureau**; bulletin from the **Chicago Civic Federation,** Harland C. Stockwell, executive secretary; *Graphic Bulletin* from the **Arkansas Public Expenditure Council,** Sam Hays, executive director; *Research Brevities,* **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research,** George L. Nichols, managing director; and *Municipal Research* from the **Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research,** W. Earl Weller, director.

In *City Sales Taxes in California,* 21-page mimeographed report of the **Division of Research and Statistics** (Ronald B. Welch, chief) of the **California State Board of Equalization,** the various kinds of sales taxes in the 84 California cities which have them are explained and tabulated.

Assessment Problems

The problem of inequality in **assessing** is discussed by the **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research** in an issue of *Research Brevities.* In another issue the effect of proposed property assessment changes in various parts of the city is tabulated.

The Jasper County Taxpayer, **Jasper County Tax Economy Association,** Gerald N. Hardy, executive director, includes a table showing property **tax** rates per **$100** assessed valuation for state, county, city and school district levies in that Missouri county.

Tax rates and assessed valuations in Oregon cities are tabulated in a recent issue of *Western City,* Winston R. Updegraff, editor.

In New Jersey, "continuing expansion in the amount of general property taxes assessed represents 'new taxes' in effect if not in name," points out James A. Arnold, Jr., in an article on general property tax assessment in *New Jersey Municipalities,* organ of the **State League of Municipalities,** James J. Smith, executive secretary.

The **Pennsylvania Economy League's State Division** explains, in its *Topics,* the operation of the State Tax Equalization Board created by the 1947 legislature to establish a uniform market-value basis for computation of annual state subsidies to local school districts. It is pointed out that although the board has no authority over local assessments, the widespread practice of under-assessing is likely to result in an increase in market values set by the board which, in turn, will reduce the amount of state subsidies to under-assessing districts.

Appropriations and Costs

"The Professional Staff of the U. S. Senate Committee on Appropriations" is the subject of an article by Thomas J. Graves, director of the staff, in the GRA's *Notes and References.* Organization of the staff and its work in connection with fiscal legislation are described.

The **Illinois Legislative Council's Research Department,** J. F. Isakoff, director, has issued two reports intended to provide factual information for the state's legislators. One discusses *Ap-*

propriation Requests and Enactments: Illinois 1947 General Assembly; the other concerns *Registration of Vital Statistics.*

County costs in Iowa were over 10 per cent higher in 1946 than in 1945, according to tables in *Taxpayer* from the **Iowa Taxpayers Association,** Joe L. Long, executive secretary. The same issue points out that the total cost of county boards of supervisors went up less than 5 per cent in the same period.

Costs of two school building projects are averaging 36 per cent higher than earlier estimates, the **Des Moines Taxpayers Association,** Roy L. Miller, executive secretary, points out in a recent bulletin.

Salary schedules for policemen and firemen in seven Iowa cities are presented in a bulletin from the **Woodbury County (Sioux City) Taxpayers Conference,** James L. Barclay, executive secretary.

California teachers' salaries are tabulated in a recent *Tax Digest* of the **California Taxpayers' Association,** Jessie K. Grant, editor.

The cost of education in **New York State** is examined in two recent issues of the *New York State Taxpayer* of the **Citizens Public Expenditure Survey,** Walter O. Howe, executive vice president. Operating expenditures and per pupil cost for the 1947 fiscal year in 113 Iowa city school districts are tabulated in the **Iowa Taxpayers Association's** *Taxpayer.*

Budget Administration

Detroit's budget problems have received attention from the **Bureau of Governmental Research,** Loren B. Miller, director. Several numbers of *Bureau Notes* compare the 1948-49 proposals of the mayor with the 1947-48 budget and analyze the finished budget. In its series of graphic bulletins, *Budget Backgrounds,* the bureau has dealt with school finances, the health and welfare departments, teachers' salaries, city employees' salaries, parks and recreation and capital improvements. The final issue of *Backgrounds* recommends a number of ways to achieve more efficient city administration. Another *Bureau Notes* discusses the 1948-49 Michigan state budget.

The **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research,** Robert K. Sawyer, director, advocates a strong administrative budget bureau for the city in its *Citizens' Business.* In other issues, the bureau notes that annual interest requirements on the city's bonded debt are down for the twelfth consecutive year and discusses city loan proposals, revenue receipts and changes in payments of the city earned income tax.

Newark's 1947 and 1948 budgets are compared in a memorandum from the **Newark Bureau of Municipal Research,** Henry W. Connor, director.

Other Fiscal Studies

Utah finances have received attention in a number of reports from the **Utah Foundation,** Henry R. Pearson, managing director. Revenues, expenditures and enrollments of the University of Utah and the Utah State Agricultural College from 1937 to 1947 are presented in one of the foundation's *Surveys of Utah Government* (and also, in condensed form, in two issues of its *Research Report*). A third report outlines the financial problems of the University of Utah's School of Medicine. Another in the *Surveys* series is a statistical treatment of public welfare in Utah. The effect of 1947 welfare legislation on public assistance expenditures is summarized in a *Research Report.*

The fiscal aspects of the following subjects are discussed in recent issues of *Just a Moment,* bulletin of the **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau,** George G. Sipprell, managing director: the 1948-49 budget of the mayor, Buffalo Sewer Authority, Erie County sales tax, grants received by the city from the federal and state governments, county tax collection trends, city revenues, county budget procedure, the Buffalo school district and a capital expenditure program.

Financial powers of the county board are discussed in a recent number of *Your Government* of the **University of Kansas Bureau of Government Research,** Ethan P. Allen, director.

The **Arkansas Public Expenditure Council** devotes an issue of *You and Your Government* to a comprehensive tabular analysis of county finances for 1946.

A Ten Year Analysis of Minnesota's State Fiscal Operations is a thorough statistical treatment of the state's finances from 1938 through 1947. Condensed and detailed tables present revenue receipts and current governmental costs for each year; other aspects are treated in shorter tables and graphs. The report is issued by the **Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research,** Harold L. Henderson, executive director.

The **Citizens' Research Institute of Canada,** Eric Hardy, director, has issued another in its series of bulletins on the cost of government; its subject is the Canadian public debt. Mr. Hardy, in a reprint of an article "Current Problems of Municipal Financing," advocates creation of larger units of government to improve local financing and add to the efficiency of administration.

A fiscal survey of Indianola, Mississippi, is the subject of a pamphlet from the **University of Mississippi Bureau of Public Administration** written by Robert B. Highsaw, bureau director. Revenue structure and municipal expenditures and debt are examined and a new revenue program is outlined.

The **San Francisco** budget and charter bonded debt limit are considered in two bulletins of the **Bureau of Governmental Research,** Alfred F. Smith, director.

California finances—the 1948-49 budget and expenditures from 1940-41 through 1946-47—are considered in articles and tables in a recent issue of the **California Taxpayers' Association's** *Tax Digest.*

The **Tennessee State Planning Commission,** Hayden B. Johnson, executive director, has issued reports on *Sanitary Service Charges in Tennessee, 1947,* and *Tennessee State Government: A Report on State Finances, 1946-47.*

Pensions, Bonuses, Security and Relief

The **Illinois Municipal League,** A. L. Sargent, executive director, publishes in its *Review* an article by A. A. Weinberg on "Municipal Employees' Pension Laws" which discusses various Illinois pension plans and makes recommendations.

The veterans' bonus situation is summarized in **North Dakota Taxpayers Association's** *Taxpayer.* Notes on World War I bonus financing are followed by provisions in the bonus bills for veterans of the recent war which have been passed or are being considered now. A table sets forth the probable mill levies required to finance the proposed North Dakota bonus and a summary of the present federal benefits to World War II veterans is given.

The **Tax Foundation's** *Tax Outlook* recently included an article by Brooks C. Kleber, "Another Billion Dollar Problem: Why Can't Our States Get Together On Unemployment Compensation?", which advocates elimination of inconsistencies in state compensation laws.

The **University of Hawaii Legislative Reference Bureau,** Norman Meller, director, has issued a 41-page report entitled *State Compensation Insurance Funds* which "attempts to collate data pertinent to the organization and administration of a territorial agency writing all workmen's compensation insurance in the territory."

The percentage of those over 65 receiving old age assistance in Wisconsin counties ranges from 8 per cent to 54 per cent, with an average of almost 20 per cent, according to a table in *Tax News,* Glen W. McGrath, editor, from the **Wisconsin Citizens Public Expenditure Survey.** Another number points out that one of every 38 persons in the state is receiving some form of non-institutional public assistance.

The financing of poor relief in Marion County, Indiana, is discussed in a bulletin from the **Bureau of Governmental Research of the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce,** Carl R. Dortch, director.

Service Levels, Areas and Tasks of Local Government

The library systems of Hamilton County, Ohio, and Erie County, New York, are compared with that of Milwaukee and suburbs in a leaflet from the **Milwaukee Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau,** Norman N. Gill, director, advocating adoption of the county-wide system in Milwaukee. The Erie County system and the Buffalo Public Library are also discussed in the **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau's** *Just a Moment.*

In two of its series of bulletins on general bond issues to be voted on in Milwaukee, the Milwaukee bureau discusses the question: is the city government or the county government to undertake projects of county-wide benefit? It presents arguments for and against a proposed system of express highways in the city.

The second of two articles on annexing territory to municipalities in Michigan has appeared in the *Municipal Review* of the **Michigan Municipal League,** John Huss, director. Entitled "Annexation Methods for Fourth Class Cities, Home Rule and General Law Villages," the article is by Robert E. Fryer, research assistant with the **University of Michigan Bureau of Government.**

The new state law setting up procedures by which local school districts can reorganize into more efficient administrative units is summarized by the **Missouri Public Expenditure Survey,** Edward Staples, executive director, in *Your Tax Money.*

The administrative reorganization of school districts in Pennsylvania under Act 361 of 1947 is the subject of a bulletin from the **Pennsylvania Economy League's Southeastern Division,** Carlton W. Tillinghast, director, which defines terms and methods and lists pertinent provisions of the school code.

Municipal Water Systems in Washington State (69 pages), by Donald C. Sampson, covers laws, rates and policies and gives in an appendix the texts of a number of ordinances. The report is published by the **University of Washington Bureau of Governmental Research and Services,** Donald H. Webster, director, in cooperation with the **Association of Washington Cities,** Chester Biesen, secretary.

Regulations and ordinances relating to the collection of rubbish and garbage should be more strictly enforced, the **Woonsocket (Rhode Island) Tax-**

(Continued on Page 398)

College Students Active in Civic Affairs

Investigate Local Government Problems, Offer Solutions

STUDENTS at **Toledo University** recently held miniature conventions on amending Toledo's city charter. Twenty political science classes involving some six hundred students, under the guiding hand of Dr. O. Garfield Jones, went over the charter carefully and proposed revisions while organized on a convention basis.

In general the students favored the status quo so far as Toledo's form of government is concerned — council-manager plan with proportional representation as the method of electing the council. The students did, however, offer many suggestions for improvement, especially as to planning.

Under the guidance of Dr. Victoria Schuck, students in local government classes at **Mount Holyoke College** have written a *Guide to Politics in Massachusetts,* a 24-page printed brochure describing by the question-and-answer method how to qualify for voting, how to become a candidate, how to participate in party activities, what appears on the election ballot, direct legislation and the conduct of local elections in Holyoke.

Twenty-two graduate students of **Harvard University's Department of Regional Planning** recently made a planning survey of Framingham, Massachusetts, at the request of the town fathers. Results of their research and plans were exhibited in the Framingham town hall for several weeks prior to the annual town meeting. The local newspaper published the report serially and the local radio station discussed it on several weekly broadcasts. "The town became aware of its own problems," reports *The American City,* "and from the liveliness of the discussion it is hoped that the goals sought have been reached. These goals are not the adoption of a plan but an arousing of the citizens to a point where they will see for themselves the advantages and economies of the planning process."

Meeting at Rutgers University in New Brunswick, the **New Jersey Council for the Social Studies,** Edwin M. Barton, president, and the **New Jersey Visual Education Association** held a joint one-day program on "Teaching Civic Responsibility." Addresses included "Studying Local Government Services," by Paul V. Neilsen, and "Teaching the Government of the Local Community," by Harvey J. Woltman. Featured was a moving picture on civic responsibility, "The Fourth 'R'," made by pupils and teachers of the Maplewood Junior High School.

A brochure on Hartford's new council-manager charter, for use in civics classes, has been prepared by J. Ralph Spalding of the **Bulkeley High School** in **Hartford.** It is made up of a series of five articles appearing first in the Hartford *Times.*

High school pupils in Maryland and Rhode Island participated in model legislatures held this spring. In Rhode Island student delegates to the "legislature" were divided into two parties—the National and the Union — their proportions in each house being the same as the proportions of Republicans and Democrats in the state legislature. The session was sponsored by the **Rhode Island Association of Social Science Teachers.**

The Maryland model legislature, sponsored by the **Y. M. C. A.**, was a three-day session participated in by 200 students. Previous to the sessions a meeting was held at which student officials were elected.

The **Appleton, Wisconsin,** city council is sponsoring a plan for interesting high school students in local government.

New Publications

Higher Education for American Democracy, Vol. 1, Establishing the Goals—A report of the **President's Commission on Higher Education,** 103 pages, Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C.;

A Project in Civic Education—description of a proposed study to be undertaken by Professor Emeritus Henry W. Holmes, Harvard University, and Professor John J. Mahoney of Boston University, director of the Harvard-Boston University Extension Courses for Teachers.

Youthbuilders' Experiment

Some years ago, Sabra Holbrook, a most articulate and thoughtful young woman, became interested in the problems of youth. She conceived of a public education system far broader in scope than the mere teaching of fundamental courses to elementary and high school pupils.

In her own mind Mrs. Holbrook developed a theory of teaching children to solve some of their own problems in their own way. From that idea developed an organization now known as **Youthbuilders,** no longer an experiment but an accomplishment hailed by authorities in education from Maine to California.

The Youthbuilders ideal caught on quickly in New York and clubs were formed, first in elementary schools, then in junior high schools. In a congested community all kinds of social tensions arise not only among adults but among children, who acquire prejudices which lead to misunderstandings and often to violence.

The major premise from which the Youthbuilder idea stems is to develop the ability to think problems through, to work out a solution and to translate the solution into action.

It was a Youthbuilders club which persuaded the publisher of a comic strip to cease portraying the hero as a white boy and the villain as a Negro. It was a Youthbuilders club which became concerned with enlarging neighborhood recreational facilities in a certain section of Brooklyn and which mobilized public opinion by inviting business men to lunch with them monthly in order to have full discussions of ways and means. It was a Youthbuilders club which broke up segregation according to races in the school cafeteria. It was a Youthbuilders club that turned a trash-littered vacant lot into a playground; and it was the Youthbuilders clubs, all working together during the war, which collected thousands of pounds of salvageable material for war purposes.

Now Youthbuilders has been absorbed into the New York public school system and has become an official part of the daily curriculum. Teachers have been trained and they, in turn, are assigned to the training of more teachers in the Youthbuilders technique.

The clubs venture into rat extermination, tuberculosis prevention, cutting down on window breakage and other vandalism. Wherever the neighborhood, whatever the problems are that these young people choose to solve, they are learning how to assume successfully the responsibilities of citizenship.

The public school systems of Philadelphia and Chicago have incorporated this program as part of their social science curriculum, and in Los Angeles there is great interest.

As Mrs. Holbrook wrote: "Children are people too!"

NEWBOLD MORRIS
Former president, of New York
City Council and Chairman of
Board of Directors of Youthbuilders

Richmond Citizen Group Wins Council Election

Following its overwhelming victory last November, when a council-manager charter was adopted, the **Richmond Citizens' Association,** Hugh R. Thompson, executive secretary, on June 8 elected eight of its candidates for the new city council which will take office in September. The one additional candidate elected was a Negro lawyer who supported the new charter.

The average vote for the nine candidates supported by the Citizens' Association was 14,000; the average vote for opposition candidates running for re-election was 4,900, the *Richmond News-Leader* reports. "Thus the poll for a change in men was 2.8 to 1—or almost precisely the ratio of the vote last November for the adoption of the charter (21,561 to 8,068)," comments the editorial.

"So notable a victory is a great tribute to the intelligence and the awakened interest of Richmond voters. There never was—and we have faith to believe there never will be—a time when the men and women of this city fail to act wisely if they are aroused.

"In this great matter of a new charter, the citizens were inspired to approve change at the instance of one of the most devoted organizations ever established in this city—the Richmond Citizens' Association. We could not find words that would overpraise the performance of the men and women who, for their city's welfare and in utter unselfishness, have devoted themselves to the task of giving Richmond a charter and a council that represents our best ideals. The magnificent work of L. E. Marlowe and of Edward Phillips, successive presidents, has been sustained by an army of honest, understanding comrades."

Council Manager Activities to the Fore

John A. Casstevens, secretary of the **Merced (California) Better City Government Headquarters,** reports that the organization used "every acknowledged means of promotion" in its successful campaign to secure election of a board of freeholders to draft a council-manager charter for the city. The organization furnished speakers to every club and organization in the city, it conducted a "genuine" house-to-house canvass, ran stories in the newspapers, obtained resolutions from organizations which provided good publicity. On election day it had 30 people canvassing, telephoning, touring the city and taking people to the polls. A loudspeaker urged citizens to vote. It is now providing the board of freeholders with information on the manager plan for its use in writing the new charter.

Five hundred citizens attended the **Community Forum** held in the **Plainfield, New Jersey,** High School, where Richard S. Childs, chairman of the council of the National Municipal League, spoke on council-manager government. The meeting was sponsored by the **Civic Affairs Department of the Chamber of Commerce.**

The newly elected president of the **Boston Chamber of Commerce,** C. Lawrence Muench, has pledged continuance of the drive to secure the manager plan for Boston.

The **League of Women Voters of East Hartford, Connecticut,** Mrs. Fred A. Litz, Jr., president, is continuing its study of the council-manager plan preparatory to issuing a report on the subject.

Speaking at the town manager conference in Boston sponsored by the **New England Council,** Bradley P. Howes, president of the Medford Plan E Civic Association, commented that communities adopting Plan E government—council-manager form with proportional representation — must avoid any letdown in interest or educational activity. "Once the plan is adopted," he said, "you have reached one goal. A letdown is likely to result. You must set up new goals then, whether in education, financing or other fields, to carry ahead the work and give the community the greatest benefit of the work that has gone before."

Other speakers included John D. Langmuir, executive director of the New Hampshire Federation of Taxpayers Associations; Alfred M. Senter, president of the Brunswick, Maine, Chamber of Commerce; Herbert S. Murphey, president of the Hartford, Connecticut, Mechanics Savings Bank; Professor Morris B. Lambie of Harvard University's Graduate School of Public Administration, and Bernal B. Allen, city manager of Auburn, Maine.

The **Waltham, Massachusetts, League of Women Voters,** Mrs. Dilworth Lupton, president, which recently observed its tenth anniversary, has voted to study and to support Plan E for Waltham.

The **League of Women Voters of New Haven, Connecticut,** will discuss the council-manager and the strong mayor forms of government, each prescribed in drafts of proposed new charters, at a meeting addressed by Merle W. DeWees, executive secretary of the New Haven Taxpayers' Research Council. A number of local groups are sending delegates to the meeting.

Civic News In Brief

Mayor Charles P. Farnsley of Louisville and his department heads are holding weekly open hearings at city hall in order to give citizens a chance to "beef," according to *Southern City.* "I want to bridge the gap between the people and their government," says the mayor . . . . Hundreds of Yonkers women are being organized in a series of teas so they may vote more effectively and aid their city to grow under honest government, says Mrs. Milton W. Harrison, civic leader and temporary chairman of the group. . . .

The **Cleveland Citizens League,** Guy C. Larcom, Jr., director, has devoted an issue of *Greater Cleveland* to its "Activities Report" for the six months ending June 1948. . . . The **Sioux Falls, South Dakota, Chamber of Commerce** has made a parking survey of 121 cities in fifteen central states covering use of parking meters, traffic courtesy training for police officers, etc. . . .

The **Easton (Pennsylvania) Taxpayers,** Roscoe R. Heard, Jr., secretary, has been organized to promote interest in the city's government among its citizens, to study the functions of the city government, to develop and present to citizens and officials methods for improving these functions looking toward greater economy and efficiency. . . . The **West Dallas (Texas) Civic Association,** Charles R. Moore, president, has been organized for "the betterment of a section of the metropolitan area that has been too long neglected," reports the Dallas *Times-Herald.* . . .

By a vote of its executive committee the **Massachusetts Civic League,** Miriam Butler, executive secretary, has opened its membership to other organizations. . . . The **Portland (Oregon) City Club,** Margaret Clark, executive secretary, issued a 34-page bulletin reporting on measures voted on at the May election. . . . The *Oregon Voter,* C. C. Chapman, editor, devoted several issues to reports on both election measures and candidates. . . .

The nine-membered board of trustees of the **Seattle Municipal League,** C. A. Crosser, executive secretary, was recently chosen by proportional representation mail ballot of members. Seventeen candidates were nominated, some 1,500 ballots cast. . . .

Alvin A. Burger, director of research of the National Association of State Chambers of Commerce, recently addressed the annual meeting of the **Detroit Citizens League,** Hale G. Knight, secretary, on "Citizen Interest in Government." . . . New Jersey's Governor Alfred E. Driscoll spoke on "Federalism—Now or Never," at the annual meeting of the **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council** on June 2. "Coming to Grips with Taxation" was the theme of the council's executive director, Carter W. Atkins. . . . E. W. Kiefer, chairman of the **Port Huron, Michigan,** City Plan Commission, presented the master plan to the annual meeting of the **Citizens' League,** Margaret Elliott, executive secretary, on May 24. Questions and answers followed the presentation. . . . The **Union Township (New Jersey) Taxpayer's Association** discussed its schools and township government at its annual meeting in May.

By unanimous action of its Board of directors, the **McMinn County Good Government League,** E. R. Lingerfelt, executive director, has made constitutional revision in Tennessee a part of its program. A recent issue of its *News Notes* carries an explanation of the plan of revision which has already been adopted by a number of organizations interested in the matter.

Home Rule

The problem of home rule for Indiana cities and towns is the theme of a kit prepared and distributed to local leagues by the **League of Women Voters of Indiana,** Mrs. John L. H. Fuller, president. Included are descriptions of city and county government under present laws with charts, how a city budget is made, criteria for measuring a city's efficiency, and material on home rule and the council-manager plan.

* * *

A Packaged Program

In connection with its "public service articles" published each month, the *Woman's Home Companion* issues "A Program Package for Women's Clubs" to aid in discussing subjects of vital interest to the community. "Suggestions for Action" consist of a dozen or more pages outlining comments for chairman and speakers, supplemented by a short bibliography. Some of the subjects covered include "Behind the Black Robes"—an exposé of what is wrong with our courts and judges, the injustices perpetrated, with suggestions for a cure; "Do You Know Your Neighbor"—what many groups are doing to make civic life more effective and more "American"; "Your Stake in World Peace"—our foreign policy and how to help formulate it; "Foul But You Drink It"—the condition of the water we drink, what can and should be done about it.

* * *

Racial Discrimination Challenged

Efforts of the Democratic party machine in South Carolina to sidestep the decision of the federal courts that Negroes must be allowed to vote in party primaries have been meeting with considerable opposition. The oath prescribed by the party's state executive committee, to be taken by those voting in party primaries, has been declared a violation of well established constitutional provisions and "heinous and unacceptable to many of our citizens," in a resolution adopted by **Charleston County** organizations, including the **League of Women Voters,** and representing more than 4,500 individuals.

The oath reads in part: "I believe in and will support the social and educational separation of races. I further solemnly swear that I believe in the principles of states' rights and I am opposed to the proposed federal so-called FEPC law."

A six-point resolution, drawn up by a group of citizens from all over the state, gives the state Democratic executive committee ten days to do something about eliminating the oath and sending delegates to the national convention to represent properly the people of South Carolina, threatening that, unless this is done, a party that does represent the people will be formed to send delegates.

* * *

Conferences Scheduled

A four-weeks workshop in community leadership, meeting July 5 to July 30, has been scheduled by the **School of Education of the University of Michigan.**

The second annual **New Jersey Institute on the Community of the New Jersey Citizens' Conference,** Mrs. Edna Howe Kuser, executive secretary, will be held at Rutgers University September 9-12. Planned are workshops on organization for over-all community development and round tables on community leadership, motivation, skills of building an informed and active citizenry, responsibility and use of press and radio, etc. The program will also include a dramatization of "New Jersey on Trial."

The **Institute of Community Leadership,** conducted by the **New York State Citizens' Council,** Frederick T. Rope, executive director, will be held at Cazenovia Junior College, Cazenovia, New York, September 8-11.

The **Fifth Annual Conference on the Small Community** met June 20-23 at the University of New Hampshire, Durham, under the auspices of **Community Service, Inc.,** Arthur E. Morgan, president and director.

* * *

Strictly Personal

Miss Anna Lord Strauss has been re-elected president of the League of Women Voters of the United States.

The Seattle Municipal League, at its 1948 annual meeting, elected **John N. Rupp** president. Mr. Rupp, an attorney, has been active in league affairs since 1940.

Fifth president of the Cincinnati City Charter Committee, chosen this spring by the Board of Directors, is **Harry J. Gilligan,** who last fall was general chairman of the committee's highly successful election campaigns.

Miss Lucia Taft, daughter of Cincinnati's Councilman Charles P. Taft, is responsible for the "leg work" involved in the latest City Charter Committee service, reports the committee's *News Letter.* A monthly bulletin to contributing supporters and volunteer workers is recording important doings in the city council and its committees.

At its annual meeting in April the New York State Citizens' Council elected **Dr. Edmund Ezra Day,** president of Cornell University, as its president, succeeding **Dr. Everett N. Case,** head of Colgate University.

Eugene A. Buzzell, executive secretary of the Yonkers Municipal League, has resigned to become director of the New York State Citizens Public Expenditure Survey and editor of its monthly *New York State Taxpayer.*

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Boston May Vote on P. R.

First Election in Hopkins P. R. Slated for Australia

THE Boston charter act, passed by the 1948 Massachusetts legislature and signed by Governor Bradford on June 3, provides three optional forms of government on which the city may vote—Plans A, D and E.

Plan E provides for the council-manager form of government with proportional representation for the election of the city council and school board. It is similar to the optional charter also known as Plan E which has been available since 1938 for all cities in the state except Boston and adopted by Cambridge, Lowell, Medford, Worcester, Revere and Quincy. The town of Saugus voted for a similar charter last year under a special legislative act.

Plan D also provides for the council-manager form but prescribes the limited vote for the election of the council and school board. For the council of nine, chosen at large, each elector may vote for only six. This method was used in Boston from 1894 to 1898. It is intended to give some representation to the minority but actually gives no guarantee of this and requires regimented teamwork on the part of any group in order to be sure of representation.

Plan A provides for government under an elected mayor and a council of nine members elected at large by majority vote.

Inclusion of the limited vote principle in the Plan D charter brought forth much opposition in the senate, overshadowing that body's usual protests against P. R. Writing in the Boston *Herald,* W. E. Mullins noted:

> In recent years the great outcry by politicians against municipal reform has been aimed at the proportional representation voting system that is the backbone of the Plan E type of charter. This issue was scarcely mentioned in the senate's strident obfuscations over the limited voting system that was found to be so reprehensible in the Plan D type of charter. . . .
>
> The reason need not be obscure. In last year's municipal elections the voters in Medford, Quincy, Revere and Worcester said they were not afraid of P.R. by voting to adopt Plan E charters. Accordingly, the politicians switched their hostility to Plan D and limited voting about which the people know little.
>
> It requires only a moment's consideration to see through the insincerity of the great uproar that was raised against limited voting. While it was regarded as a vital part of Plan D, the chances that the Plan D charter will be placed before the voters on referendum are so remote as to be readily dismissed.

Only one of the three plans may be voted upon at any one election. The first to receive the endorsement of the required 10 per cent of the qualified voters by petition will take precedence over other proposals. The Plan E for Boston Committee, which has been campaigning vigorously for the past few years, is laying plans to circulate petitions in an effort to get a vote on Plan E in November 1949.

Hopkins, Minn., Conducts Its First P. R. Election

Voters of Hopkins, Minnesota, held their first P. R. election—also the first in Minnesota—on May 18 under provisions of a council-manager charter adopted December 2 of last year. Terms of the newly elected mayor and council are for one year only. Hereafter elections will be held in odd-numbered years for regular terms of two years.

Election of the mayor, who is presiding officer of the council and its fifth member, was held separately by preferential ballot—the Hare system applied to a single office. Since at this election there were but two candidates no transfers of ballots were necessary, the candidate with a majority of the votes being elected on the first count.

The other four members of the council were chosen from six candidates by the Hare system of P. R. Two candidates had more votes than the necessary quota, 286, necessitating the transfer of their surpluses to lower choices marked by the voters.

Invalid ballots cast for mayor totaled only three out of 1,490 cast, or .2 per cent; those for councilmen were 67 out of a total of 1,492, or 4.5 per cent.

The counts were conducted at the city hall by a counting board of five under the direction of Carl Towley, a member of the city's high school faculty and of the commission which drafted the new charter. Mr. Towley commented that except for minor difficulties the count was satisfactory and demonstrated the practicability of P. R. Time consumed in both the mayoralty and councilmanic count, for "receipt of the ballots and counting of them," was six hours.

The new council will take office on July 1, choosing a city manager to conduct the administrative affairs of the city.

The Hare system of preferential voting will also be applied to the election of two municipal judges for staggered terms of four years. The first election for this office will be held in 1949. The single judge elected then will serve alone until two years hence when a second will be chosen.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Information on the Hopkins election has been taken from an article in the June issue of *Minnesota Municipalities,* organ of the League of Minnesota Municipalities.

P. R. Proposed for Australian Senate

The governing Labour party in the commonwealth of Australia has introduced a bill providing for the use of proportional representation in future elections of the senate. The measure, which proposes adoption of the single transferable vote method of P.R. (Hare system), has passed its second reading and its enactment is generally expected, according to John Fitzgerald, secretary of the Proportional Representation Society of Great Britain.

The reform will probably result in some reduction of the disproportionately large representation of the Labour party in the Australian senate (see this department for January 1947, page 49) and will also protect it against under-representation should the political pendulum swing the other way.

The *Standard,* a monthly published in Sydney, reports a meeting of Australian P.R. supporters at which a letter to Prime Minister Chifley was authorized to congratulate the Labour party upon its action and to recommend provision of certain details in the legislation, particularly the recount method of filling vacancies. The Prime Minister has since replied promising consideration of the suggestions.

The opposition parties, since they will at present benefit from the introduction of P.R., are presumably not opposing its use. One of them recently blocked a proposal for P.R. in South Australia where it was in power (see this department for March 1948, page 171).

Massachusetts Episcopal Diocese Adopts P. R.

Proportional representation was adopted for diocesan elections at the 163rd annual convention of the Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts on April 14 in Boston. After hearing arguments for and against the resolution, a majority of both lay and clerical delegates voted for the measure.

Bishop Norman B. Nash favored the resolution but urged that "no delegate ought to be swayed by the easy argument: 'You ought to back up the Bishop.'"

The vote overruled a majority report of the Committee on Elections which opposed the resolution. Edward O. Proctor, one of the minority members of that committee in favor of the resolution, said: "This isn't a question of method; it's a question of principle. It is the only way the minority can be heard."

The use of P.R. for diocesan elections was first recommended to the Diocese of Massachusetts in 1939 by a Special Committee on Expediting Elections, which had been impressed by the experience of the Diocese of Long Island. The method of voting then used in Massachusetts tended to exclude representation of a certain minority opinion in the diocese which included about 25 per cent of the communicants.

The necessary steps for the adoption of P.R. were completed in 1941 and P.R. was used in the Massachusetts Diocese from 1941 until 1946. In 1946, when certain controversial issues were before the general convention, the majority, being opposed to representation of the minority opinion, succeeded in excluding it by eliminating the use of proportional representation in diocesan elections. Reaction to that development appears to have been prompt, however, for preliminary adoption of an amendment in 1947 cleared the way for restoration of P.R. by the action taken in April of this year.

RESEARCHER'S DIGEST

(Continued from Page 389)

payers Association, William H. Cunningham, executive director, says in *Your Business* which enumerates reasons for the present unsatisfactory conditions.

Lewis Dodson, director of the Denver Sanitation Division, explains the sanitary land fill method of garbage and refuse disposal in *Colorado Municipalities,* publication of the **Colorado Municipal League,** Allen E. Pritchard, Jr., secretary.

Bureau Notes

The **Governmental Research Association** will hold its 1948 conference at the Congress Hotel, Chicago, September 8-10.

Taunton -(Massachusetts) Association of Commerce, Larry M. Hess, executive secretary: third annual report covering the year ending May 3, 1948. The report notes the organization of a research department within the association early in 1948, of which Emil S. Skop has been appointed director. Issues of the Taunton group's *Research Brevities* and other reports cover municipal budgets, state expenditures, comparative tax rates, a contributory retirement system for municipal employees and long-range financial planning.

Jasper County Tax Economy Association (Carthage, Missouri), Gerald N. Hardy, secretary: annual report, year ending April 30, 1948, entitled *Conserving Your Tax Dollar in 1948.*

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Jefferson County, Ala., Consolidation on Ballot

State Voters Will Pass on Constitutional Amendment

A CONSTITUTIONAL amendment to authorize city-county consolidation in Jefferson County, Alabama, will be submitted to the voters of the state at the general election on November 2. Largest city in the area is Birmingham.

Specifically the amendment provides that "the legislature may, by general, local or special law, provide any plan, kind, manner or form of municipal government for Jefferson County and, whenever deemed necessary or advisable, may abolish city or town government and unite, consolidate or merge cities and towns and county, or a portion thereof, under one municipal government."

The consolidated government may levy and collect taxes as permitted for counties and "for the purpose of levying such taxes the legislature shall provide for the method and procedure for arranging, locating, changing or relocating any portion or portions of such territory into urban districts."

The form of government to be prescribed by the legislature is subject to a referendum of the qualified voters in the county and must be approved by a majority of those voting on the question.

The proposed amendment is an outgrowth of the report of a citizens commission, announced April 14 of last year, recommending that such consolidation take place.[1] Anticipating adoption of the amendment in November, the Jefferson County legislative delegation has had drafted a proposed act providing for the consolidated government with a county manager in charge of administration. It is expected that public hearings will be held shortly.

Miami-Dade Consolidation Defeated by Voters

On May 25 a proposed constitutional amendment authorizing city-county consolidation in Dade County, Florida, was rejected by that county's voters by a vote of 28,337 to 23,526. The joint resolution proposing the amendment required approval by Dade County voters at the primary before it could be submitted to the voters of the entire state.

The rejected amendment authorized consolidation of the city of Miami, the county of Dade and five small towns into a new county of Miami which would be coterminous with the present Dade County. The other nineteen municipalities, including Miami Beach and Coral Gables, were to be preserved intact but could subsequently be merged with the new county government if their voters sanctioned such action at a referendum election.

A home rule charter for the new county was to be drafted by an elected charter board and submitted to the voters of the county for their approval.

A relatively weak campaign was conducted on behalf of the amendment. No field organization was set up and there was no intensive neighborhood solicitation. Most of the campaigning was conducted by a small group from the Miami Junior Chamber of Commerce which did a good job of speaking and pamphleteering. Both Miami newspapers gave strong support to the consolidation cause. The principal arguments for consolidation were (1) home rule, (2) elimination of duplication and buck-passing between governments, (3) better planning of improvements, (4) lower taxes, and (5) better law enforcement.

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[1] See "City-County Merger Proposed," by Roscoe C. Martin, the REVIEW, July 1947, pages 367-370.

The opposition consisted mostly of suburbanites, particularly officeholders, who argued that consolidation would (1) bring about a "police state," (2) create a spoils system, (3) increase taxes, (4) impair law enforcement, and (5) pressure suburban municipalities into consolidation against their will. Suburban newspapers were strongly opposed to consolidation.

Constitutionality of the proposal and validity of the county referendum were upheld by the Florida State Supreme Court three times during the campaign when the anti-consolidationists tried to have the proposition ruled off the ballot.

Although 90,000 votes were cast at the election, only 52,000 persons voted on this proposition. According to the joint resolution, no further steps can be taken until some subsequent legislature submits a new constitutional amendment or enacts other legislation on the subject.

John F. Willmott, *Executive Director*
Dade County Research Foundation

More Communities Try City-county Cooperation

In Tennessee, Greeneville and Greene County are each contributing to the cost of a new high school building.

Hamilton County, Ohio, has established a Rural Zoning Commission as authorized by state legislation enacted a year ago. The Citizens Development Committee now is urging that it work in close collaboration with the Cincinnati Planning Commission in the implementation of the Cincinnati Metropolitan Master Plan.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce of Dallas is studying the economy possibilities of both functional consolidation of specific activities and general consolidation of the governments of Dallas County and the city of Dallas.

Mayor James E. Decker of Newport, Kentucky, has proposed the merger of the city's health department with that of Campbell County. He reports that the city would save as much as $20,000 annually through such action. The city is facing financial difficulties because of increased costs of operation and salaries, the mayor stated.

A law passed by the 1948 Michigan legislature permits counties and cities to finance county-city buildings by self-liquidating revenue bonds. Bonds issued are to be retired from the rents collected from the governmental units occupying the building. Construction and financing of the project are under local "authorities," whose powers are enumerated in the act. The act also permits action by cities or counties alone.

Montgomery County Proposal in Court

Opponents of the proposed manager charter for Montgomery County, Maryland, have brought suit seeking an injunction to keep the question off the ballot next November. They allege that the provision permitting the county council to act on the budget at times other than during the "legislative" month is contrary to the county home rule article of the Maryland constitution.

Manager Charter Defeated in Lane County, Oregon

After drawing the opposition of both Republican and Democratic party organizations, as well as that of labor leaders, a proposed manager charter for Lane County (Eugene), Oregon, was defeated by referendum on May 21 by a vote of 16,323 to 10,300.

The new charter was considered an excellent one, combining the sheriff's, clerk's and all other administrative posts in the manager's office, but the campaign was accompanied by a vicious whispering attack on its proponents. The League of Women Voters was accused of inducing the 1945 state legislature to pass the enabling act permitting counties to adopt the manager plan[1] while "all the young men were off fighting the war." The proponents were accused of thinking they could "get some fellow from the university to run the government efficiently." Hitler, Mussolini, Russia, un-Americanism, dictatorship, and similar expressions were used to frighten the voters into opposing the plan.

The charter association plans another attempt to secure a manager charter at the next opportunity two years hence.

New Hampshire Takes No Action on Counties

The recent constitutional convention in New Hampshire,[2] adjourned on June 4, voted against two resolutions before it affecting counties. One of them would have made it mandatory to abolish the county form of government by July 1, 1951; the other would merely delete from the constitution two articles relating to county officials. Both resolutions received majority recommendations of "inexpedient" from the convention's executive department committee, which recommendations were upheld.

Delegate Perkins Bass of Peterborough and Manchester spoke for the resolutions. Referring to the second, he said:

"It would place the counties on the same basis as the towns and cities.

"There is nothing in the constitution relating to the government of towns and cities. By striking out articles 71 and 72 of the constitution you would not abolish the county form of government." Mr. Bass pointed out that under the present setup there is unnecessary triplication of many public services including relief and law enforcement.

A proposal for abolition of the counties had previously been made by the Concord *Monitor* which published a fourteen-page pamphlet,[3] prepared by its editor, presenting the thesis that county government is no longer needed in that state. The paper first was written for delivery at the Sixth Annual Institute of Public Affairs at the University of New Hampshire. It reviews the history of counties and their government, analyzes their weaknesses, and outlines the methods by which they can be abolished.

Santa Clara County to Revise Charter

Voters of Santa Clara County, California, on June 1, elected a board of freeholders to draft a new county charter. The proposed new document will be submitted to the voters at the November election.

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[1] See the REVIEW, May 1945, page 254.

[2] See also page 377 this issue.

[3] *The End of an Era, County Government Has Become Obsolete in New Hampshire.*

Taxation and Finance • • • • • *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

New Taxes Spread in Pennsylvania

174 Local Units in 21 Counties Make Levies

LARGE-SCALE experimentation with new taxes by municipalities of all sizes is now going on in Pennsylvania, where the legislature last year granted local units powers of the broadest sort to levy new taxes. The number of instances of use of the new law grows constantly and the kinds of taxes imposed are also apparently endless, although excises of the sales or gross income type are evidently most common.

Something of the extent and diversity of the use of the law is indicated by a recent study by the Pennsylvania Government Administration Service, in its May Supplement to *The Borough Bulletin,* which acknowledges indebtedness to the Western Division of the Pennsylvania Economy League for some of the data.

The study relates only to 21 of the 67 Pennsylvania counties. In these counties 174 municipal units were, by April 1948, making some use of the legislation.

Amusement taxes appear to have been most common. In 37 of the western Pennsylvania units taxes were levied on tickets as a percentage of the admission price or, in a few instances, at a flat or graduated amount. Taxes at 10 per cent of the sales price were most prevalent, this rate being levied in Pittsburgh among other places. Other amusement taxes included per diem or annual charges for special types of amusements — pinball machines etc.

Income taxes were being levied in 28 units, while 49 had imposed per capita taxes and fifteen had levied a mercantile tax. Sixty-three units were imposing or about to impose taxes on coal, the most common rate being five cents per ton.

Other Cities Act

Louisville, Kentucky, has passed an occupational license tax of 1 per cent on payrolls and net profits of businesses. Effective July 1 it will remain in force until 1950.

Youngstown, Ohio, has voted a 3-mill income tax. Springfield, Ohio, has adopted a 1 per cent income tax, effective July 1, which has a basic exemption of $20 per week.

Legislation permitting St. Louis to levy a ½ of 1 per cent income tax has been signed by Missouri's governor. The city is expected to take immediate action to place the tax, limited to two years, in effect.

Michigan Amends 15-Mill Tax Rate Law

In the closing days of its 1948 special session the Michigan legislature passed and the governor subsequently approved a law (S.B. 23) repealing the 15-mill tax rate limitation as it applies to cities. The 15-mill limit now applies to taxes for state, county, school and various stipulated special district purposes but excludes the taxes of those cities which, under the original 1933 law, had amended their charters to include the city levies within the limitation.

Under the amended law, those cities which had amended their charters to embrace the 15-mill over-all rate limit will be allowed to levy 10 mills immediately, and will have restored to them the authority (which they can exercise, however, by amending their charters) of levying up to 20 mills.

Twelve cities are affected: Battle Creek, Belding, Flint, Grand Rapids, Iona, Jackson, Muskegon, Muskegon Heights, North Muskegon, Pontiac, Roosevelt Park and Saginaw.

The 15-mill limitation had been especially restrictive in its effect on those cities which had voted themselves subject to its provisions, and had resulted in a virtual stoppage of capital improvements except such as could be financed by special assessments. The amendment of the law is expected to permit most of the cities to carry out capital improvement plans with the use of borrowed funds for the first time since 1933.

Uniform Sales Taxes Approved by California Local Units

General uniformity in local ordinances imposing municipal sales taxes was recommended by the uniform sales tax committee of the California League of Municipalities in a report approved by the group's board of directors late in April. The committee had been formed at the request of many cities and other groups to determine what changes in local sales tax ordinances were desirable to make enforcement of the local excises easier for retailers and cities.

Reporting on the findings of the committee, *Western City,* official organ of a group of leagues of cities including that of California, states that: "The complaints which caused the creation of the league committee were few but loud and, as determined after meetings with retailers, went to the levy of the tax rather than to any administrative problems . . . . Therefore, it seems clear at this time that there are no real complaints against sales tax ordinances in so far as uniformity of provisions, administration or interpretation are concerned."

Chief complaint of the retailers was against use of the definition of the word "sales" as contained in the California retail sales and use tax, a definition presently uniformly in use in the local ordinances. The original definition was retained in the final uniform model ordinance approved by the committee and league directors.

Five-Cent Fare Comes to an End

New Yorkers, last beneficiaries of the historic five-cent fare, join their brethren in paying "modernized" rates on July 1, when the subway and elevated turnstile slots will be changed to require a dime rather than the traditional nickel.

While higher wage and salary schedules for transit employees were the immediate cause of the increase, with the elimination of the transit deficit drain on a hard-pressed general operating budget a close second, the subway riders' new burden was considerably lightened by the prospect of new equipment to lessen congestion.

Increased Salaries for City Councilmen

In 61 cities of more than 5,000 population, councilmen received increases in salaries last year, reports the International City Managers' Association.

Among the large cities Philadelphia's councilmen have had their salaries increased from $5,000 to $7,500 while Buffalo councilmen now receive $3,500 compared with $2,500 formerly. Pittsburgh has the highest paid councilmen in the country. They receive $8,000 per year. District commissioners in Washington, D. C., are paid $9,000 but they are not exactly the same as councilmen.

Pay of councilmen in other big cities is: Los Angeles $7,200, Chicago, Detroit and New York $5,000, Cleveland $3,000, Milwaukee $2,786, Baltimore $2,750, San Francisco $2,400, Boston $2,000 and St. Louis $1,800.

Average pay for councilmen in the fourteen cities over 500,000 is now $4,638 per year.

Though the average salary for councilmen in the 23 cities of the 250,000 to 500,000 population bracket is $3,430, considerably below the largest cities' average, councilmen's pay in several of the secondary cities is definitely in the upper brackets. For example, Newark councilmen get $7,500, while those in Birmingham receive $7,000, New Orleans and San Antonio $6,000, Cincinnati, Memphis and Portland, Oregon, $5,000, Seattle $4,800, St. Paul, $4,500.

Notable council pay increases among smaller cities last year included Altoona, Pennsylvania, from $4,000 to $5,000; Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, from $4,500 to $5,000; Erie, Pennsylvania, from $4,500 to $6,000; and Lawrence, Massachusetts, $2,500 to $4,500.

Council pay increases covered by the survey do not include those resulting from changes in the form of local government, many of which occurred in 1947.

The association observes that commission cities generally pay higher salaries to councilmen because of the administrative duties they perform.

In many mayor-council and council-manager cities, on the other hand, salaries are nominal because councilmen generally are policy-makers only, who do not perform regular municipal administrative duties.

Councilmen in hundreds of small cities receive no pay at all. Therefore average councilmen's pay for the entire United States—counting all cities over 5,000 population—is only $200 a year.

Milwaukee Uses Price Index in Making Assessments

The Milwaukee tax commissioner is utilizing a national price index in the appraisal of residential properties. By tying to this index the basic prices used to compute building assessments it is thought it will be possible in the future to make immediate adjustments of assessed values to changing market values.

In preparing the ground work for the current revaluation the city's tax commissioner contrasted sales prices with assessments for the period from 1940 to 1947, according to the National Association of Assessing Officials. The study showed that in 1940 sales prices were only 2.65 per cent above assessments while by 1948 sales prices had risen to 89.75 per cent over assessments.

Assessors making the revaluation are using a residential manual which establishes twenty major categories of residences and lists twelve types of construction. Among other aids developed are new depreciation schedules as well as methods of allowing for departures from class specifications, quality of construction, and unusual locations.

New Jersey Adopts Disability Insurance

The third state to adopt a plan for paying industrial workers when they are ill is New Jersey, reports the Council of State Governments. Its new law extends the state unemployment statute to provide sickness and disability benefits of from $9 to $22 per week up to 26 weeks. All workers now covered by the law will be eligible for sick pay beginning in January.

Under a federal enabling act of 1946, once the program begins New Jersey will be able to recapture $50,000,000 in employee contributions to the Unemployment Compensation Commission. Some legislators estimate that annual sickness claims can be covered by the interest on this.

The other two states with such laws are Rhode Island and California.

Books in Review

The Inside Story of the Pendergast Machine by the Man Who Smashed It. By Maurice M. Milligan. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948. xiii, 281 pp. $3.50.

For thirteen years, Kansas City, Missouri, was the black sheep among council-manager cities. Boss Pendergast had not opposed the coming of the new charter in 1925, had elected his ticket as usual and had given the managership to a local, docile political hack who made his appointments and purchases on instructions from the real capitol of the city at party headquarters. Responsibility was clarified, no doubt, but the machine ran a wide-open town, financed itself by preferences in contracts, patronage and sale of indulgences, and did not care. A crime survey in 1926 had found that in Kansas City "the criminal profession is not unduly hazardous."

Milligan, who had been city attorney and probate judge in nearby Richmond, became federal district attorney in 1934 through the influence of his brother in Congress and without obligation to the Pendergast machine. The machine's doings were outside the usual jurisdiction of his office. But the "Union Station massacre" in 1933 was a bloody attempt of Kansas City criminals to rescue a recaptured federal prisoner from F. B. I. men, one of whom was killed. That gave Milligan, with the endless patience of the F. B. I. behind him, his chance to enter the scene.

To get in on election frauds required more ingenuity. There was the "bloody election" of 1934 and a calmer one in 1936 when "60,000 ghost voters stalked through the polls." There were in two wards more voters than population, babies and children included. A long-forgotten federal statute was found which penalized by as much as ten years' imprisonment two or more persons who "conspire to injure, oppress, threaten or intimidate any citizen in the free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege secured to him by the constitution or the laws of the United States." Milligan got indictments, made a quick grab to impound the ballots and found fraud galore. In the midst of this Senator Harry S. Truman tried to block Milligan's confirmation for reappointment as district attorney.

Then came a break that revealed bribery of Pendergast by fire insurance companies in a $9,000,000 rate reduction argument and the neglect by Pendergast to report the bribe on his income tax return, which landed Pendergast in prison and cracked up the machine.

Elections became honest, "cemetery commuters" no longer padded the vote, the machine was beaten in the municipal elections in 1940 and every time since and the council-manager government began to function in Kansas City in what is now the familiar pattern of honest efficiency with a career manager of successful experience in a smaller city in charge of administration.

Mr. Milligan's purpose in writing the book is to warn his fellow townsmen that another Pendergast is at work, that there were vote frauds again in 1946 when Slaughter was, according to the grand jury, counted out from nomination as Congressman followed by the burglarizing of the election commission's vault during the subsequent investigation and the stealing of the primary ballots held there as evidence to support 71 indictments.

Milligan's successor as district attorney and his superior, Attorney General Clark, found reasons for not invoking the federal power this time, and the latter was questioned about his inactivity by a senate committee. A certain unbroken complacence by President Truman in all matters relating to the machine which sent him to Washington is carefully documented and makes the future of Kansas City no brighter!

RICHARD S. CHILDS

Our City Government. By Dorothy Leonard Judd. Grand Rapids, League of Women Voters, (Watson Bldg., Fulton St. E,) 1948. xvi, 191 pp. $1.25.

A fifth edition, for students and citizens of Grand Rapids, entertainingly and comprehensively reviewing every branch and aspect of the local government. Its interest to people elsewhere is as a remarkably fine model for similar manuals in other communities. Indeed, a parallel book well distributed and kept alive and up-to-date would be of vast usefulness in any city, although persons like Mrs. Judd, who would make a labor of love of the task of editing and circulating it, are rare.

The volume starts in crisp and chatty fashion with the first beginnings of the city in the 1820's and uses narrative rather than exposition all the way through when the data permit that more communicative and enticing form of writing. In spite of its being a manual including dull as well as juicy subjects for the sake of completeness, the high school boy or a citizen seems likely to sit down and read it all the way through, so swift and objective is the handling of the topic.

For high school civics classes such a local handbook in readable and illustrated form fills a gap. Standard text books deal with national and state governments and the general political scene, but when they reach the municipal scene they obviously must deal in generalities, for they cannot get down to each single city and its charter and functions. The local government, which commonly comes first in the interest of citizens, is necessarily dealt with without specificity or objectivity with such improvisation of local data as the teachers may have the gumption to assemble.

In progressive schools little children are introduced to geography by making a chart of the street plan of their immediate neighborhood, then inquiring beyond that to learn what lies just over their familiar horizon, and so on toward the cosmos. Civics, if provided with material like this in each locality, could profitably work outward the same way. A truly solid grounding in the local scene would provide basis for more confident exercise of citizen curiosity and participation in public problems whose scale is not so great and remote as to abash and deter humble individual initiatives.

R. S. C.

Buffalo: Your City. By Alice Ennis Glazier and Edwin F. Rundell. Buffalo, Foster and Stewart Publishing Corporation, 1947. vii, 255 pp. $2.

A new textbook for the school children of Buffalo devoted to the economics, government and services of that city alone. Good photographs and rather primitive text. Every city has use for such a local text.

Not as good or as adult as the corresponding book issued for ninth-grade school children by the League of Women Voters of Grand Rapids, Michigan, under the enlightened pioneer editorship of Dorothy Leonard Judd.

Community Services and Public Housing. Report by the Joint Committee on Housing and Welfare. Chicago 37, National Association of Housing Officials, 1947. 13 pp.

The necessity of providing community services in connection with public housing projects so as to integrate them with the social and economic life of the city, is urged by a committee which represents the National Association of Housing Officials, American Public Welfare Association, American Association of Social Workers, Family Service Association of America, and the National Council of Housing Associations. Its findings and recommendations are embodied in this study.

Six specific types of services are analyzed—social planning and coordination; health, education and recreation; economic assistance; civic participation and individual social adjustment. Provision of these services is described as a four-way program involving housing authorities, community agencies, the community at large and, of course, the active cooperation of the tenants themselves. Recognition of the joint responsibility should involve definite agreements between the housing authority and the cooperating agency, specifying the exact obligations of each.

H. M. O.

The Development of the Constitution. By Percy T. Fenn. New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1948. xix, 733 pp. $5.

A collection of the great constitutional interpretations of the United States Supreme Court, with texts of opinion in arrangement for undergraduate students of constitutional law.

A National Plan for Public Library Service. By Carleton B. Joeckel and Amy Winslow (with a chapter by Lowell Martin). Chicago, American Library Association, 1948. xiii, 168 pp. $3.

An interesting report of the association's Committee on Postwar Planning, looking toward correction of the fact that 35,000,000 of our people have no access to a public library and proposing that the states organize to find and fill the gaps, geographical and qualitative, under stimulation of a better financed Library Service Division in the United States Office of Education.

American Municipal Government and Administration. By Stuart A. MacCorkle. Boston, D. C. Heath and Company, 1948. ix, 630 pp. $4.25.

A comprehensive review of almost everything relating to American municipal government, including departmental administration practice; disclosing, among other things, a most commendable attention to the publications of the National Municipal League.

It brings a complete range of subjects uniformly down to date in objective fashion and will undoubtedly find extensive use as a college textbook.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Civil Rights

The More Perfect Union. A Program for the control of inter-group discrimination in the United States. By R. M. MacIver. New York City, The Macmillan Company, 1948. vii, 311 pp. $4.

These Rights Are Ours to Keep. By Jerome Ellison. New York 16, Public Affairs Committee, 1948. 31 pp. 20 cents.

Council-Manager Government

Recent Council-Manager Developments and Directory of Council-Manager Cities. Chicago 37, The International City Managers' Association, 1948. 20 pp. $1.

Debt

Governmental Debt in 1947. Washington, D. C., U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1948. 11 pp.

Public Health Programs

Evaluation Schedule for Use in the Study and Appraisal of Community Health Programs. Guide to the Evaluation Schedule. By Committee on Administrative Practice. New York 19, American Public Health Association, 1947. 54 pp. and 36 pp. respectively.

Health Practice Indices 1943-46. A collection of charts showing the range of accomplishments in various fields of community health service. Compiled from the evaluation schedules submitted for the years 1943 through 1946. New York 19, American Public Health Association, 1947. 77 pp.

Metropolitan Areas

The Growth of Metropolitan Districts in the United States: 1900-1940. By Warren S. Thompson. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1948. vi, 61 pp. 30 cents.

Planning

Progress in City Planning. Progress the last 100 years; action 1940-1949; plans for 1948; organization the next 100 years. San Francisco, Department of City Planning, 1948. 24 pp. illus.

Proposed Cultural Center Plan. Detroit, City Plan Commission, 1948. 28 pp. illus.

Rent Control

State Rent Control Laws. An analysis of the statutory provisions. By Carrie E. Hunter. Washington, D. C., The Library of Congress, Legislative Reference Service, 1948. 77 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Balances in State General, Highway and Postwar-Reserve Funds in 1947. Washington, D. C., U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1948. 11 pp.

Compendium of City Government Finances in 1946. The 397 cities covered are those having 1940 populations over 25,000. By U. S. Bureau of the Census. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1948. viii, 118 pp. 45 cents.

The Picture of the National Debt. New York 7, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* March 1948. 16 pp. 25 cents.

The Principle of Equalization Applied to the Allocation of Grants in Aid. By Byron L. Johnson. Washington 25, D. C., Federal Security Agency, Social Security Administration, 1947. xiv, 225 pp.

Summary of State Government Finances in 1947. Washington, D. C., U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1948. 16 pp.

Taxpayers' Guide. Tax Rates and Legal Requirements. Compiled under supervision of J. M. Lowery. Los Angeles, County Auditor's Office, 1947. 113 pp.

Why Expanded Payrolls in Michigan. A Study of Causes 1942-1947. Lansing, Michigan Civil Service Commission, Research and Survey Division, 1948. 149 pp.

Town Government

Digest of 1948 Laws Affecting Towns. Albany, Association of Towns of the State of New York, 1948. 28 pp.

Traffic

Traffic Engineering Functions and Administration. Prepared by Joint Committee of American Association of State Highway Officials, American Public Works Association, Institute of Traffic Engineers. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1948. x, 137 pp.

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National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

A Politician Is a You Know What

CITIZENS who have never had to endure politicians like Crump of Memphis, the Longs of Louisiana, Curley of Boston or the less exactly identifiable pirates who have preyed on Philadelphia these many years sometimes wonder whether such creatures aren't just figments of the imaginations of "reformers."

Mrs. Ruth Huston Whipple, a public-spirited citizen of Plymouth, Michigan, who studied political science and has spent her post-college years demonstrating what a good politician should be, wrote the REVIEW recently:

> I could not get along without the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, even though I do not agree with all of your conclusions about county government and politicians. The past month I have reviewed the past seven magazines carefully, and would like to know what your definition of a *politician* is. If I did not know any more about government and politicians than I read in the REVIEW, I would think that a politician was any one who did not operate under a *city manager* or *county manager* form of government. What do you mean by the word politician which appears so frequently in your editorials and articles?
>
> The enclosed check is for my annual dues and for a copy of a *Model City Charter*.

Well, Mrs. Whipple, it's like this. Your state of Michigan is one of those areas with a tradition of nonpartisan local elections. They say anyone who attempts to inject obvious partisan angles is likely to get smacked down abruptly by the voters.

But, Mrs. Whipple, things aren't so rosy everywhere. There are lots of places where it's pretty tough to get citizens like you to run for the city council. They fear that their fellow-citizens might begin to call them politicians even before they get the hang of their jobs.

Another thing. When some of your state legislators are caught with itchy fingers you sic the sheriff or a future governor on them and you spread the story all over page one of your newspapers. At the very time your state was cheering the punishment of venal legislators, however, another state hushed up the grabbing of public money by its legislators and the newspapers, after a mild "tut, tut," turned their attention to pleasanter news.

Yes, the REVIEW is happily aware of the fact that there are good politicians as well as bad politicians. The REVIEW feels that what the country needs is more politicians; indeed, to make this a real, sure-enough self-governing system, everyone ought to be something of a politician. That is, he ought to go around to his neighbors' front porches of an evening and discuss public issues and candidates. He ought to learn enough about candidates, especially those running for local office, to want to support or oppose them.

You demand a definition of the word "politician." *Webster's Collegiate Dictionary* says:

> **pol'i-ti'cian** (pŏl'ĭ-tĭsh'an), n. **1.** One versed or experienced in the science of government. **2.** One addicted to, or actively engaged in, politics as managed by parties; often, one primarily interested in political offices or the profits from them as a source of private gain.

That's O.K. with the REVIEW. The No. 1 variety seems to have an unerring tendency to associate with such advanced ideas as the council-manager plan. No. 2 usually clings to the *status quo* or, more likely, the *status quo ante.* Anything that was good enough for grandpa is good enough for him—except, of course, for automobiles, refrigerators and other appurtenances of the comfortable life.

It isn't the REVIEW's fault that politician has become something of a swear word in the vocabulary of the common man. Maybe you Michiganders will lead other people into sweeter pastures or develop a better word. Please try. After all, it's a caution what's been happening to a lot of choice words like democracy, free elections, people's government and freedom.

Come to the National Conference on Government in Boston, November 22, Mrs. Whipple, and you'll meet a lot of other No. 1 politicians.

1948

National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League

Boston, November 22, 23, 24

Conference Headquarters — Hotel Statler

(Make reservations early; write directly to hotel. Be sure to say you are attending the Conference.)

The Rape of New Orleans

Huey Long's brother, in vengeful attack on reform mayor, hands city back to the spoilsmen and imperils its future

---

By LENNOX L. MOAK and HELEN R. MOAK*

LIKE an iron-handed dictator punishing a captured city, Governor Earl K. Long of Louisiana has battered proud New Orleans to her knees and undone the work of a generation to lift the great southern metropolis from the clutches of political plunderers.

"We'll improve on everything Huey did," cracked the new governor as buttermilk and hot dogs were dispensed to the multitude that came to his inaugural to see him pick up the scepter that fell from his late brother's lifeless hands.

What he meant by "improve" soon became evident as he forced a servile legislature to toe the line. He vengefully lashed out at New Orleans' young reform mayor, deLesseps "Chep" Morrison; and before he had completed his punishment of one political enemy he had with probably unprecedented thoroughness set the stage for handing the city back to political spoilsmen, impeding its progress for years to come and imperilling its economic and civic future. While directed primarily at Mayor Morrison, these blows are being felt by all the city's half million people, including the majority of the voters supporting the Long ticket.

He distorted the city's administrative system into a fantastic, unworkable mess. He undermined civil service. He knifed the non-political and efficient control of port facilities. He deprived the city of badly needed revenues and at the same time increased her financial obligations.

All this was done—in a series of more than two hundred bills covering everything from the pay of firemen to responsibility for dog catching—in the face of strong citizen opposition at legislative committee hearings. Efforts were made to have the legislation submitted to a local referendum but the legislature refused. Only those proposals embodied in constitutional amendments will be voted upon and then by the electorate of the entire state.

It is a situation reminiscent of another rape of the city conducted by brother Huey. In the early 1930's when T. Semmes Walmsley was mayor and opposing Huey, the state forced through numerous tax reductions and charter changes.

Finally, in 1936, with bankruptcy proceedings against the city pending in the federal courts and with many departments cut to skeleton forces,

---

*Mr. Moak is executive director of the Bureau of Governmental Research of New Orleans and special consultant on local government to the Louisiana Law Institute. He has been with the New Orleans bureau since 1938 and prior to that time was active in governmental affairs in Port Arthur, Texas. Until recently Mrs. Moak was assistant to the director of public relations at Tulane University. Previously she was research assistant in a comprehensive survey of New Orleans public schools. She has long been active in the League of Women Voters in New Orleans.

Mayor Walmsley resigned and Robert S. Maestri, a lieutenant of Huey, was appointed in his place. Mayor Maestri was subsequently reelected in 1942 but defeated by "Chep" Morrison in the last mayoralty elections of 1946.

Legislature Controls City

To understand the vulnerability of New Orleans to such attacks it is necessary to realize that the city has long been one of the storm centers around which Louisiana politics revolve. The city operates under a hodgepodge of state constitutional provisions and special legislation usually passed under the guise of "classification" of cities for legislative purposes, with New Orleans, of course, always in a separate class from other cities and parishes.[1] While some of the local governmental agencies enjoy some constitutional protection against a hostile legislature and governor, the central city-parish government is under a special legislative charter, subject to repeal or alteration at the whim of the legislature.

Four major lines are being used in the present attacks upon the city: politicalization of port facilities, change from a commission to a modified commission-aldermanic form of city government, precipitation of a financial crisis and disruption of civil service.

From a long range point of view perhaps the most important action is the proposed amendment to put the port of New Orleans back into politics. Public ownership and operation of the port were achieved at the end of the century as a step toward development of the port to its full capacity as a favorable factor in the economic development not only of New Orleans but also of Louisiana and the whole Mississippi Valley.

The fulfillment of this ideal, entrusted to a state board located in the city, has proceeded at an irregular pace. It has depended on whether the state administration in power regarded it as an important economic outpost or as a fertile source of political patronage and a device to dispense political favors to shippers who were "right."

In the past eight years, however, there has been a sincere effort by forward-looking citizens of all factions to remove the management of the port from partisan politics. Since 1940 this objective has been largely achieved through various devices to insure the selection of a board of port commissioners without regard to political affiliation and to protect them in their positions.

Confidence in the port and its future were being built up at an accelerating pace at the time of the last election—a confidence reflected in the establishment of a foreign trade zone in New Orleans and in the substantial increase in the volume of business channeled through the port.

The last legislature, however, submitted a constitutional amendment which, if adopted in November, can return the port to its status as a political football. It would place control of the port's board of commissioners in the hands of the governor, remove the restriction against members of the board holding political or other public office, remove the constitutional requirement that members be experienced in the commerce or industry of the port area, and abolish a special commission provided to hear evidence pending removal of a member.

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[1] Indicative of this is an act of the recent legislature wherein the author felt impelled to say that the law would apply to "all parishes, including Orleans."

Form of Government Changed

The second line of attack, changing the form of government and limiting the city's powers, was accomplished by a series of legislative acts. Chief of these is the change from a five-man commission form of government composed of a mayor and four commissioners elected at large to an eight-man council, all, excepting the mayor, to be elected from districts commencing in 1950. These districts vary so widely in population and registered vote that per capita representation of the smallest will be almost eight times that of the largest. Each commissioner will be head of an administrative department as well as a member of the governing body.

Departments are supposed to function on a city-wide basis, but favoritism in the performance of municipal functions and horse-trading among commissioners will be inevitable. The power of the mayor is reduced to almost zero; he will be little more than the ceremonial head of the city. Furthermore, the election districts correspond to those from which the already politically impregnable seven assessors are elected, thereby virtually insuring their domination of councilmen.

Without doubt the legislature has combined in this act all the worst features of the aldermanic and commission forms of government. It will be a form untried in any major American city. Indications are for the poorest government both structurally and functionally in New Orleans' history—and that is a record difficult to attain!

The legislature also revoked the right of the city commission to shift a commissioner from one department to another when it appeared to be in the public interest, a right held by the commission for the past 36 years. This act was passed solely for the protection of one of the present commissioners who supported the governor in the last election and who has consistently used his office to block Mayor Morrison's programs.

The third line of attack will bring almost immediate difficulties to the city. A drastic cut in the city's revenues, coupled with some mandatory increases in expenses, will soon precipitate an acute situation if not a real crisis in the operation of municipal services.

During its campaign for election in 1946, the present city administration promised to halve the city sales tax; in the face of rising costs, however, it soon found this impractical if services were to be carried on at reasonable levels. Therefore, when Earl Long promised a cut of the city's 2 per cent sales tax in his campaign, many persons did not take it too seriously — especially city employees who supported him and who

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now face loss of jobs because of that reduction. By this cut the legislature has reduced the city's general revenues by 25 per cent. Several other revenue changes were effected and, while their net result is a slight increase, they in no wise make up for the major loss from the sales tax cut.

This cut has afforded New Orleans taxpayers no real relief since they now must pay increased state sales taxes and more gasoline, beer, liquor, tobacco and severance taxes.

Mandatory increases in expenses range from increases in the number of state courts and salaries of judicial personnel to increased support for a local trades school. They vary from more support of unsound and indefensible fire and police pension systems which permit retirement at the early age of 41 to shorter hours and more pay for firemen.

Final calculations as to increased mandatory costs are not yet made, but it appears they will run to well over 6 per cent of the total budget while revenues are being cut.

The fourth major attack has been disruption of state and city civil service systems.

Merit System Out

In 1940 Louisiana adopted two of the best merit system laws in the nation, one for the state and one for New Orleans. Passed at a time when public employees were forced to engage in political activities for the faction in power, to contribute for political expenses through a scheme of "deducts" from pay envelopes, and to subscribe to political newspapers, these systems for the first time established safeguards for employees and laid the basis for a professional public service.

The 1948 legislature effectively annihilated state civil service despite specific written pledges by the governor and two-thirds of each house of the legislature during the campaign to sustain the civil service laws and repel efforts to politicalize public employment. The murder of the merit law was brazenly committed despite vigorous protests from Catholic, Protestant and Jewish church leaders, C.I.O. and A. F. of L. labor groups, merchants, almost every civic organization in the state and a host of plain citizens.

The only proponents of the "ripper" bill at a full dress house committee hearing were its author, who freely admitted that he preferred the spoils system to the merit system, and another representative who, although he had signed the pledge to support civil service, now protested that it was "unfair" to exact such a pledge from a candidate during a campaign. Since the bill was passed, the entire state civil service commission and its professional director have resigned in protest.

For the city the axe has been slower in falling—doubtless because of the desire to keep political patronage out of the hands of the present city administration by continuing on the books an effective city civil service law. Nevertheless, even here the hand of the spoilsman is exposed in one act which exempts unskilled labor from civil service provisions.

It is significant that most of the unskilled labor positions are under

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Defeat Comes to Boss Crump

Victorious citizens follow successful 'revolution' with vow to secure council-manager government for Memphis.

By RICHARD WALLACE*

TENNESSEE is free. In a brilliant primary campaign the people have snatched their state from the control of Boss Ed Crump.

Crump, the last of the big-city bosses, was driven back into the confines of his own home, Memphis, on August 5. He has no power anywhere else in the state—for the first time in a quarter-century.

And on August 6 — while the Crump machine was still dazed by the decisive statewide licking it received the day before—Crump received notification that he no longer holds undisputed control in Memphis.

The Shelby County (Memphis) Citizens Committee, which successfully supported Estes Kefauver's United States senatorial candidacy, announced that instead of disbanding after the campaign, as it had originally planned, it has decided to become a permanent citizens organization dedicated to good government.

It announced a five-point program for the future, including a "gradual transition" in Memphis to the "nonpolitical" council-manager form of government.

"Revolution" is the only word to describe what happened in Tennessee this year. It was a peaceful revolution for the most part, wrought by political amateurs. The Crump machine took its licking with a minimum of violence. There was only one fist fight at the polls in Memphis. Over in Polk County in East Tennessee the Burch Biggs wing of the Crump machine went down more violently. Three were killed and several injured.

The victory was definitely a people's victory—enough to give encouragement and renewed faith in democracy to free people everywhere.

Here's how it all happened.

The first ingredients in this political upheaval were two outstanding men who were willing to offer themselves in candidacy against the Crump machine. They were Estes Kefauver, who has represented Tennessee's third district (Chattanooga) in the U. S. House for the past ten years, running for the Senate, and Gordon Browning, a former governor and veteran of both world wars, running for governor.

Kefauver is a young man—he celebrated his 45th birthday by attending the opening of the special session of Congress on July 26—but he has achieved a national reputation in the House. He was voted on as one of the nation's outstanding congressmen by the Colliers Award Committee in

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*Mr. Wallace is a member of the editorial staff of the Memphis *Press-Scimitar,* a Scripps-Howard newspaper. He was born in Mississippi but has lived in Memphis most of his life. He spent over four years in the army during World War II, ending up as chief of the Office of Technical Information of the Provost Marshal General's Office in Washington.

1946. He is co-author of *Twentieth Century Congress,* and one of the leaders in the fight to modernize congressional procedures.

Browning is 58. He is a former congressman from Tennessee's old seventh district. The Crump machine jumped on his bandwagon the first time he ran for governor in 1936. He was elected and immediately inaugurated the most sweeping reforms Tennessee has ever had. He was in office only a matter of months before he and Crump had a fiery break and they have been bitter enemies ever since. Following his one term as governor, he served as a chancery judge in his home district of Huntington, Tennessee, until the outbreak of World War II when he entered the army and was assigned to the Military Government branch. He served for some time on General Eisenhower's G-5 (Military Government) staff and in various other military government posts. For his work, he was decorated by five allied governments.

Independents Buck Machine

These two men—Kefauver and Browning—were the great white hopes of the independent forces in Tennessee. Both responded nobly.

Kefauver was first to enter the race. He announced his candidacy last November. When he did, the practical politicians looked on amused and said that he didn't have a chance. They explained that he had broken the first political rule. "It's over eight months before election day," they explained. "No candidate can maintain interest for that long a period."

However, Kefauver told his friends he had a reason for the early announcement. "I'm not well known to the average voter outside my own district," he said. "I want time to get acquainted."

Kefauver began a "get acquainted" tour. Before June he had visited every one of Tennessee's 95 counties and nearly every municipality in the state. On these visits he took his candidacy straight to the people. He talked to the small town merchant in his store, to the filling station operator at the corner, to the bricklayer on the job, to the farmer in the field. He never dodged a question or an issue. Some of his friends used to say, "You're too frank, Estes. Remember you're running for office." But Kefauver never stopped being frank. He said: "The people have a right to know what I stand for."

Early in the game, Kefauver broke another rule of the Tennessee practical politician. For years, all those candidates running for office without the support of the Crump machine avoided Memphis like a plague. They would spend all their time in the rest of the state, hoping to amass a sufficient majority to overcome one of the famous Crump majorities in Memphis.

Not so Kefauver. He first came to Memphis one snow-covered day in January and began "getting acquainted" with the people in Mr. Crump's front yard. His record and his candidacy inspired a group of outstanding Memphis business and professional men to proclaim a "declaration of independence," so to speak, announcing that they had formed a citizens committee to support Kefauver.

The Memphis *Press-Scimitar*, a Scripps-Howard newspaper edited by able Edward J. Meeman who had never bowed to the Crump dictatorship, had said for years that ten men with a stake in the community and established reputations, standing together, could beat the Crump machine. As it turned out, it took only seven to do it. These are the seven:

W. M. Barr, paint specialties manufacturer, a veteran of World War II;

O. D. Bratton, lumberman, president of one of the country clubs;

Lucius Burch, attorney and sportsman;

Edwin Dalstrom, wholesale paper company manager, long active in civic work as a boy and girl scout leader;

Dr. Henry Gotten, physician and secretary of the Memphis and Shelby County Medical Society;

Edmund Orgill, president of a 100-year-old wholesale hardware firm that bears his name, former president of the Memphis Chamber of Commerce and Memphis Rotary Club;

J. Charles Poe, lumberman and a former state commissioner of conservation.

You will notice that the names of committee members are listed alphabetically. That's the way they always wanted it. They were always a team working together, with no member ever trying to grab the ball and the spotlight to run for a touchdown.

In any other city in the nation, perhaps, the formation of such a committee would have been routin
But in Memphis it was sensationa
news. Throughout the state it gav
renewed hope to free men who ha
lost hope through the year
adopting an attitude of "what's th
use in working? We'll be snowe
under by the Memphis vote."

The Kefauver committee was followed shortly by the announcemen
of a Memphis committee for Browning. It, too, was composed of top
notchers. There was Robert L
Taylor, young attorney, war vetera
and grandson of a former belove
Tennessee senator; Gilmer Richardson, realtor, former president of th
Tennessee Association of Real Estat
Boards; Henry Buck, termina
superintendent of the Illinois Central Railroad; Rembert Moon,
Shelby County farmer, and L. W
Booth, a veteran and contractor.

Machine Smears Opponents

The Crump machine ran its campaign in the style of traditiona
bossism. Full page newspaper advertisements were bought throughou
the state in attempted smears of bot
Kefauver and Browning. Speaker
took to the stump in Memphis wit
personal attacks against the member
of the Kefauver and Browning committees. Thousands of dollars wer
spent on radio time used in demagogic attacks on the candidates an
their supporters.

The Kefauver and Browning committees and the candidates refuse
to be drawn off into side excursion
and issues. They conducted thei
campaigns on a high level. Meanwhile, thousands of Memphians, wh
had been afraid before to tackle th

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machine, joined in behind the leadership of these men. They ran a campaign such as Memphis has never seen before. Speakers worked from dawn to midnight. They were present at the change of shifts of such vast industrial plants as the Firestone works, International Harvester and the railroads. As many as twenty rallies and speakings a night were scheduled during the closing days of the campaign.

The women and young people became inspired and joined in. The Memphis League of Women Voters ran a voters' school nightly for six nights in which the rights and duties of voters, watchers and election officials were explained. The Kefauver-Browning committees joined forces and ran a watchers' school to take up where the voters' school left off.

Election day dawned clear and beautiful and the usual intensive Tennessee August heat beat a retreat in the face of a cool breeze. A record vote was polled. In Memphis the Crump machine plastered the polling places with cards and sample ballots advising the citizenry to vote for Jim McCord for governor and Judge John Mitchell for senator. Never had the machine's ward workers been out in such numbers on election day, wearing the lapel banners of the organization. They were composed mostly of city and county employees and their families who were forced to be present and contractors and their families who thought it a good idea to do so.

Crump mounted bands on trucks, in good old nineteenth century political boss style, and sent them around from polling place to polling place to serenade the folks while advising them to vote the straight Crump ticket.

All in all, those wearing the machine banners outnumbered the Kefauver-Browning supporters, but those independents, mostly women, sat stubbornly by the ballot boxes all day long, saying over and over again, "I challenge that vote because . . ." Since they had attended the voters' and watchers' schools, they always were able to add: "The law says . . ."

These people were heckled in many instances. In many places their day's work was made as unpleasant as possible. But they stuck to those ballot boxes all day and until the count was completed. Night was greying into dawn as the last tired watcher relaxed.

Defeat for Crump

The results amazed even the watchers. One told how she had sat in discouragement all day long as 90 per cent of the people who voted stopped by the ward boss, who was serving as election officer, slapped him on the back and said: "How are we doing John?"

"I figured the box was overwhelmingly machine," she said, "but I determined that I would stick to my place and not let them count any more than they actually got."

But when the votes were counted —the box actually went for Kefauver and Browning. The people had slapped the ward boss on the back but in the secrecy of the voting booth had cast their ballots against his side.

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All those wearing the machine lapel streamers didn't have their heart in it, another watcher found out. As the polls closed the election officer said: "Well, let's take a stretch and have a coke before counting." Everyone arose and relaxed, including the Kefauver-Browning watcher who drifted over toward the door. One of the people wearing a machine streamer passed in front of the watcher and slipped him a note. The note read: "Don't leave that ballot box!"

The watcher returned.

The result was a clean-cut victory for both Browning and Kefauver. The Crump candidate for governor, a two-termer running for his third term, had made a rather creditable record for a Crump governor, but still he carried only a handful of counties.

What happened in Tennessee this August was a completion of what had been begun in Athens in McMinn County in August 1946, when a group of returned GI's beat the Cantrell wing of the Crump state machine at the polls and then, when the machine tried to rob them at the count, beat them with gunfire.[1] Even since then, every time a segment of the state machine has gone to the polls it has been beaten until none now remains.

The result is that Tennessee is entering a new era. You can expect Browning, in the governor's office, to lend the prestige of that office and his leadership toward revision of the state's antiquated constitution; toward a reform of the state's institutions; toward a reestablishment of the merit system he began ten years ago. In Memphis you can expect the citizens committee to work on toward the establishment of council-manager government and toward the other points in its program which include an effective civil service program for all county and city employees, a "Little Hatch Act" for those employees, permanent registration and the adoption and use of voting machines.

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[1] See "Tennessee County Mixes Bullets and Ballots," the REVIEW, September 1946, page 435.

It's a Habit Now in Dayton

Political strife becomes virtually extinct as voters continue to elect 'citizen' candidates to city council.

By **RICHARD S. CHILDS***

DAYTON in 1913 was the first city of over 8,000 population to adopt the council-manager plan. Its elected council of five (still called commission) acts as a board of directors, meeting once a week to sponsor and oversee the city manager, who coordinates and directs all other municipal employees.

Dayton did more than take over the short ballot feature of the commission plan—it shortened the ballot further, providing, uniquely, for biennial election of two of the five at one time and three at the other, for four-year terms. The high man of the three becomes chairman of the council, with the title of mayor. Thus the city ballot is ideally short — though an Englishman, who never votes for more than one office at a time and at three-year intervals, might call it confusing.

Dayton conducts other elections on the same day, however, choosing three — or four — members of the school board and municipal judges, using several separate paper ballots. Thus in 1945 there were four little ballots covering twenty offices, including one for three city commissioners. Of these offices the commissioners usually, but not invariably, attract the heaviest vote, in accordance with their relative powers and importance. The theory of the short ballot thus does not get ideal play; the candidates for the commission are less solitary and conspicuous than the plan of government is intended to provide.

In Dayton's history contests for the commission have frequently been tame, even perfunctory, with no more than a third of the voters going to the polls. In such years, if the commissionerships had been the only offices up for election, the turnout might have been even smaller.

The situation reflects the fact that there are commonly no issues, no outs disparaging the ins, making charges and countercharges or trying to capture patronage. There is an incumbent or two up for reelection and a new nominee sponsored by the Citizens' Committee on the nonpartisan ballot, all good men. And there is a scatteration of self-nominated independents most of whom do not qualify at the primary election for a place on the ballot at the final election, and who almost never get elected. And there's nothing in sight to stir anybody's emotions.

There may be a cooling element in the fact that when two commissioners are to be elected they won't alter the balance in the council since three others hold over; and when three are to be elected, one or two are incumbents up for reelection and fairly sure of it, so no earthquake is in sight. So the campaign frequently fails to make the first page of the newspaper from day to day.

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*Mr. Childs, chairman of the council of the National Municipal League, recently retired from business to devote his full time to civic affairs. He is chairman of The Citizens Union of New York and of the Institute of Public Administration.

No Complaints!

That Dayton has been well governed could, of course, be a legend waiting for some explosion of disillusionment, but if so the town is mightily fooled. There just isn't any complaint! Dishonesty in the city hall is as unthinkable as in a bank. Last year the city employed Griffenhagen and Associates to make an efficiency survey of the city services to look for chances to improve techniques. The Griffenhagen staff ransacked all departments for six months and offered some ideas, but they picked up one for themselves, for they volunteered this: "The city has an honest administration. Not once in the course of our studies here has the staff encountered even the slightest indication to the contrary. . . . Few cities are as free of what is best understood under the label of political pressure." And the mild mannered Dayton *News,* a Democratic newspaper, in an editorial on the outcome of the 1945 election, remarked: "Dayton has enjoyed 30 years of unbroken honest government."

Fred O. Eichelberger, then city manager, started for his office one day in 1946 and discovered that Dayton was starting to celebrate "Eichelberger Day," it being, as he learned, the 25th anniversary of his induction as city manager. In a floral scene in the city hall he was given a watch, a scroll, a handsome volume of letters of praise collected by the Chamber of Commerce and, of course, an earful of speeches. There were fifteen other city managers who in that year had served a single community for 25 years or more, but they were all in little places; Dayton had another "first" among the larger cities.

When Eichelberger resigned to retire in January 1948, he drove off to Florida in a new Cadillac, but there were no lifted eyebrows about that, for it was a surprise gift from a lot of Dayton citizens. Eichelberger has been a patient, diligent, thoroughly informed, self-effacing city manager who advised the council and deferred to its rare adverse decisions with unruffled serenity whether he agreed or not, executing them faithfully. A former mayor observes that the question of displacing Eichelberger for a new manager just never was brought up.

So I went to Dayton to see how a city of 260,000 has gotten along without partisan politics or ruckuses through eighteen successive elections, putting into the council an unbroken succession of good men and true who have given the town good government for 34 years.

Eighteen elections is too many to report on, but the outstanding fact is that few of them were heated or bitter; really pretty dull!

In 1913 the proponents of the new charter, headed by the vivid and eccentric John H. Patterson of the National Cash Register Company, kept their momentum after they secured adoption of the charter, formed a balanced committee to support selected candidates, and elected them. They spent considerable money — in the neighborhood of $20,000—in the campaign, and the Democratic and Republican party managements, recognizing that the voters had adopted nonpartisan elections, forebore to throw their weight.

Off to Good Start

The first council included businessmen, a labor union officer and lawyers, and it promptly made a hit with history by finding for its pioneer manager Henry M. Waite, former city engineer of Cincinnati, who was one big man in any company. Big, gentle, soft-spoken and wise, he made the Dayton government a warm and human service. In later years he built the great Cincinnati railroad terminal and the Chicago subway, and his example in Dayton set the pace for the new profession.

In 1917 three members of the council were to be chosen. The Socialists organized aggressively and the Democratic party workers threw their weight for certain nominees.

The Citizens' Committee, favoring reelection of the three incumbents and undistracted continuation of a remarkable administration, put on a hard campaign and spent $23,000, mostly on printed and stereoptican publicity, to expound the achievements of those first four years which had won Dayton a national reputation. In the three-cornered primary fight they ignored the Socialists and set out to beat the Democrats, resulting in a combined vote of 20,545 for the three incumbents and 10,164 for the three Democrats. But the Socialists mustered 29,162 for their trio, three times their normal vote.

The eliminated Democrats, as expected, joined with the Citizens' Committee against the Socialists in the final election, and the novelty introduced by the possibility of a Socialist victory alerted the electorate, produced another $27,000 of campaign funds and brought out a bigger vote, of which the Socialists got 43 per cent. About $3,000 of the campaign money went to Democratic and Republican precinct workers.

The claim of a Socialist newspaper that its party's local growth rose from its anti-war attitude stirred up the Americanism issue, and much of the hysteria and heat of the final campaign dealt with issues that were extraneous and momentary. The heavy expenditures for publicity went largely to combat a shocking stream of sneering mendacity from the Socialist campaigners. City employees were successfully restrained from participating in the campaigns. The Democratic party never tried again.

In 1919, and on into the 20's, incumbents who had shared the glory of those early years were reelected by a Citizens' Committee, against scattering opposition, with ease. When new nominees had to be found the Citizens' Committee would tag some citizen and relieve him of the necessity of nominating himself or raising campaign funds.

The Citizens' Committee, of course, catered to the diverse elements of the population—the Catholics, the unions, the two sides of the river, and the Democrats and the Republicans. It balanced the council

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to keep it representative, and as long as both parties had some members of the council, the two party managements stayed out of the picture. But a new nominee was checked with the leader of each party and with the editors of the two leading dailies, and it is a fair guess that all four of those persons voted for every nominee of the Citizens' Committee.

No Need for Excitement

The committee's original membership of 50 dwindled to ten. So did the campaign funds — they became nominal amounts in some years—and all that the candidates of the committee did in some years was to accept invitations to speak at various club or civic meetings. It was not waning vigor or alertness—there was no need to do more. The Citizens' Committee candidates pooled their efforts in such ways as taking pains to support each other in the course of their speeches. Advertising was pooled and a single expenditures report was filed as required with the board of elections.

Thus they frequently survived the primary election easily and faced the highest of scattered independent and Socialist candidates at the final election without much fear except the hazards of a light vote.

Light votes—30 per cent—were frequent, but there were flurries and ructions. Dayton is an industrial city and so has some Socialist and radical labor elements which from time to time have flared into brief numerical importance. In 1921 in a light primary vote the three Socialist candidates reached the final elections and thereby alerted and alarmed the rest of the town, which raised and spent $20,000 and beat them by a substantial majority.

In 1933, amid the irritations of the depression, a labor leader named Breidenbach, with alarming manners and a tough attack, mustered the discontented and survived the primary. A few days before the election the Dayton *Herald* switched its support to him and he was elected. He became, in time, a useful and cooperative member in the council, but during the process he was disturbing and stormy.

When Breidenbach ran for another term without Citizens' Committee support, in 1939, there were only three candidates in the field. The *News,* in characterizing the two Citizens' Committee candidates, said: "Speice is understood to have Republican Chairman Brower's endorsement. Munger, elected to the legislature as a Democrat, will doubtless attract, although this is no partisan matter, a heavy Democratic vote."

Breidenbach's supporters in the three-cornered contest must have had to refrain from voting for a second candidate. The election was lively and the vote was: Breidenbach, 25,527; Munger, 32,706; Speice, 25,958. The total list of registered voters was about 130,000 at that time and the 48 per cent turnout compared with 30 per cent in 1937.

In 1941 "the campaign was a quiet one." Two incumbents and one new man, all supported by the "Nonpartisan Good Government League," were elected by a two-to-one vote. The *News* commented: "It shows a profound confidence in Dayton's city

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government, and what a relief to operate a city without partisan political campaigns!"

In 1943 only 30 per cent voted, with two to elect. Munger and Speice, Citizens' Committee choices, got 18,070 and 17,520 respectively; Smith, described as representing the CIO, got 11,615, and Beck, 9,270.

In 1945 large postwar bond issues, totalling $25,000,000, were put on the ballot and brought unusual interest to the election. The "All-Dayton Committee," succeeding the Citizens' Committee, wanted some fresh blood in the council. In consultation, the Democratic leader objected to a suggested Democrat; the man was a Democrat all right, but not a *registered* Democrat! It seems a narrow point, but the committee deferred to it rather than risk a fight, the town nowadays being 60 per cent Democratic.

Party Leaders Consulted

In all such consultation with the party leaders, the deference to political opposition involved no trading or stipulations with party leaders; the latter kept out of the process of selection of nominees and dissent was rare. Obviously, the committee when it chose a Democrat needed to be sure that he could really draw Democratic votes, just as it would nominate a Catholic but make sure that the church rated him as a good one. The All-Dayton Committee published advertisements which were notable for their moderation of spirit and claims.

The 1947 campaign was described, however, as bitter. The All-Dayton Committee disappeared; this time it was "Citizens' Committee to Elect Smith and Speice," there being two to elect this time. The CIO-PCA came to bat. Five organizers came in from out of town at the expense of the national organization and two leftish candidates were put up; one was a colored man and the other, a prominent CIO labor leader, was widely alleged to be, if not a Communist, at least a fellow traveler. Mr. Breidenbach, being AFL, turned up on the side of the current *ad hoc* Citizens' Committee. It was the left arraigned against the center and the right; the latter took alarm and heat again developed.

The radicals reported campaign expenditures of $1,345, but that did not include the work of the outside organizers and CIO union officers nor the prodigal space given by the CIO newspaper. The Citizens spent $8,331, which took no account of the fact that precinct workers of both the Republican and Democratic parties worked for their ticket and helped to bring out the vote. The Negro vote, which is extensive in Dayton, did not flock to the colored candidate.

On election day the radicals circulated handbills alleging that a 1 per cent payroll tax was to be imposed if the opposing ticket got elected, and the commission denied it as a barefaced lie.

The Citizens' Committee candidates, Smith, a first-time man, and Speice, running for his third term, got 51,631 and 50,410 votes; Sims, the CIO candidate, 19,942 and McLin, the Negro, 15,487. The *News* on the next day ran a cartoon picturing city hall with a huge flag on it —"The American flag still flies over Dayton's city hall."

I asked two former commissioners to tell me just how they got into consideration for public office. Mr. Brennan, former mayor and chairman of the 1947 citizens' group, had been an assistant prosecuting attorney (appointive) and had once run unsuccessfully for probate judge. The Citizens' Committee persuaded him to run and he assented—"that's all!"

Dr. Kneisly's case was an odd one. He was a dentist, but his political availability lay in the fact that he was president of the Federated Improvement Associations whose constituent local groups totalled 22,000 members. The Citizens' Committee asked him to run, the fact that he was reluctantly considering it leaked out and he was jocularly hailed as mayor by his friends on the street.

The Citizens' Committee finally settled on other candidates and issued its endorsements without setting itself right with him; just why, Dr. Kneisly never learned. His friends resented the mishandling and proceeded to nominate him and, on the wave of their indignation, he beat the committee candidate in the primary and was elected. Four years later he ran again without Citizens' Committee support but lost in the primary election.

So down the years public-spirited citizens of Dayton, drawn admittedly from the well-to-do, successful people who participate in community chest drives and other unselfish endeavors, have always seen their nominees constitute a majority on the commission. The $8,331 they spent in 1947 under the radical attack was larger than normal; their campaigns often cost no more than $3,000. They were like the nominating committee of a social club, buttonholing a new man now and then to persuade him to take a tour of duty. They catered to the natural groups and kept the council balanced.

Being in good repute, with no axes to grind, they were true leaders, as shown by the fact that the people followed. They never attempted to mollify the Socialists of the 20's or the current radicals by putting one of them on their tickets, and very likely would have been unable to elect them if they had. After each election the committees fold up and shut up and make no attempt as a group to influence city hall.

Labor Issue

The AFL-CIO split extends to local politics and probably has diminished the concern the citizens have lest labor go solidly political on class lines; they cannot hope to cater successfully to that segment of labor and radicalism which wants all or nothing. Voters of Dayton come out and vote when there is an issue, as in 1947. In fact, the absence of issues in Dayton elections most of the time, except when the class struggle has lapped over into politics, can be proof of a real era of good feeling and mutual trust. "Happy is the land that has no history."

Commissioners in Dayton get a salary of $1,200, and the chairman (mayor) receives $1,800. The conditions of service obviously have been attractive to men who would never take the relatively trivial positions of councilmen under a mayor and council plan or the full-time service as a departmental head called for by the commission plan because they have business and professional careers too important to interrupt.

Just how unique Dayton's 34-year stretch may be is hard to say. Certainly there are cities with the older forms of government, as well as cities with managers, where decency and serenity rule. But it is more than a coincidence that since the adoption of the council-manager plan good citizenship has so easily and consistently been effective in Dayton!

Will It Last?

How much longer can it go on so serenely? The factors to be watched are: (a) the possibility of increased class warfare and the arraying of "workers" against the rest; (b) the possibility of change in the newspaper situation, all three of the dailies now being almost invariably with the Citizens; (c) the fact that community leaders are silenced to an increasing degree by living now in growing suburbs outside the city's political boundary; (d) Dayton's new city manager Russell E. McClure, former manager of Wichita, may be less successful than Eichelberger in avoiding antagonisms; (e) another depression may substitute an irritated situation for the city's current thriving prosperity, with incidental repercussions against the town's present leadership.

If this story sounds like a prolonged domination of Dayton by its businessmen, be it remembered that the radical bloc gets every chance to challenge; indeed, the political stage is well cleared of false issues and well illuminated for their efforts—but voters of Dayton have remained stolidly unimpressed.

Leftist opposition to candidates of the citizens' committees is not extended to include opposition to the form of government. Once, in 1922, reversion to the old form was proposed by an initiative petition and the Socialists cooperated in the defeat of the effort by a vote of 26,000 to 17,000.

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They Like Los Angeles Plan

Taxpayers and officials feel that chief administrative officer idea has proved effective over ten years of use.

By **EARL R. STRATHMAN***

ON AUGUST 3, 1948, Los Angeles County celebrated the tenth anniversary of its chief administrative officer plan.

Ten years ago the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors took action on what is generally conceded to be the most significant development in the county's organizational structure since adoption of its 1913 charter when it voted unanimously to try a modified manager plan on a one-year experimental basis. It constituted a pioneering venture, for never before had the county manager idea been applied to so large a jurisdiction. Its operation has been so successful that no one now would question its permanency as an integral part of the county's administrative setup.

Provision for a county administrative officer was recommended in the 1935 report of the Committee on Governmental Simplification. Previously the California Commission on County Home Rule (1930) and the Committee on Administration of the Los Angeles Grand Jury (1933) had recommended a county manager.

The chief administrative office was initiated by ordinance, rather than by charter amendment, for the one-year experiment. Because of its success under the ordinance no concerted effort has been made to incorporate the plan into the charter. The ordinance established the following duties of the CAO:

(1) To exercise administrative supervision and control over all departments, services, institutions and districts of the county; to coordinate their operations; and to administer, enforce and carry out the policies, rules, regulations and ordinances of the board relating to the administration of county affairs;

(2) To analyze and make recommendations in connection with departmental budgets;

(3) To supervise all expenditures and purchases of the county government;

(4) To coordinate administration of all county services by having authority to transfer personnel, equipment, machinery, furnishings and supplies between departments;

(5) To approve all purchase orders of $1,000 or more and to approve all contracts for supplies, services, equipment, etc., before presentation to the board of supervisors;

(6) To recommend to the board the creation or abolition of any positions in the county service.

The only county departments not

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placed entirely under the chief administrative officer were those of the sheriff, district attorney and assessor, all of which are headed by elective officials, and the civil service commission, the members of which are appointed by the board of supervisors in accordance with provisions of the county charter. The chief administrative officer is charged, however, with the duty of supervising and controlling the expenditures of these four departments.

Following is a list of powers and duties assigned to the chief administrative officer since the ordinance creating the position was adopted:

(1) Approval of employment of additional employees by county departments required;

(2) Four county committees eliminated and their responsibility for recommendations and reports placed with him;

(3) He is made the public works coordinator;

(4) All reports of county officers to be submitted to him and only those recommended by him to go to the board;

(5) All recommendations on awards of contracts to other than the low bidder to be made to him;

(6) All proposed legislation sponsored by department heads to be referred to him.

In addition to these added powers and duties the chief administrative officer is instructed to make studies and recommendations on practically all county activities. The board of supervisors instructs him to carry out many of the accepted recommendations.

Six administrative division heads now report directly to the CAO:

The assistant chief administrative officer, who serves in the absence of the chief administrative officer and carries out special assignments on budgets, legislation, bond issues, capital projects and related matters as required;

Four assistant administrative officers in charge of budgets, contracts and franchises, personnel, and public works capital projects;

The director of the division of administrative research.

County Research Agency

Formerly the department of budget and research, the division of administrative research continues as the county's official research agency reporting, as already noted, directly to the chief administrative officer. Here can be noticed the line of demarkation between research and administration. The division conducts surveys and studies of county operations and the administrative staff directly headed by the chief administrative officer uses these research findings in arriving at decisions. During the budget season the entire staff of the division of administrative research is assigned to work on the budget analysis.

Throughout the ten years of the chief administrative officer in Los Angeles County, the board of supervisors has followed very closely the recommendations of the CAO on the budget. He is, of course, careful in defining policy matters which are referred directly to the board of supervisors without recommendation. After the board adopts the final budget for the fiscal year, the chief administrative officer is held responsible for maintaining budget controls throughout the year.

The chief administrative officer does not appoint any department heads. The county charter specifically provides that all county officers other than elective officials shall be appointed by the board of supervisors from an eligible civil service list. Department heads are given regular civil service status; however, there are many occasions when the board of supervisors requests the recommendation of the chief administrative officer.

The civil service commission conducts examinations and establishes an eligible list from which the board makes its appointments. Many examinations for department heads are promotional examinations in which only members of the department are eligible to participate. Many career men have been able to advance through the ranks to department heads. Los Angeles County has a reputation for fostering career men in its service.

No Appointive Power

The chief difference between the council-manager plan and the chief administrative officer idea is the lack of appointive power over department heads. In Los Angeles County, however, because of the human element involved and the precedent established in working arrangements, control over department heads by the chief administrative officer is quite complete.

After ten years it can safely be said that the chief administrative officer plan in Los Angeles County has passed all tests with flying colors. During these ten years World War II occurred with much war activity centered in Southern California. Along with the severe adjustments required to keep pace with the war effort a great mass migration took place in the westward rush of people to Southern California. Los Angeles County is the fastest growing area in the world. Much of its growth took place during the war years. In 1920 its population was 936,000. In the next ten years, it more than doubled, reaching 2,200,000 in 1930. The estimated population for 1950 is 4,200,000, just about double the 1930 figure. The county's population in the last year has increased 6 per cent. Such rapid growth has brought many demands upon government.

Throughout these years the county has been faced with expanding activities and increasing governmental functions. In addition to carrying on regular county activities as an agent of the state, the county furnishes many municipal services to its 45 incorporated cities. It is estimated that it is performing 800 different functions at the present time.

The job of administering the affairs of a county with so many large scale activities is no small task. When the chief administrative office was established there were approximately 15,000 employees in more than 50 departments with an annual budget of $80,000,000. As already said, the county is serving almost twice as many people with approximately 20,000 employees in 1948. The annual budget adopted in June 1948, for the fiscal year 1948-49, totals $189,000,000.

Wayne R. Allen, first chief administrative officer, is still acting successfully in that capacity. During the war General Allen, as he is known throughout the state, was given a leave of absence to serve as purchasing agent in the European theater and Alfred H. Campion served as acting chief administrative officer. General Allen's dynamic and forceful personality has been given credit for the unusual success of the Los Angeles County plan.

With a successful business background, General Allen feels that there should be more business in government. He has often said that business methods in government will make the tax dollar go farther.

Plan Found Satisfactory

Abraham Holtzman, who has just completed a comprehensive study of the office of the chief administrative officer, makes the following comments on the plan as it has operated in Los Angeles County:

"It is difficult to decide upon a valid set of criteria with which to measure the accomplishments of the CAO. There are no hard and fast rules for determining intangibles, and much of what has been accomplished cannot be measured by numbers or pictured on a graph. Savings in unit costs, often a valuable measurement, cannot be traced directly to the CAO's office except in a very few instances. The factors are too many and too variable.

"A positive, yet semi-subjective, measurement is an analysis of the success of the office in terms of the conditions which brought about its establishment. Did the CAO meet the challenge of such conditions? Did the CAO improve the administrative functioning of county government? In terms of these factors, some valid analysis may be made.

"The board [of supervisors] is in complete favor of the plan as it has worked for the last nine years. 'In my opinion,' contends Supervisor Roger Jessup, 'this venture constituted the greatest single reform in the county government since the adoption of our charter in 1913.' Not all the supervisors would agree to such glowing terms, but all praise the work and value of the CAO. Among the administrative departments and in the staff agencies the view is held that the CAO has not only helped many of them operate better but that he has also greatly aided the departments in their relationship to the board. If tested, then, in terms of the degree of respect and confidence in which the CAO is held by his immediate superior, the board, and by his subordinates, the department heads, the result is quite favorable."

The chief administrative office as it has been established in Los Angeles County has actually become another form of government. The success of the plan has been such that twelve California counties now have or are considering a chief administrative officer. During the past year there have been 30 cities with a chief administrative officer, ten of which are in Los Angeles County. These ten are patterned on the Los

Angeles County plan. In the other twenty, scattered throughout the state, there are many variations in the actual practice of the plan. The CAO's of California have not been acceptable to the International City Managers' Association as city managers eligible for regular full membership.

A survey of cities adopting the chief administrative officer plan reveals that many of these officials become city managers and continue to function in much the same manner as previously. Some cities have moved on from chief administrative officers to fully empowered city managers, the progression being found easier to secure in two steps than in one long stride.

In summary it can be said that the chief administrative officer idea has succeeded in Los Angeles County. There has been little change in the philosophy which established the plan ten years ago. It has been tested and found adequate by both taxpayers and government officials in providing efficient and economical government.

THE RAPE OF NEW ORLEANS

(Continued from page 415)

the control of the city commissioner who has become a political supporter of the new governor and who is protected in the retention of his position by other legislation adopted during this session, certified to by the governor as "requiring immediate passage."

While these changes were being considered, Mayor Morrison broadcast an appeal to the legislature and to the people of the state on behalf of New Orleans. He said: "It is difficult to conceive that the legislature, whose function is to legislate constructively for the well-being of all of the people of Louisiana, will pass negative and restrictive acts against a city whose welfare means so much to the rest of the state."

He pointed out that: "The abridgement of the right of home rule in any one parish is a matter of serious concern to other parishes. The passage of punitive legislation against New Orleans would open the door for similar acts in any other parish if and when the occasion demands."

What is being done to New Orleans today could be done to other American cities by a hostile state. If our cities, which now contain more than half the population, are to achieve their destiny and solve the problems inherent in urban life they must be freed from the legislatures and governors who can impede their progress.

This can be achieved through strong home rule provisions in the basic law—essential freedom of local government as to structure, powers and fiscal affairs. Historically the strength of American democracy stems from virile local government close to the governed. This strength is essential and must be encouraged, not strangled, at a time when the whole concept of democratic control is being challenged.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

States Debate Constitutional Changes

Many Amendment Proposals Appear on November Ballot

PROPOSALS to change state constitutions, ranging from minor amendments to complete revision, are in various stages in a number of states, with popular votes to be taken on a considerable number at the November election.

A complete but unofficial revision of the Florida constitution has been prepared by the Florida State Bar Association's Constitution Committee. It has been printed and "offered to the people of Florida for study." The existing constitution of 1885 has been used as a basis, but many changes are proposed, among them the following:

The former power of the legislature to establish or abolish municipalities at any time is removed; every law relating to a single county, municipality or other political subdivision must be a local law subject to approval of a majority of the voters of the political subdivision affected.

Continuing appropriations for boards, commissions, etc., are abolished, and no appropriation law shall continue in effect for as much as three years.

Local units of government are permitted to consolidate or cooperate; consolidation to be only by majority vote in each unit.

A department of revenue is provided for and methods of pre-audit and post-audit are prescribed. The controller and state treasurer would serve coordinately as directors of the department, the former heading a division of the budget and the latter the division of collection.

An appointive state board of education is provided for.

A new system of only four types of courts—supreme, circuit, county and juvenile—is provided for, each judge to be appointed by the governor from three nominees of a special commission. A judge would hold office six years and then run for reelection on his record; if voted down he would be succeeded by another judge appointed by the governor. The chief justice is made the chief administrative officer of all courts of the state and is given an administrative assistant.

Legislative redistricting, if not done by the senate after each decennial census, is to be done by a commission comprised of the president of the senate, the speaker of the house and an appointee of the governor; and if the commission does not report within 30 days after the senate's adjournment the governor shall redistrict the state into 40 senatorial districts, in the manner otherwise provided.

Representation of counties in the house is made somewhat more in accordance with population.

California, Michigan

Subcommittees of the joint interim committee on legislative constitutional revision of the California legislature have been at work on various phases of revision, and a tentative coordinated draft of a complete revised constitution has been prepared by Norris J. Burke, the committee's general counsel, and submitted to all subcommittees.

Six constitutional amendments are

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to be voted on in Michigan in November. The people will vote on calling of a constitutional convention to revise the constitution. Repeal of the sales tax diversion amendment, passed in 1946, providing for the return of one cent of the state sales tax to cities, villages, townships and school districts and an additional compulsory appropriation to school districts, is the subject of another amendment, which is opposed by the Michigan Municipal League.

Two other proposed amendments would permit the legislature to fix the salaries of senators and representatives, and also to fix salaries of constitutional elected or appointed executive officers (attorney general, secretary of state, etc.); these salaries are now determined by constitutional provisions. The fifth proposal would establish the line of succession in the event of death of a governor or governor-elect, as follows: lieutenant-governor, secretary of state, attorney general, state treasurer, auditor general. The sixth would liberalize bond issue requirements in connection with the fifteen-mill tax limit. The Michigan League definitely favors the last mentioned.

Oregon Amendments

Ten proposed amendments are to be voted on in Oregon in November. One would provide for elections on the question of establishing a new tax base in counties, municipalities and districts after the voters therein have authorized a tax levy in excess of the constitutional 6 per cent limitation for two successive years.

Others would authorize indebtedness for state reforestation, authorize a state boys' camp, amend the licensing and acquisition provisions of the hydroelectric commission act, fix the qualifications of voters in school elections, establish $50 pensions for needy old persons, increase personal income tax exemptions, authorize the Oregon Liquor Control Commission to issue dispensing licenses to its licensed hotels, restaurants, clubs and passenger common carriers, authorize bonds for a veterans' bonus and prohibit salmon fishing in the Columbia River with fixed appliances.

New Mexico will vote on six proposed amendments. One requires the governor to call a special session of the legislature if three-fifths of the members of each house certify that an emergency exists. Others permit the legislature to fix salaries of its employees, now under constitutional limitation, prohibit the closed shop, fix terms of county officers at four years without reelection until after four years more, fix terms of state executive officers similarly, and establish succession in case of death of the governor or governor-elect.

Washington County Home Rule

In the state of Washington four proposed amendments will be on the November ballot. One permits counties to adopt home rule charters. Another permits the legislature to fix the salaries of elected state officials. A third permits the formation, under a charter, of combined city and county municipal corporations having a population of 300,000 or more (this would allow Seattle and King County to consolidate). The last would repeal the constitutional provision that makes county officials ineligible to hold office more than two terms in succession.

In Minnesota a constitutional commission has been at work for some time (see the July REVIEW, page 380). One of its important committees, that on the judiciary, recently submitted its

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final recommendations as to the courts. They include:

A supreme court, a district court and a probate court to be established by constitutional provision; other courts with jurisdiction inferior to the supreme and district courts may be created by law, with special provision for juvenile court work; justice of the peace courts no longer required by constitutional mandate; an administrative council, to consist of the chief justice and certain representatives from other courts, the legal profession and the public; judges to be elected for term of six years; supreme, district and probate judges retire at 70; legislature may authorize retention of supreme court justices; supreme court clerk and state law librarian to be appointed by the court; district court clerks to be elected.

A proposal to the Maryland Legislative Council by William C. Walsh, former attorney general and head of a 1947 committee for more equitable representation in the legislature, would allow more legislators for the three most populous counties—Baltimore, Prince Georges and Montgomery—and prevent representation from becoming still more inequitable than at present. Each county is now entitled to two delegates in the assembly, with one more when population exceeds 18,000 and further additions up to a limit of six at 55,000 population or over. It was pointed out that at least eight counties will have increases in representatives after the 1950 census; but each of the three largest counties, with populations far beyond 100,000, and likewise each legislative district in the city of Baltimore, will continue to be limited to six delegates.

The Walsh proposal would freeze the number of delegates in small counties and allow more delegates from the city of Baltimore and the three counties of largest population.

A Municipal Program Urged by New AMA Director

The new executive director of the American Municipal Association, Carl H. Chatters, who has succeeded Earl D. Mallery, has propounded a national program for municipal governments, in the hope that municipalities of all states can cooperate in furthering it, thereby helping to raise the status of municipal government in this country. A summary of important elements, which does not purport to be complete, is as follows:

1. Greater rights of home rule should be extended to all American cities.
2. Municipal government and municipal officials must command and receive public respect and public recognition.
3. Municipal government must be conducted at the lowest possible cost consistent with the number of activities and standards of service which the citizens require.
4. Each person should have a decent home.
5. Municipal life is satisfactory only when good transportation exists.
6. Municipal governments are entitled to sufficient revenue to finance the activities required of them by custom or law.
7. Municipal officials and employees should receive adequate compensation.
8. Municipalities should have the legal and statutory right to cooperate with one another by contract.
9. There must be a sympathetic and intelligent understanding between the municipal governments and the state governments.

Mr. Chatters was formerly executive director of the Municipal Finance Officers Association; he resigned to become chief of public finance for the U. S. Office of Military Government in Berlin; he was later comptroller of the Port of New York Authority, then professor of municipal administration and finance at Northwestern University, accepting the chairmanship of the political science department just before resigning to go with AMA.

States and Nation Fight Water Pollution

The new water pollution control act (public law 845) authorizes the federal government to help individual states control pollution of water courses by providing technical and financial aid.

A number of states have pollution control laws, usually enforced by the state health departments; but problems of pollution extend beyond state boundaries. The new law is the first specific nation-wide federal legislation aimed at reducing the present pollution and preventing further pollution of our streams.

The Public Health Service considers that the act will help to establish a systematic program of pollution control and abatement with the cooperation of state and interstate agencies. Under it the surgeon general, in cooperation with other federal agencies, state and interstate water pollution agencies, and the municipalities involved, is authorized to make joint investigations and to prepare or adopt comprehensive programs for eliminating or reducing the pollution of the nation's water courses.

The act authorizes the making of loans to any state, municipality or interstate agency for preparation of plans and construction of necessary works for the treatment of sewage or other wastes discharging into interstate waters. The loans can cover up to one-third of the estimated cost (with a limit of $250,000 per project), if included in a comprehensive program developed under the act.

The act provides for the authorization of up to one million dollars a year for the next five years to the Federal Security Agency, to be used as research and investigation grants to state and interstate water pollution control agencies. Another million dollars a year for the next five years is authorized to the Federal Works Agency to be granted to municipalities to aid them in paying for surveys preliminary to the construction of treatment projects approved for loans.

A ten-member Water Pollution Control Advisory Board is established in the Public Health Service to review the policies and program of the Public Health Service as undertaken under authority of this act and to make recommendations to the surgeon general.

State Officials Form Highway Safety Committee

Formed as a cooperative effort of seven national organizations, the State Officials' National Highway Safety Committee has recently perfected its organization and established headquarters in the Barr Building in Washington. The organizations are: American Association of Motor Vehicle Administrators, American Association of State Highway Officials, Council of State Governments, International Association of Chiefs of Police, National Association of Railroad and Utilities Commissioners, Association of State and Territorial Health Officers and American Association of School Administrators.

The committee's chairman is Lee C. Richardson, president of the American Association of Motor Vehicle Administrators and director of the motor vehi-

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cle division of the Michigan department of state.

A program of action for the states has been announced. State and local highway safety conferences are urged.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

Statesville, North Carolina, (11,440) on August 14, voted overwhelming for adoption of the council-manager plan. The new form of government will go into effect July 1, 1949. **Lumberton** (5,803), in the same state, adopted the plan on June 14 by a three-to-one vote.

Ross Township, Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, (10,827) has adopted the manager plan by ordinance.

The city of **Durant, Oklahoma,** (10,027) adopted a council-manager charter on June 29 by a vote of 874 to 627.

Voters of **Concordia, Kansas,** (6,255) adopted the council-manager plan on August 3 by a vote of 1,145 to 365.

Ellensburg, Washington, (5,944) adopted the council-manager plan on August 10 by a vote of 891 to 715.

The Weirton, West Virginia, *Daily Times* reports that **Weirton, Hollidays Cove, Marland Heights** and **Weirton Heights,** on April 1, 1947, voted to consolidate under a council-manager charter. The new government began operations on July 1, 1947. A similar proposal failed of adoption in 1940.

Titusville, Florida, (2,220) and **Cherokee, Oklahoma,** (2,553) and **Lake Alfred, Florida,** (920) have recently been added to the official manager list of the International City Managers' Association.

Citizens of **Beverly, Massachusetts,** have filed a petition with the city's board of aldermen asking that Plan E—optional law providing the council-manager plan with proportional representation for the election of city council and school board—be submitted to referendum at the city election of December 14. Some 2,290 names were signed to the petitions; approximately 1,505 valid signatures are needed to place the matter on the ballot.

A charter revision study committee has been at work in **Westport, Connecticut,** by authorization of the town meeting. The Westport *Town Crier* is campaigning for the council-manager plan.

The board of directors of the Commerce and Industry Association of New York has directed that a study be undertaken to determine the need for, the feasibility of and the legal and political implications of a city manager plan for **New York City.** A committee has been appointed to direct the study, which will be carried on by the association's staff under the committee's direction.

A statute adopted by this year's legislature in **New Jersey** defers the tenure of office now enjoyed by city managers in that state until after a three-year trial period. The city council or other governing body is thus able simply to dismiss a manager unsatisfactory to it within the three-year period; thereafter dismissal must still be for cause. It is hoped that the change will stimulate the adoption of the council-manager plan by New Jersey municipalities. In signing the measure Governor Driscoll suggested that the question of tenure be considered by the commission that has been authorized to make a study of the various forms of municipal government in the state.

The **Cumberland, Maryland,** charter commission has been studying the council-manager plan.

Following a suggestion by the University of Maryland Bureau of Public Administration that **Takoma Park,** a Maryland suburb of Washington, D. C., would benefit from the council-manager plan, three members of the municipal council stated that they favor the plan, with reservations.

Candidates of the **Savannah, Georgia,** Citizens Progressive League for the state legislature have pledged that if elected they will introduce a bill calling for a referendum in Savannah on adoption of the manager plan.

A civic committee in **Salem, Ohio,** is working for adoption of the manager plan.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Delphos, Ohio,** has initiated a campaign for the manager plan as a result of dissatisfaction over recent municipal financing and the resignation of the mayor and the service director.

The charter commission of **Menominee, Michigan,** has expressed itself in favor of the council-manager plan by a narrow margin. Representatives of organized labor have expressed some opposition.

A proposed charter providing the council-manager plan, to be voted on December 6, is being completed by the **Wakefield, Michigan,** charter commission with the aid of the consultation service of the Michigan Municipal League.

Norway, Michigan, will vote on a council-manager charter, now being drafted by its charter commission, elected July 12, on November 2.

The charter commission of **Hillsdale, Michigan,** has decided that the new charter it will draft will call for the council-manager plan.

The city council of **Green Bay, Michigan,** has placed on the November 2 ballot a referendum on adoption of council-manager government; the city council of **Watervliet** has started an educational campaign looking toward a vote on the drafting of a council-manager charter in the near future; **Rochester** (village) will vote on a manager charter this fall.

A council-manager charter amendment submitted by the **Benson, Minnesota,** charter commission was defeated 412 to 245 at a special election on June 25.

Madison, South Dakota, abandoned the manager plan by a vote of 1,132 to 984 at an election on July 20. The plan had been adopted in 1947. It had the backing of prominent citizens and of business men generally. Its defeat was reported as being partly a matter of personalities and also resentment of city employees at the amount of work required of them by the manager.

Editorials favoring the manager plan have recently appeared in newspapers of **Huron** and **Mitchell, South Dakota.**

Petitions prepared by the mayor and city attorney, asking a November 2 vote on the manager plan, are being circulated in **Scottsbluff, Nebraska.**

Greenville, Texas, recently defeated a proposed council-manager charter by a vote of approximately 1,240 to 960.

Petitions calling upon the **Pueblo, Colorado,** city council to call a special election on the question of a charter convention have been found sufficient. They were sponsored by the Pueblo County Taxpayers Improvement Association in a further effort to secure adoption of the council-manager plan. Petitions previously filed to obtain the plan by charter amendment were thrown out on the score that a charter convention is necessary to effect a change in the form of government.

A new and improved council-manager charter has been completed by the **Phoenix, Arizona,** charter committee and submitted to the city council. Mayor Nicholas Udall has placed before the council a strong-mayor charter. It is expected that both will be submitted to the voters at the same election. Phoenix has had a manager charter since 1914.

Burlington, Washington, has rejected the manager plan by a vote of 216 to 63. In **Kalama, Washington,** city officials have rejected a petition for a vote on the plan on the ground that there is not time to arrange the preliminaries.

The manager ordinance adopted last year in **Coquille, Oregon,** was rescinded on July 1.

Mrs. Dorothy M. Lee, new mayor of **Portland, Oregon,** favors the manager plan, which may be voted on in November.

The mayor of **San Luis Obispo, California,** has appointed a citizens' committee to revise the city charter. Strong sentiment in favor of the manager plan is reported.

A board of freeholders in **Santa Barbara, California,** has prepared a council-manager charter and has designated September 21 for a popular vote on the question. A council of seven is specified, to be nominated by the voters of each of the city's seven wards, but to be elected, one from each ward, by the voters of the city at large.

The board of directors of the **Santa Paula, California,** Chamber of Commerce has voted unanimously to recommend to the city council the hiring of a manager. The action followed a study by the chamber's planning committee.

Problems of Metropolitan Chicago Receive Study

After numerous discussions on its campus, as well as in downtown Chicago, Northwestern University at Evanston has organized an interdepartmental committee to develop a program for study of the interests and problems of the metropolitan Chicago area. The idea is to be given a year's trial. Aim of the program is to establish a center which would provide a meeting place for discussion and exchange of information, a special reference library, and a series of lecture conferences to be given by outstanding persons in selected fields of major concern to the area. The series is planned to run from October to June with one conference per month. A tentative list of subjects includes the following in their relation to metropolitan Chicago: the status of planning, local government, population problem, economic development, land use, tax delinquency, architecture and planning, urban development and redevelopment.

Court Ruling Aids Arizona League

The Arizona Supreme Court has decided that municipalities in that state can legally pay dues to the Arizona Municipal League. Some years ago, in *City of Phoenix* v. *Michael,* the court held to the contrary, and since then the league has functioned in such manner as it could under the resultant financial handicap.

The new decision ends litigation involving the city of Glendale and a taxpayer, Howard D. White, who challenged the legality of that city's contributing public funds to the league.

Justice Levi S. Udall wrote the court's opinion; he stated that a city should not be left in an "intellectual vacuum, bereft of the power to spend some of its funds in a reasonable effort to learn the manner in which complex municipal problems, arising from operations involving both its governmental and proprietary capacities, are being solved in sister cities of the state, thereby improving the quality of service to its own taxpayers."

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Cities Urged to Aid International Union of Cities

The United States Conference of Mayors is urging that American cities play a more active part in the work of the International Union of Cities and that they become members in their own right in the International Union. While the central governments, of course, have major responsibility in the field of foreign relations, it is believed that city officials can contribute to the preservation of world peace by cooperation with each other in their established international organization.

Houston, University Cooperate on Police Training

An interesting experiment in cooperation between a city government and a local university was concluded recently when a pre-service police training program, conducted by the city of Houston with the cooperation of the University of Houston, resulted in the commissioning of 40 probationary patrolmen.

Fifty-eight trainees were selected by the Civil Service Commission from a large number of applicants who were subjected to a comprehensive testing program including the Otis general intelligence test, the O'Rourke police adaptability test, a rigid physical examination, a psychiatric examination and a thorough character investigation.

All trainees were enrolled in the University of Houston for the thirteen-weeks full-time course, which consisted of 48 hours per week of class work, field work and observation. The course content, determined by the Houston police department, covered all phases of a comprehensive basic police training program including patrol procedure, police tactics, traffic control, criminal law and procedure, police communications and records, criminal investigation, first aid, self defense, use of police weapons, crime prevention techniques, national government, local government and applied psychology.

Inspector Lawrence D. Morrison, director of training for the Houston Police Department, served as the university's director of police training in active charge of the program. Other members of the instructional staff were drawn from the police department, the university faculty, state department of public safety, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Federal Bureau of Narcotics, and visiting specialists from other law enforcement organizations and educational institutions.

Representatives of the city and the university have expressed complete satisfaction with the results of this experiment and it is anticipated that similar training programs will be held in the future.

The forty probationary patrolmen who completed the training program become entitled after six months to all the rights granted under the civil service laws. Most of them are continuing their studies in the university working toward a B. S. in public administration with a major in police administration. The University of Houston is one of a very few universities in the United States which offer such a degree.

At the same time this program was conducted, the city of Houston was conducting a similar program for Negro police trainees with the cooperation of the newly established Texas State University for Negroes, which resulted in the employment of thirteen as probationary patrolmen.

David W. Knepper
University of Houston

Researcher's Digest . . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Forms and Functions of Local Government

Bureaus Discuss Manager and Mayor Plans, Administration

THE council-manager plan has been recommended in recent reports on **Takoma Park, Maryland,** and **Westerly, Rhode Island.** The former, entitled *Improving the Government of Takoma Park,* by Elwyn A. Mauck, was the product of an investigation undertaken at the request of the mayor and city council by the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Maryland,** Joseph M. Ray, director. The latter, a comprehensive survey by the **Rhode Island Public Expenditure Council,** Robert M. Goodrich, executive director, first appeared serially in the Westerly *Sun.*

What Type of Governing Body (twelve pages) is the third in a series of reports by the **Civic Research Institute of the University of Kansas City,** Robert A. McGrath, director, designed to help determine the best governmental setup for Jackson County. This report discusses partisan versus nonpartisan elections, the size and possible methods of electing the governing body.

City Manager Government in South Dakota (48 pages), by Professor William O. Farber of the **University of South Dakota** and director of its **Governmental Research Bureau,** answers such questions concerning the manager plan as its basic principles and history, evolution of city manager legislation in South Dakota, and experience with the manager plan in that state. An appendix contains South Dakota code provisions and a brief bibliography.

The experience of Spanish Fork, Utah, in a spirited effort to combine city manager government with constitutional home rule in Utah is explored, reported and evaluated by Robert Paulsen, a graduate research fellow in political science at the **University of Utah,** in *Utah Experience with Home Rule,* a study sponsored by the **Institute of Government,** G. Homer Durham, director. The report "shows, quite definitely, the channels of safety for future charter commissions. If carefully drafted, a municipal charter under article XI, section 5, will not only afford local discretion as to *form* of government, but also for some local adjustments in methods and scope of operation."

To counteract widespread misunderstanding of Boston's charter change possibilities, the **Boston Municipal Research Bureau,** Richard A. Atkins, secretary, is distributing a helpful primer. The bureau has tabulated the available plans of government contained in the 1948 Boston charter act, their essential features, petition procedure and important dates.

"Organization Structure of Local Government, St. Louis, Missouri," is described in *Dollars and Sense in Government,* the **Governmental Research Institute of St. Louis,** Victor D. Brannon, director. A chart presents the structure of the St. Louis municipal government and a table gives the composition of ex officio agencies.

The organization of the government of the city of Detroit, which is being reexamined by a charter study committee, is set forth in similar manner by the **Bureau of Governmental Research of Detroit,** Loren B. Miller, director, in its *Bureau Notes,* with an accompanying chart showing the government structure, including 42 elected officials.

A recent bulletin of the **Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau of Milwaukee,** Norman N. Gill, director, discusses the five separate local planning agencies and the desirability of centralizing the work of such agencies in the Board of Public Land Commissioners, the city's official planning agency.

The powers and duties of mayors in Wisconsin cities operating under the mayor-council plan are summarized in a fourteen-page mimeographed pamphlet issued by the **League of Wisconsin Municipalities,** Frederick N. MacMillin, executive secretary.

"Intergovernmental Relations and Current Problems" was the theme of the Thirteenth Annual Institute of Government, July 26-30, sponsored by the **Bureau of Governmental Research and Services of the University of Washington,** Donald H. Webster, director, in cooperation with the **Division of Adult Education and Extension Services.** According to the 23-page program issued by the university, there were sessions on police science and law enforcement, public health, county-city consolidation, community organization for local or national emergency, recreation, taxation, planning, conservation, etc.

"Staff and policy coordination of the several bodies investigating city and county government in Philadelphia is essential if constructive objectives are to be attained," according to the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research,** Robert K. Sawyer, director, in *Citizens' Business.* The work of three groups, the Committee of 15, the Grand Jury Investigation and the Joint State Government Commission, is discussed briefly.

A long-range survey of city departments and divisions and an immediate study of a capital expenditure program in line with the report and recommendations of the **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau,** George G. Sipprell, managing director, are the purposes of a special committee to study the city's governmental and financial structure appointed by the Buffalo common council president, Peter J. Crotty, according to the bureau's *Just A Moment.*

To assist councilmen in council-manager cities to determine how they can be most effective in their jobs, the **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council,** Carter W. Atkins, executive director, has prepared a "Check-List for Self-Appraisal" containing questions which the councilman can answer and so rate himself on such topics as general objectives, the place of the councilman in the town's governmental structure, the councilman's job on the council and the councilman's job in the community.

Sanitation, Housing, Transit, Zoning and Other Matters

Garbage collection costs have been reduced in Sioux City, Iowa, since that city took over collection from private individuals, according to a bulletin from the **Woodbury County Taxpayers Conference,** James L. Barclay, executive secretary.

The **Pennsylvania Economy League's Southeastern Division,** Carlton W. Tillinghast, director, has published *Refuse Collection Practices* which discusses the advantages and disadvantages of municipal, contract and private collection.

The **Bureau of Governmental Research and Services at the University of Washington** has revised its Bulletin 91, *Garbage Collection Ordinances of Washington Cities* with an up-to-date report, *Garbage Collection in Washington Cities.*

To meet a current demand for information, Ernest Howard Campbell, assistant director of the Washington bureau, has prepared *Laws Relating to Sewers and Sewage Treatment* for cities and towns and sewer districts.

Proceedings of the Local Government Conference on Stream Pollution Control have been published by the **University of Pittsburgh Institute of Local Government,** Elmer D. Graper, director. The conference dealt primarily with the Allegheny County area.

Philadelphia has been attacking ragweed with a war-discovered chemical called 2,4-D. Since funds for this purpose are limited the Division of Housing and Sanitation should coordinate the program, says the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research.**

The **Citizens Research Institute of Canada,** Eric Hardy, director, says in a recent open letter that there has been progress in housing though insufficient and that real treatment of housing must cope with fundamental problems. Figures depict the present housing activity.

The Interim Report of Committee on Standard Housing of the **City Club of Portland,** Margaret Clarke, executive secretary, discusses the Vanport disaster and the acute housing situation in Portland, Oregon. The report stresses the need for housing for those whose incomes are less than $3,000. The committee suggests that the Portland city council study the problem and make plans for permanent housing.

Proposals for moderate rental public housing and tax concessions for similar private housing projects raise serious questions, according to the **New Haven Taxpayers Research Council, Inc.,** Merle W. DeWees, executive director. A recent report of the council observes that "originally subsidized public housing was to take care of those who could not pay for adequate housing. Carrying the trend to the ultimate would mean that all housing would be publicly owned."

The **City Club of Portland, Oregon,** has issued its "Municipal Jail Report" which recommends new facilities. Another committee report of the club has recommended better hospital facilities.

The **Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau of Milwaukee** recommends that Milwaukee County, one of the first places to have a juvenile court, enact a law which would give the city a full time juvenile court judge.

"Shall Our International Airport Come of Age" is the title of a bulletin from the **Bureau of Municipal Research in Philadelphia.** The Philadelphia International Airport has cost so far $22,500,000. Another $10,400,000 is to be spent, but $3,700,000 needs to be provided for in order to complete it according to present plans.

Transit Problem

Transit fares throughout the nation have been increasing because of rising operating costs says a recent bulletin of the **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research,** Alfred F. Smith, director. San Francisco has one of the lowest priced transit systems in a group of 24 cities. A later bulletin from the same bureau explains that wages for bus and streetcar operators were raised contrary to a city attorney's ruling.

Another transit problem comes from Boston where the Finance Commission charges the Boston Transit Department with mismanagement. The **Boston Municipal Research Bureau** outlines a metropolitan solution.

Parking meters are a source of revenue in many cities. The **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau** points out, however, that meters should be placed "where they will do the most to relieve traffic problems" rather than be an indiscriminate device to raise revenue.

The **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research,** George L. Nichols, managing director, reported recently on the park and recreation costs in that city. Costs have risen primarily because of salary increases. The bureau has also issued two reports on the Schenectady fire department.

The **Institute of Local and State Government at the University of Pennsylvania,** Stephen B. Sweeney, director, has prepared a report on *Suggested Rules and Regulations for Zoning Boards of Adjustment in Small Municipalities in Pennsylvania.*

From the rezoning committee of the **Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce,** Clifford H. Anderson, chairman, comes *Studies and Recommendations in relation to the Zoning Ordinance of the City of Minneapolis.* Graphs add to the picture of the city.

The **Union City, Tennessee, Planning Commission,** A. F. Tittsworth, chairman, and the **Union City Chamber of Commerce,** Hugh W. Colville, president, have prepared an economic survey of that city—giving industrial resources.

Cost and Conduct of Public Education

State-Local Government Topics, issued by the **State Division of the Pennsylvania Economy League,** Welles A. Gray, director, attributes rising costs in rural schools to (1) increased cost of transportation and (2) increases in teachers' salaries. The burden of paying additional sums will fall upon local units which have already made new levies because state subsidies are levelling off.

According to the **Taxpayers Association of Fall River, Massachusetts,** William J. McGlone, executive director, the 1948 city school budget is $245,381 more than it was in 1947.

The **Des Moines Bureau of Municipal Research,** Glenn N. Hoffman, secretary, in a recent bulletin estimates the average teacher's salary there for 1948 at $3,198.

Providence city officials are trying to buck the trend by cutting school expenditures $470,000. According to the bulletin of the **Providence Governmental Research Bureau,** Robert E. Pickup, executive director, the school system has more than enough teachers and a large enough plant but lacks organization. Nevertheless, many proposals made by school officials include closing of kindergartens, evening schools and other vital parts of the school system.

Another cause of increased education costs—the rising birth rate—is brought out by the **Bureau of Governmental Research of New Orleans,** Lennox L. Moak, executive director, in its publication *City Problems.* Diagrams depict the number of children to be educated in public and private schools.

To eliminate unnecessary school costs many states are advocating consolidation and reorganization of their school districts. Wisconsin, for example, is one of five states having more school districts than schools, says *The Wisconsin Taxpayer* of the **Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance,** Paul N. Reynolds, executive director.

From *School Administration in Illinois,* published by the **Illinois Legislative Council,** J. K. Isakoff, director of research, we learn that some school districts in that state possess no school and must send children to other districts. The report stresses the importance of consolidation of districts and the basis and amount of state aid.

This is the year in which citizens of St. Louis County must reconsider school district arrangements, according to *Dollars and Sense in Government* of the **Governmental Research Institute.**

The *Preliminary Report* of the Subcommittee on Codification of School Laws of the **Nebraska Legislative Council**, Roger V. Shumate, director of research, suggests a simple system of classifying school districts into six categories based mainly on population.

The "Proposed Teachers' Pension and Annuity Fund Plan" is discussed in a bulletin of the **New Jersey Taxpayers Association**, A. R. Everson, executive vice president.

A report of the **Utah Foundation** discusses the problem of paying for the increased enrollment in the state's five junior colleges.

The **University of Hawaii's Legislative Reference Bureau**, Norman Meller, director, discusses the public schools and the English standard schools in Hawaii. Under present arrangements students desirous of getting in the English school must pass an oral English test. This has put a minority in the English standard school and caused some socio-economic discrimination.

"The School District Merger Plan for Allegheny County" is discussed in the **Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division**, *Newsletter*. The league shows why 118 school districts have not been reduced to sixteen. Attempts are being made to get 51 districts, but even that is difficult.

Civil Service Management; Rewards of Public Employees

The **City Club of Portland, Oregon**, has published the report of its committee to investigate Portland's civil service. Recommendations include: (1) reduction in number of temporary appointments—concise examinations for permanent appointments should be given; (2) sufficient funds to be provided so that the civil service system can be continued and strengthened.

The administration, organization and management of the civil service department of the city of **Los Angeles** has been surveyed and a report submitted by the **Bureau of Budget and Efficiency**, Francis M. Cummings, director. This 159-page report with charts and tables was presented to the mayor and council with recommendations to promote economy and efficiency in the civil service department as well as in the general conduct of the city government.

Need for improvement in the civil service of Lackawanna, New York, still exists, according to the **Lackawanna Tax Research Bureau**, James J. Kirkwood, director. In its *Comments* the bureau lists classifications made as a result of a 1943 survey and makes recommendations for action by a new commission.

Indiana University has prepared a bulletin for its students entitled *Employment in the Public Service*, 2nd edition revised, by W. Richard Lomax, which gives a general picture of public employment, the university's facilities for training for public service, and additional sources of information for those interested in government careers.

The firemen of **Philadelphia** receive attention in two recent issues of *Citizens' Business* of the **Bureau of Municipal Research.** Only New York City tops Philadelphia in the low number of work hours per week and the high average hourly pay. In these respects Philadelphia's firemen have greatly improved their status in the last two years. Philadelphia also ranks high in the number of firemen per square mile and per 100,000 population and in appropriations for fire purposes.

A Retirement System for Municipal Employees in Cities of Washington State, as established by chapter 71, Laws of 1947, is a study compiled by Donald C. Sampson, municipal research consultant of the **Bureau of Govern-**

mental Research and Services, University of Washington. It describes in detail all aspects of the retirement system available to every city in the state and gives the text of the act providing for the system, with examples of service and disability retirements and estimated costs.

Public Improvements and Local Debt Problems

Properly planned and publicized long-range programs for capital improvements are discussed by Charles L. Crangle in an address before the **Tennessee Municipal League's** annual convention and published in *The Tennessee Planner,* monthly publication of the **Tennessee State Planning Commission,** Hayden B. Johnson, executive director. Mr. Crangle, associate planning technician of the Planning Commission, presents the case for public works programming as an answer to increased demand for services by citizens in the face of mounting costs of labor and material.

The need for a long-term capital budget for the city of **Toronto** to bring about orderly financing of capital expenditures is stressed in the monthly letter of the **Bureau of Municipal Research,** Eric Hardy, director.

A long-range plan of municipal construction and repair would be beneficial to the citizens of Buffalo and is under study at the direction of the common council, according to *Just a Moment* of the **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau.** Other issues of *Just a Moment* cite methods of financing capital improvements used in other cities in the U. S. and Canada and, in the case of Erie County, the reduction of debt by the pay-as-you-go system.

"The St. Louis Debt Picture" in *Dollars and Sense in Government,* **Governmental Research Institute,** discusses the history of the city's debt since the early 1920's, the St. Louis debt burden compared to other cities, and poses questions concerning the effect of a possible issuance of a total of $39,000,000 of previously authorized bonds for various public improvements.

The proposed $2,325,000 bond issue for the city of New Haven is discussed in *Council Comment on New Haven Affairs,* a sheet published by the **New Haven Taxpayers Research Council.**

New GRA Secretary; Other Personal Notes

Louis D. Brown, research associate of the New Orleans Bureau of Governmental Research, became the new secretary of the Governmental Research Association on September 1, succeeding **G. Gordon Tegnell,** who resigned to become director of research of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York.

Thomas J. Quinn, former assistant director of the Research Department of the New York State Chamber of Commerce, has become director of Budget and Control of the American Arabian Oil Company with headquarters in San Francisco.

Robert E. Pickup, executive director of the Providence Governmental Research Bureau since 1943, has moved to Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania, to become director of the Northeastern Division of the Pennsylvania Economy League.

Professor Winston W. Crouch of the Department of Political Science of the University of California at Los Angeles has been appointed director of the Bureau of Governmental Research at the same institution, succeeding **Professor Frank M. Stewart,** who resigned the directorship to give full time to the Department of Political Science. Professor Crouch has also been appointed a member of the three-man Los Angeles County Civil Service Commission.

PERIODICAL DEP

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

A Potpourri of Civic Activity

Interest in Local Affairs Continues During Summer

TAKING a cue from the politician, who is on the job always, citizen groups have continued their activities during the warm spring and summer months with almost unabated intensity.

Yonkers, New York, women, led by Mrs. Milton W. Harrison, have organized, in a series of teas and meetings at private homes, to learn how to vote more effectively. Of particular interest to the women at the moment is the proposal to abandon proportional representation as the method of electing the city's council[1]. . . .

The **Municipal League of Seattle,** C. A. Crosser, executive secretary, reports that its membership has now passed the 3,800 mark. The league is planning its campaign for adoption of a constitutional amendment — to be voted on at the November 2 election — to give counties home rule. . . .

The **New York Citizens Union,** George H. Hallett, Jr., secretary, has organized a special expert committee on air pollution. It has worked out a proposed local law with the city council's majority leader which would set up a new air-pollution control bureau and give it plenty of power. . . .

The **Kingston, North Carolina, Junior Chamber of Commerce** has been given the first award in governmental affairs among Jaycees in that state for its successful campaign to secure the council-manager plan for Kingston, reports the local *Daily Free Press.* A. H. Jeffress is chairman of the chamber's governmental affairs committee which put the project over. . . .

Mrs. Edith P. Welty, Yonkers councilwoman, recently addressed a group of women in **Beacon, New York,** on the council-manager plan with proportional representation—the type of government provided by Beacon's proposed charter. . . . At a meeting sponsored by the **West New York, New Jersey, Civic League,** she addressed more than a thousand persons.

The **Citizens' Association of Chicago,** Edward M. Martin, executive secretary, lists in its *Citizens' Bulletin* for June the attendance record of city councilmen, at both council and committee meetings, for the year April 1947-1948. Reported also is a review of the council's work. . . .

Following up the proposal of the Ohio Association of Cities for a unicameral legislature, the **Hamilton County Good Government League** of Cincinnati, Majory J. O'Hare, executive secretary, is urging support of the amendment and requesting members and friends to aid in the circulation of petitions to place the matter on the ballot. . . .

The speakers bureau of the **Massachusetts Civic League,** Miss Elizabeth M. Curry, chairman, has announced that it is prepared to fill engagements anywhere in the state. . . .

The **Fort Wayne Civic Association,** Lee J. Ninde, secretary, is working on an outline of a method for organizing neighborhood associations and drafting by-laws for the use of such groups. When completed they will be available for distribution without charge, the association announces.

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[1] See page 452, this issue.

"Citizens first, veterans second," is the slogan of the **Milwaukee Area Council of the American Veterans Committee** in its "Milwaukee Area Program—A Real Plan for Action." Subjects listed include housing, education, human rights, citizenship, cultural affairs, and legislation for such forward-looking projects as consolidation of governments and services within the area, the county manager plan and city charter revision. . . .

With the authorization of top officials of the city, the **Toledo Municipal League,** Ronald E. Gregg, executive secretary, has launched a complete survey of Toledo's government. The city has pledged full cooperation but the league will bear the expense involved. . . . The league's weekly news reports to Toledo's radio stations covering city hall and related activities have won the praise of radio news editors.

Program Information Exchange, whose news sheet is edited by Florence Widutis, has merged its activities with those of the **National Planning Association's Committee on the Community.** Three members of the exchange's governing board have become members of the committee, giving it the benefit of PIE's experience.

A number of civic-minded Pittsburgh citizens have taken steps to ease the housing shortage. Headed by Roy C. Cochran of that city, they have organized the **United Foundation of U.S.A.** which hopes to sell interest-bearing bonds to the public to raise money to finance large scale building projects. The group will seek no subsidies. The foundation has issued a brochure describing its plans and objectives.

"Preventive Medicine for Philadelphia," says the **Philadelphia Committee of Seventy,** Harry K. Butcher, secretary, should consist of: (1) city-county consolidation, (2) a new city charter and home rule, (3) readjustment of the present debt limitation and (4) consolidation of registration and election machinery. "The time is ripe," says the committee's *Civic Affairs,* commenting on recent disclosures of graft in high places, "for the forthright civic leaders, the inconspicuous taxpayers and the informed voters to combine their strength and get in some licks for honest, efficient government that will produce more permanent results for Philadelphia in the next session of the General Assembly."

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LWV Activities

Because the **Hoboken** city commission insisted on meeting in a smoky, chairless room which did not offer space even for standing room, instead of sitting in the court room furnished with benches, the **League of Women Voters,** not long ago, came bringing its own chairs. "It may have been a coincidence," reports *Jersey Justice* which tells the story, "but the meeting was held in the court room!" . . .

One of the two items adopted by the **New York City League of Women Voters,** Mrs. Eleanor C. Neale, president, at its 1948 annual convention, states that the league "will work for and urges that the mayor appoint an impartial, expert commission to be granted full powers to survey the entire field of the city's finances, its revenue and debt structure, the scope and cost of services and capital improvements, budget-making procedures, fiscal relationships with the state, economic background and future—and that the commission (a) gather facts, (b) lay down sound fiscal principles, and (c) make specific recommendations to put them into effect." The league plans to get New York talking about the appointment of such a commission and asks its members to begin "sowing the seeds of survey."

The **Georgia League of Women Voters,** Miss Johnnie Hilbun, president, has published its 1948-1950 "Program for Action" in its *Georgia Voter* for June. The program includes home rule for cities and counties, modernization of the election system including abolition of the poll tax and regulation of the primaries to insure fair, honest and democratic procedures; reorganization of the penal system; county consolidation; and numerous other important planks.

Dr. Thomas H. Reed, municipal consultant, addressed the **Atlanta League of Women Voters,** Miss Gertrude Perkins, director, on the need for city-county consolidation in the Atlanta-Fulton County area. . . . The **New York State League of Women Voters,** Mrs. Malcolm E. Cummings, president, is interested in a bill to permit permanent registration. . . . The **Ohio League,** Mrs. Frank H. Shaw, president, is organizing for a study of the Ohio constitution. . . .

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No Tea Party

"Compared to dislodging Boston's entrenched politicians, the city's historic tea party was a pale, pink lemonade affair and driving out the British was a pushover," says Franklin E. Jordan in the *Christian Science Monitor.* Mr. Jordan, who was manager of the recent successful Portsmouth, New Hampshire, campaign for a council-manager charter,[1] points out the difficulties Boston civic groups with volunteer workers will face when up against the trained and organized professional politicians.

As previously reported in the REVIEW, Boston has been given a choice of three charters. That form for which sufficient signatures are filed first will be the charter to be voted on at the November 1949 election. Choices include Plan A, mayor and council; Plan D, council-manager with the limited vote for election of the council and school board; Plan E, council-manager with proportional representation as the method of electing those bodies. The latter plan is now in effect in seven Massachusetts cities and towns.

* * *

Nobody Else Pays Your Taxes

"You can shirk other responsibilities, but you must pay your tax bills," says the **Philadelphia Committee of Seventy** in *Civic Affairs.* "When it comes to paying municipal taxes you can't 'let George do it.' George may do your voting and look after your other civic responsibilities, but you can't force him to pay your share of the tax burden. You can laugh off bad and wasteful government in Philadelphia but you must still pay the bills."

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Civics in the Classroom

A **Workshop in State and Local Government in Michigan,** for teachers of civics, government and social studies, as well as for citizen groups, was held at Michigan State College July 6-23. Sponsors included the **Michigan League of Women Voters, Michigan Institute of Local Government,** state departments and officials, etc. D. Hale Brake was chairman. The teaching staff included state, county and city officers, teachers of government, and laymen interested in civic welfare.

As an outgrowth of the **American Political Science Association** panel on Citizens Political Participation, held last December, a committee of that name will be appointed to work under the chairmanship of Professor Ben A.

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[1] See "An Old City Goes Modern," by Franklin E. Jordan, the REVIEW, April 1948, page 188.

Arneson of Ohio Wesleyan University.

Students of Russell Sage College at Troy, New York, and other colleges participated in a mock party convention in connection with the **Seventh Annual Intercollegiate Leadership Conference** at Russell Sage College.

Buckport, Maine, high school students, after participating in a discussion of municipal government led by Town Manager L. W. O'Connor, decided to try it out on their own, reports the *New England Townsman.* They issued a warrant, which contained the usual articles, calling for a town meeting. "Ballots were prepared, competition for nominations was keen, the town meeting was held and the several officers elected. Money was raised and appropriated, and the student selectmen appointed various town officers and finally assumed management of the town for a day."

Alpena, Michigan, high school pupils recently took over their city government, reports *Public Management.* The group elected a city council which appointed a city manager who in turn appointed his subordinates. The students made a bus tour of the city after City Manager Donald M. Oakes explained the organization of the city to them.

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Civic Publications

A Report on the People's Legislative Program for Kentucky (fifteen pages), attractively printed and issued by the **Committee for Kentucky,** Harry W. Schacter, president, "has as its only objective the welfare of all the people of Kentucky." A seven-page mimeographed report on *Kentucky Progress Through Legislation* reviews those measures urged in the report which were approved by the 1948 legislature.

Handbook, First Steps in Organizing State or Local Conferences on Prevention and Control of Juvenile Delinquency (twelve pages), issued by **National Conference on Prevention and Control of Juvenile Delinquency,** Washington 25, D. C.

Better Housing for the Family (58 pages), published by the **Women's City Club of New York,** has been prepared and edited by Beatrice S. Friedman for the club's housing committee. The study is based on an analysis of interviews held with hundreds of housewives in low cost public housing units. The women were questioned as to adequacy of their present accommodations; eating, sleeping and bathroom facilities; storage space needs; etc.

Building Your Town—A Guidebook for Arkansas Community Development Committees (48 pages). *Let's Build a Better Arkansas* (sixteen pages). Attractively printed and illustrated, published by the **Arkansas Resources and Development Commission,** the **Arkansas Economic Council** and the **State Chamber of Commerce.**

Do You Know Durban's Transport Problem? (45 pages mimeographed). A research report produced at the Natal University College by W. Thornhill, and published by the **Durban, South Africa, Civic Association.**

Will Home Rule Help to Develop a Better Philadelphia? (four pages) was prepared by the **Joint Committee on Legislation for Philadelphia,** a nonpartisan committee representing 34 organizations and 191,000 citizens.

Progress Report on A Study of New Jersey Communities (eleven pages), conducted by the **New Jersey Citizens' Conference,** Edna Howe Kuser, executive director, and prepared by James E. Downes, professor of political science at New Jersey State Teachers' College.

Kentucky Voters' Guide (ten pages), prepared by Willard N. Hogan and published by the Berea, Kentucky, Publishing Company.

What Is Your Stake in the New York State Citizens' Council? (20 pages) describes the need for the activities of the council with a liberal use of pen and ink sketches.

Recent issues of the University of Virginia's Extension Division Bulletin, *New Dominion Series,* include: "Teenage Club to Community Recreation, South Boston Boys and Girls Lead the Way"; "Front Royal Faces Forward, An Old Command Takes on New Meaning in a Virginia Town"; "Cooperation for Community Services, USO Building Meets Peacetime Needs"; and "Street Lights on Tangier, A Small Island Finds Strength in Cooperation."

Some Facts About the Civic Club of Allegheny County (Pittsburgh) 1895-1948 (four pages), an attractive leaflet issued by the **Civic Club,** Hazelle B. Scott, assistant secretary.

What Every Knox County Citizen Should Know (60 pages), by the **League of Women Voters of Knox County, Tennessee,** has as its purpose "to promote responsibility among citizens through informed and active participation day by day." The pamphlet is based on a year's study of the government of the county by the league and "is presented to the citizens of Knox County (1) to acquaint them with their government (2) to focus attention on some needed changes of government."

Know Your State of Maine is a mimeographed report in six sections, each prepared by one or more local **Leagues of Women Voters**—Portland, Bangor, Augusta, Falmouth and Rumford—and published by the state league. Discussed are state finance, courts, the governor, the legislature, public welfare and political parties and elections.

The Nine Promises of a Good Citizen[1]

1. I will vote at all elections. I will inform myself on candidates and issues and will use my greatest influence to see that honest and capable officials are elected. I will accept public office when I can serve my community or my country thereby.
2. I will serve on a jury when asked.
3. I will respect and obey the laws. I will assist public officials in preventing crime and the courts in giving evidence.
4. I will pay my taxes understandingly (if not cheerfully).
5. I will work for peace but will dutifully accept my responsibilities in time of war and will respect the Flag.
6. In thought, expression and action, at home, at school and in all my contacts, I will avoid any group prejudice, based on class, race or religion.
7. I will support our system of free public education by doing everything I can to improve the schools in my own community.
8. I will try to make my community a better place in which to live.
9. I will practice and teach the principles of good citizenship right in my own home.

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[1] As published by the Seattle Municipal League in its weekly *Seattle Municipal News.*

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

P. R. Adopted for Australian Senate

Fall Referenda Proposed in Three New York Cities

THE proposed new election law[1] providing proportional representation for the election of the Australian Senate was enacted last May. The Senate will not as a whole be a proportionally representative body, for each of the six states of the commonwealth, regardless of population, will be entitled to ten senators and there will be six-year overlapping terms. Proportional representation with the single transferable vote (Hare system), however, will be used within each state in each of its Senate elections.

This important new use of P. R. for national elections grows out of extensive experience in two of the provinces: Tasmania, which has used the Hare system of P. R. continuously since 1907 for its House of Assembly, and New South Wales, which used it for the direct popular elections of its Legislative Assembly (lower house) from 1918 to 1926 and now uses it—since 1933—for the indirect elections of its upper house, the Senate.

According to the *People's Advocate* (Adelaide) the new law requires the voter to indicate his order of preference as to *all* the candidates on the ballot. This requirement, points out the *Advocate,* is illogical and will doubtless result in an unnecessarily high percentage of invalid ballots.

The new act increases the membership of the Senate from 36 to 60 members and that of the House of Representatives from 75 to 120.

Three New York Cities May Vote This Fall

In **Beacon, New York,** a little city opposite Newburgh at the upper end of the highlands of the Hudson (1940 population 12,572), a charter amendment providing for the council-manager plan, with a council of seven elected biennially by P. R. with a nonpartisan ballot, has been proposed by the Beacon Taxpayers and Rentpayers Association. Petitions were circulated the end of June and, within a few days, more than twice the 10 per cent of the last gubernatorial vote required to bring the matter before the city council were secured as signers.

At this writing the council has not yet acted but indications are that it will vote to submit the amendment at the general election on November 2. If it does not do so, the association is prepared to file early in September (two months after the filing of the first petition) the additional 5 per cent petition which can force the question onto the ballot under New York's city home rule law.

In **Yonkers,** which has used P. R. in the last five elections of its council, there is to be a vote on November 2 on its repeal. In 1942 two such questions were submitted to the people by petition by the Republican and Democratic organizations of the city. Both were defeated by a two-to-one vote. This year the petition was circulated by a group of citizens with quiet help from organization leaders, who hope that New York City's repeal of P. R. last fall will make it easier for them to return to organization-controlled elections in Yonkers.

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[1] See the REVIEW, July 1948, page 397.

The petition contained defects both in form and in the character of many of its signatures, but the city clerk and city attorney certified that in their judgment it was sufficient to start the initiative process by bringing the proposal officially to the attention of the council.

Mrs. Edith Welty, who has served as an independent member of the council ever since P. R. was adopted, led an unsuccessful fight against council action to put the question on the ballot. The other councilmen took the view that they would rather correct the petitioners' errors and put the proposal before the voters in good form than have the defective form forced on the ballot by a second petition. They passed a resolution, however, to the effect that council's action in submitting the question was not to be construed as indicating the council's attitude on the merits of the proposal.

The independent forces which have secured and maintained P. R. in Yonkers are conducting an energetic defense, with all-out support from the city's leading newspaper, the *Herald Statesman.*

In **New York City** the American Labor party and its allies in the CIO unions and elsewhere have been circulating a petition to readopt P. R. for elections of the city council. Most of the civic forces which were active in the unsuccessful defense of P. R. last fall feel that this is a serious mistake and that the effort to regain P. R. should be deferred until the substitute district plan has had a trial and demonstrated its defects. Under a special provision of the New York charter the question can be placed on the ballot at the general election in November by a single petition with 50,000 valid signatures. Such a petition has not yet been filed.

First Use of the Recall in a P. R. City

In Hamilton, Ohio, a petition has been filed for the recall of Mayor Edward Beckett as a member of the council, which would automatically remove him as mayor also. Mr. Beckett was elected to the council in 1947 on a ticket pledged to the eradication of gambling, but after election he joined forces with the three councilmen out of seven who opposed that point of view. The new coalition removed the city manager, who enjoyed a good reputation, and replaced him with a manager who has left the gambling interests unmolested.

The constitutionality of the recall provision of the charter was attacked by city officials and has now been upheld by the courts.[1] A vote will be taken at a special election, at which candidates to take Mr. Beckett's place on the council if he is recalled will also be voted for by preferential ballot. If the recall is successful the ballots will be counted by the regular Hare system rules to determine a majority choice to fill the vacancy.

This will be the first use of the recall in a P. R. city. Ordinarily the recall is not provided with P. R. because of the possibility that the majority might recall a representative of an unpopular minority still satisfactory to his constituents and replace him with an additional majority representative to which the majority was not entitled. This particular case obviously does not fall into that category. The framers of the Hamilton charter, acting under the advice of the late Dr. A. R. Hatton, believed that the recall machinery was not likely to be used unless a member betrayed his own constituents.

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[1] The Supreme Court acted on July 28 in the case of *The State ex rel. Hackley v. Edmonds, Clerk,* No. 31409, to be recorded in vol. 150, page 203, of *Ohio State Reports.*

P. R. League to Meet in Boston

The annual meeting of the Proportional Representation League will be held in Boston in November. As in the past, the session will be in conjunction with the Annual Conference on Government of the National Municipal League at the Hotel Statler, November 22-24. Further details will be announced as soon as the program has been completed.

Britain Drops Commons University Seats

The new Representation of the People Act, adopted by the British Parliament in July of this year, provides for the abolition of the nine[1] university members of the House of Commons which have, since 1918, been elected by the Hare system of P. R.

The Labor party's action was based on the fact that by virtue of those constituencies university graduates were able to exercise two votes to the ordinary citizen's one—a vote in their home precinct and another in their university constituency. One Labor party member, speaking in debate on the bill, commented that the electorate would doubtless be found to favor the principle of "one citizen, one vote."

Finland and Holland Hold Parliamentary Elections

National elections in Finland and the Netherlands drew worldwide attention in recent months. Both countries use a party list system of proportional representation.

The Finnish election, held July 1 and 2, not only resulted in a remarkable decline in the votes cast for candidates of the Communist-dominated Popular Democratic party but also resulted in replacement of a coalition government in which the Communists had participated by a government for which the Social Democratic party took entire responsibility and from which the Popular Democrats were excluded.

The election in the Netherlands did not result in very great changes in the make-up of Parliament or of the government, but it also revealed a decline in the popularity of Communist candidates.

The accompanying table shows the seats obtained by the various parties in the 200-member unicameral parliament of Finland together with the net change resulting from the election as reported in the *New York Times* on July 6. The 38 Popular Democrats elected consist of 33 Communists and 5 Unity Socialists. The net change in the Popular Democratic strength has elsewhere been estimated as a loss of thirteen seats rather than eleven, because two Social Democrats who were not reelected had aligned themselves with the Popular Democrats.

Finnish Parliamentary Election
July 1 and 2, 1948

Party	*Seats*	*Net Change*
Agrarians	56	+7
Social Democrats	55	+5
Popular Democrats (Communist)	38	—11
Conservatives	32	+4
Swedish People's party	14	—1
Liberals	5	—4

The Agrarians, although the largest single party by a narrow margin, were reluctant to lead the negotiations for a new government which were likely to result in a break-up of the coalition with the Communists. The Social Democrats accepted that responsibility and, when the Popular Democrats turned down the minor cabinet offices tendered to them and ominously insisted upon control of the Interior Ministry (which includes the police), the Social Democratic leader, Karl A. Fagerholm, formed a government of his party alone which won the confidence of all parties except the Popular Democratic. The Social Democratic following in the cities where the Popular Democrats have most of their strength appears to have provided a strong reason for letting the Social Democratic party take charge of the new government rather than the Agrarian party, according to a report published in the *Christian Science Monitor* on July 30.

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[1] Formerly eleven members until the establishment of the Irish Free State, which eliminated the two members for Dublin University.

Netherlands Vote

The results of the election of July 7 in the Netherlands, together with comparable figures for the 1946 election, as reported by the Netherlands Information Bureau, are given below. These figures refer to the 100-member lower house, which is the directly elected house of the Netherlands *States-General* (parliament).

The election was precipitated by the necessity of a two-thirds majority ratification by a new parliament of certain constitutional amendments, principally one relating to future relationships between the Indonesian states and the Netherlands under a common crown. The Christian Historical party and the party of Freedom, which had made certain reservations to their approval of the latter amendment, increased their total strength from fourteen to seventeen seats. The distribution of seats in the new lower house shows little change over the previous election, however. The only other noteworthy effect was the loss of two seats by the Communists, which corresponded to a reduction of 26.75 per cent in the number of votes cast for Communist candidates. Five new small parties appeared, but only the Catholic Action party collected enough votes to obtain a seat, while the others polled a negligible vote.

Netherlands Parliamentary Election (Lower House)

	1948			*1946*		
Party	*Votes*		*Seats*	*Votes*		*Seats*
Catholic People's	1,531,326	(31.0%)	32	1,466,582	(30.8%)	32
Labor	1,263,366	(25.6%)	27	1,347,940	(28.3%)	29
Anti-Revolutionary	651,717	(13.2%)	13	614,201	(12.9%)	13
Christian Historical	453,211	(9.2%)	9	373,217	(7.8%)	8
Party of Freedom	391,982	(7.9%)	8	305,287	(6.4%)	6
Communist	381,953	(7.7%)	8	502,963	(10.6%)	10
Political Reform	117,142	(2.4%)	2	101,759	(2.2%)	2
Catholic Action	62,337	(1.3%)	1	—	—	—
Smallholders'	40,936	(.9%)	—	—	—	—
Independent Nationalists	22,197	(.5%)	—	—	—	—
World Government	15,344	(.3%)	—	—	—	—
Revolutionary Communist	2,224	(.1%)	—	—	—	—
Totals	4,933,735		100	4,711,949		100

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Petroleum County Retains Manager

Vote to Sustain Shows Gain in Citizen Support of Plan

BY a vote of two to one on July 20, the residents of Petroleum County, Montana, reaffirmed their support of the manager form of government.

Petroleum County adopted the manager plan by a vote of two to one on July 21, 1942. During the six years that have passed the county's financial condition has improved appreciably.[1] Administrative costs have been reduced more than a third and total salaries for regular employees have been halved.

Certain interests became dissatisfied with the existing administration, however, because improvements which they felt should be made were not undertaken and some voters believed the manager exercised undue authority over the affairs of the county as a whole. There have been changes in the personnel of the board of county commissioners, but this did not seem sufficient to bring about the improvements which these groups proposed.

The vote on July 21, 1942, was 277 for the manager plan and 135 against. On July 20, 1948, the vote was 274 for, 119 against. Thus, there has been a slight percentage gain favorable to the manager form of government during the six years it has been in operation. This should settle the question for Petroleum County, since it is apparent that better than two-thirds of the voters are convinced of the efficiency of this more businesslike form of administration.

R. R. RENNE

Montana State College

Two California Counties Act on Manager Plan

The Santa Clara County Board of Supervisors has provided by ordinance for a county manager. A board of freeholders, meanwhile, has been holding open hearings on provisions for a proposed new county charter to be voted on in November, including a county manager proposal.

After rejecting a county manager proposal, the Alameda County, California, Board of Supervisors voted in August to create the position of "executive secretary," to be under its jurisdiction and to act as liaison agent between county departments. The County Taxpayers' Association urging an "executive administrator" has voiced dissatisfaction with the board's action.

Citizen County Welfare Boards Studied

Citizen Participation in Government, A Study of County Welfare Boards[1] is a summary of a more detailed work by Dr. Helen E. Martz under direction of the Graduate Department of Social Economy and Social Research of Bryn Mawr College.

Dr. Martz studied seventeen, or one-fourth, of the county boards of assistance in one unnamed state, basing selection on: (1) population, (2) population data such as economic and social characteristics; and (3) industrial classification, representing counties having good, fair and poor board administration as judged by state agency officials.

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[1] See "Too Small to Be Efficient?" by R. R. Renne, the REVIEW, February 1947, page 78.

[1] Public Affairs Press, Washington, D. C., 1948. 63 pages, $1.

The author points out that students of political science long have emphasized the importance of citizen participation in government. The federal government secured citizen participation during the late war on local rationing, price control and selective service boards. It long has been assumed that citizen boards serve two important functions: to interpret the program to the community and to impose community opinion on the administrator. Dr. Martz's study attempts to secure objective data on these points by using county welfare boards as her subject matter.

The data she collected tend to substantiate the opinion that citizen boards are effective in interpreting community opinion to the administrator but appear to be relatively ineffective in interpreting the program to the community.

To establish her first point, Dr. Martz reveals that board members are intensely interested in their activities. Attendance at meetings is high and the frequency of meetings indicates that an extensive amount of time is given to this work. Board members serve a relatively long term in office and there are comparatively few resignations.

Although appointment to the boards may represent some repayment for political favor, the goal, "to keep politics out," seems to be adhered to strictly. Board members appear to receive no political gain or financial compensation for their work. A personal sense of satisfaction and possible gain of prestige are apparently their only compensation.

The boards exert a tremendous influence on county and state administration and on the state legislature as to laws and regulations regarding responsibility of relatives, residence requirements, restrictions on the objects for which moneys can be spent, etc.

On the other hand, the author found practically no evidence that board members appeared before public meetings to discuss welfare programs or used the radio or newspapers for this purpose. They did not establish publicity committees, nor did they participate in inter-agency committees or councils of social agencies in the community.

The extent to which they engaged in informal day-by-day interpretations of welfare policies to their neighbors, business associates and friends could not, of course, be revealed by the type of study undertaken. The great interest shown by board members would indicate, however, that interpretation of the administration's point of view was transmitted to the community by this means.

Value of Boards

The author believes that professional social workers are not sufficiently aware of the value of community citizens boards in interpreting administration policy to the people. She believes they should supply data which can be used easily for speeches at community gatherings or clubs, for radio addresses, or in articles which board members might prepare.

The author discusses lay board interference in technical problems of administration. She finds evidence to substantiate the theory that they are inclined to invade the province of the expert and make decisions in areas in which they have no technical competence. She investigated especially the fields of personnel matters and determination of eligibility for assistance.

Personnel was discussed at 85 per cent of the board meetings. Board members were zealous in this matter and took action on many technical details. They were inclined to overlook the problem of developing a broad policy because of their preoccupation with individual cases. The author was especially critical of the procedure whereby the boards constituted the review agency to consider appeals from personnel actions which they, themselves, had decided. There were many instances in which board members accepted complaints or communications directly from staff members or conferred with them without the consent or knowledge of the county welfare director, thus weakening the line of responsibility and direction.

As to eligibility for public assistance the board likewise showed great devotion to duty. Three of every four meetings were concerned with review of individual cases. Although the use of case situations to assist in determining broad policy was recognized as valuable, the author discovered that board members tended to focus attention exclusively on individual cases, making decisions without regard to all the facts in the case or to existing agency policies or standards. Their sympathies or biases frequently became determining factors.

Citizen county welfare boards thus showed both strength and weakness. But the author believes public welfare administration is undergoing a transitional period from the old poor relief philosophy to the newer idea of social security. With increased delegation of technical matters to administrators, she believes that citizen county welfare boards will find their proper place in interpreting policies both to the professional social worker and to the community.

More News on City-County Cooperation

Recently the Dunn County, Wisconsin, board voted in favor of a plan that would give the county joint ownership with the city of Menomonie of the hospital now owned exclusively by the city. The county will pay half the value of the hospital and half the cost of further improvements. The hospital will be managed by a board of two persons appointed by the county, two appointed by the city and one appointed jointly by the mayor of the city and the chairman of the county board.

In Connecticut, the borough of Southington was consolidated with the town (township) in which it was located. A similar consolidation was effected by the city of Stamford and the town of which it was a part.

In Florida, the people of DeSota County will vote soon on a plan to consolidate the county and the city of Arcadia.

The Louisville Area Development Association has appointed a committee to study consolidation in Louisville and Jefferson County.

The Milwaukee County Board of Supervisors has appointed a committee to investigate the feasibility of consolidating all police agencies in the county into a single system.

Hamilton County, Ohio, and Cincinnati have been authorized to establish a consolidated sewage disposal system.

Additional city-county health consolidations have taken place in Lansing and Ingham County, Michigan, Omaha and Douglas County, Nebraska, and Bellingham and Whatcom County, Washington.

In Texas, Gregg County and the city of Longview are cooperating in building an annex, costing more than a half million dollars, to the Gregg Memorial Hospital.

New York County Law Commission Reports

The New York Temporary State Commission to Study, Codify, Revise and Make Uniform, so Far as Practicable, Existing Laws Relating to Counties recently issued its fourth interim report.[1] The commission was created at the suggestion of the governor to revise the laws relating to counties and to extend more home rule to them. A major purpose was to avoid the necessity and expense of large numbers of local bills in the state legislature.

During its first year, the commission held 39 hearings in various parts of the state. The second year was devoted to drafting the suggestions collected into a new law. The proposed law was subjected to extensive hearings and much intensive study in which many state and county officials participated. The bill finally was submitted in its revised form to the state legislature in 1948, but no attempt was made to pass it. It is to be carefully considered in the 1949 session, at which time it is hoped that a long needed revision of the state's county law will be adopted.

The report is divided into four parts: (1) explanation of activities of commission and arrangement of report; (2) historical development of the county as a political unit; beginning with the county in England before the Roman invasion, it traces county government down through the creation of counties in New York State; (3) probable effects of the proposed law on county government; (4) tables indicating the procedure necessary in repealing numerous laws, enacting others and, in general, organizing logically arranged codes for all laws affecting county government in the state.

Maryland Extends Powers of Six Counties

Among the laws passed by the 1947 session of the Maryland legislature is one of limited scope but which, it is hoped, will be gradually expanded until it gives substantial powers to all Maryland counties. At present, it applies to only six.

The act authorizes counties to acquire and dispose of property by the usual methods, to grant franchises, provide for appointment and removal of county officers not otherwise provided for, fix the salary of all appointed officers and employees, allow for expenses of designated officers, establish a merit system for all officers and employees not designated in the constitution or general laws, provide for pensions and group insurance, establish a system for prompt collection of taxes, regulate trailer and tourist camps outside incorporated areas, publish official proceedings and reports, require proof on claims against the county, establish competitive bidding, record and index specified records, prevent nuisances and health hazards, provide for road and sidewalk improvements, fix allowances for care of prisoners, and establish a county police system.

Glynn County's Judiciary System

The new court system in Glynn County, Georgia, received its first electoral test this year, when the voters approved the record of the judge. Glynn is a southeastern coastal county of 21,920 population. Brunswick, one of Georgia's chief seaports, is the county seat.

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[1] Legislative document (1948) No. 37, 62 pages.

The Glynn County plan was sponsored in 1943 by its representatives in the General Assembly. By a constitutional amendment, the then existing city court of Brunswick, all justice courts, offices of the justice of peace, offices of the notary public and ex officio justice of peace in Glynn County were abolished; the present city court of Brunswick was then established by statute, with civil and criminal jurisdiction "over and throughout the whole county of Glynn," effective January 1, 1945.

The plan proposes to remove the judge as far as possible from politics by making it unnecessary for him to place himself under obligation to any political or economic group. It is based on the principle of making the city court judge continuously responsible to the Glynn County electorate and has been described as a plan which "revolves around a sort of referendum-and-recall principle."

The statute provided that the first judge be appointed by the governor "by and with the advice and consent of senate" for a four-year term. At the end of the first term the incumbent, if he desires to remain in office, is required to run against his record. If he receives a majority of the votes cast, he stays in office four years more without having any further opposition. A defeat on his record means that a special election must be called in which candidates may qualify and run. Should the incumbent receive a negative vote on his record, the statute does not bar him from becoming a candidate in the special election.

The judge may be impeached for misfeasance or malfeasance in office. Impeachment charges are preferred by the grand jury. The trial is held before the superior court of Glynn County and conducted under the rules governing the trials of misdemeanor. During the impeachment trial which, like the city court of Brunswick, is held at the Glynn County court house, the judge is suspended.

Another provision is the retirement of any judge who serves for an uninterrupted period of twenty years and has attained the age of 65. Upon retirement he becomes judge emeritus of the city court, and receives a pension of $250 per month. His chief duties then are to preside in the absence or disqualification of the regular judge.

On June 22, 1948, Judge W. C. Little, the first city court judge appointed, went before the electorate on his record. He received 902 affirmative votes and 38 opposition. Under the statute he was thereby reelected for another term without opposition, and a special election will not be held.

Public opinion in Glynn County highly approves this new plan. The members of the Brunswick Bar Association have complimented the system as a great improvement over the old method of an open election every four years. Although the plan is not a guarantee against political corruption, it does create a challenge for the interested vote. Georgians interested in good government and the improvement of the judicial system in the counties of the state are watching with much pride the successful operations of the Glynn County experiment.

LYNWOOD M. HOLLAND
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Greeley County, Kansas, Centralizes School Districts

Greeley County, Kansas, a rural county of 1,755 persons, has taken another step to make the county the primary governmental unit of the area. Its latest move is the centralization of its twelve common school districts into a single unit elementary school district

PERIODICAL DEPT

embracing the entire county. The community high school district covering the entire county has been in existence for many years.

As a result of the latest consolidation, Greeley County is the only county in the state possessing a completely centralized school system. The high school is located in the county seat, but grade schools will continue to be maintained in the two incorporated towns and in rural areas wherever they are necessary.

In 1932 the county established a library system to serve its entire area. A county-unit road system was adopted in 1945. In the following year the county established a county hospital. There is also a county cemetery. Consequently, the centralization of the elementary school system constitutes the logical culmination of the trend toward the reduction of the number of units of local government in Greeley County.

Missouri County Moves Toward School Consolidation

Jasper County, Missouri, has been authorized by special legislation to reorganize its school districts. The law requires that the county superintendent of schools must, within 90 days after July 16, call a meeting of the 390 school board members, representing the county's 112 school districts, to elect a six-member county board of education.

The latter body must prepare a plan of reorganization within six months. If the plan is rejected by the state department of education, a new plan must be submitted within 60 days, but if it, too, is rejected, the county board can submit a plan directly to the voters. Any state-approved plan must also be submitted to the voters.

After county adoption of a plan, the voters in each proposed enlarged district have the opportunity to accept or reject their portion of the plan. If rejected, the county board must submit a new proposal for that area in not less than one year nor more than two.

Recent Happenings in Texas Counties

The commissioners of Colorado County, Texas, have voted to adopt a salary basis and discard the fee system for compensating county officers.

A recent convention of the South Texas County Judges and Commissioners Association adopted a resolution requesting that, in the future, any legislation increasing county expenditures should first be subject to referendum in the counties affected.

Despite current inflated prices, Travis County, Texas, recently bought a piece of real estate for ten cents. A highway construction project was found just to "nick" a person's property, and calculations showed the owner was entitled to ten cents compensation. The county allowed an additional $4.90 for expenses, and all parties expressed complete satisfaction.

County Officials Meet

The National Association of County Officials held its twelfth annual convention this year in Jacksonville, Florida. Next year it will meet in Oakland, California.

The Wisconsin County Highway Commissioners' Association and the Wisconsin County Highway Committeemen's Association met jointly this summer to attend a three-day road school and conference on current highway construction programs.

The registers of deeds, clerks of circuit court and treasurers of Wisconsin counties also held a joint convention in June, as did the County Veteran Service Officers. Another convention of Wisconsin county officials during the month of June was on the subject of the county hospital program.

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Cities Still Seek New Revenues

Need Funds for Increased Prices, Expanded Programs

ANY long continued scrutiny of literature on local government reveals that since the end of the war the subject of local revenue has received more attention than at any time since the dark days of the early 1930's. Where during the earlier period the concern was to secure revenues adequate to meet minimum needs, however, present concern is to develop additional revenues to finance enlarged budgets to meet inflationary price and pay structures and expanded local programs.

The attitude of the citizen or taxpayer as well as of the local official also appears to have changed over the period. "Tax reduction," a slogan rampant at the local level during and after the depression, is now flaming mainly at the level of national politics, and there is considerable evidence that the taxpayer as a citizen of local government is more concerned with services and objectives than with taxes.

In a recent Gallup poll, for example, in which citizen reaction to major city problems was sought, "high taxes" as a city problem could rank no better than third in cities of 10,000 to 100,000 population; fourth in one city group, over 500,000 population; and did not finish among the first five "problems" in the other two size-groups. Housing and traffic shared first and second place in three of the groups, and in the fourth group traffic and lack of parks, playgrounds, etc., stood first and second respectively.

It is significant also that many of the new taxes imposed by local governments during recent years have been adopted with the approval, or at least without the active opposition, of business and civic groups traditionally opposed to new or higher taxation.

In Seattle, for example, a system of city business licenses and sales taxes was adopted with negligible opposition because of the obvious necessity of providing adequate income for governmental purposes, while sales taxes in numerous large California cities were adopted with local business support. True, the sales tax has always been a tax more popular with business interests than, say, an increase in property taxes, but at the local level even acquiescence to its imposition is significant of a change in attitude.

In sheer numbers, the instances of new local excises is highly impressive. On the West Coast, city sales taxes are in effect not only in Seattle but also in Los Angeles, San Francisco, San Diego, Oakland and upwards of 50 smaller California cities.

City income taxes, until recently limited to Philadelphia and Toledo, have been given a tremendous impetus by enactment last year of Pennsylvania Act 481, which gave local units in that state extraordinarily broad revenue-raising powers. At June 15, 1948, there were no less than 44 local income tax measures in effect under the act, the largest city affected being Scranton. (The Philadelphia authorization, of course, antedates Act 481).

In addition, city income taxes have been enacted this year in Columbus, Youngstown, and Springfield, Ohio, and Louisville, Kentucky. The St. Louis income tax has been reenacted under a new statute expected to forestall the legal difficulties which invalidated the 1946 levy.

The sales and income levies provide not only spectacular newspaper copy but also very large revenues, but more ordinary income sources are also being explored profitably at the local level. Service charges, especially for waste and refuse removal and disposal, have had a widespread vogue. In Texas today it is a rare city which does not boast a "self-supporting" sanitary sewer system, although candor compels the admission that in most instances water works income is used to supplement the sewer service charge.

The traffic problem, which ranked so high in the estimation of the Gallup respondents, has been the beneficiary for some time of generally lucrative returns from parking meters, although the device has apparently been outlawed by constitutional amendment in North Dakota.

Such special services as airports, long a drain on local governmental revenues, are being slowly brought onto a sounder basis and, with the imposition of flight and other airline charges more equitable to the airport's municipal owners and the development of non-flight income from concessions and services, most of the larger municipal fields now have income at least sufficient to pay out-of-pocket operating costs.

Many of the long established and traditional sources of local revenue are also having their productivity increased, sometimes through a more hard-boiled attitude on the part of local officials.

Roanoke, Virginia, for instance, recently had occasion to consider the renewal of a twenty-year transportation franchise. In 1946 the best the city council could suggest was that the city receive 3 per cent of the operator's gross income, with the city itself to pay for removal of street car tracks abandoned because of conversion to buses. The new franchise, effective January 1, 1949, will give the city, in return for permitting a fare increase, 5 per cent of the gross income from operations within the city and 1 per cent from operations of intercity lines. The city will also receive half of any earnings by the company in excess of 6 per cent on the company's capital investment. The latter penalty provision is designed to insure fares which will yield the operator no more than 6 per cent.

Federal Highway Aid Continued

The second session of the 80th Congress, which adjourned last June, was about as notable from the municipal standpoint for the things it did not do as for what it accomplished. Foremost perhaps among these negative victories for the cities was the failure to accede to the urgings of tax reduction proponents that the federal-state-local highway aid program be curtailed to a $350,000,000 per year level. The municipalities urged that $500,000,000 annually be appropriated, and Congress "compromised" at $450,000,000 for each of the fiscal years ending 1950 and 1951. The balance of 1944 appropriations was made available through the fiscal year ending 1949. The federal grants will be matched by state and city funds.

Congress also made a cautious reentry into the water pollution and sanitation field, which had last been the subject of large-scale federal interest during the PWA and WPA days of the 1930's when sanitation and water pollution received major federal assistance. A five-year program was authorized entailing grants and loans for planning and building sewage treatment plants needed to abate or prevent water pollution. The annual authorization (no appropriation has yet been made) is to be $1,000,000 for grants and $22,500,000 for loans. Grants will be made up to $20,000 to meet one-third of the planning cost, and loans will be made up to $250,000 to meet one-third of construction costs on any individual project. Loans will bear interest at 2 per cent.

The federal airport aid program, which was not disturbed by Congress, has so far involved a large number of applications but relatively little money. Through June 30, 1948, 455 new projects and expansions had been approved, involving $38,721,000 of state and municipal funds and $35,098,000 of federal aid. Hence, as compared with a possible $100,000,000 made available under the program, Congress appropriated less than $40,000,000 to meet requirements in the 1949 fiscal year. There is said to be a backlog of applications pending involving about $210,000,000.

In Rem Foreclosure for New Jersey

Statutory authority for the use of proceedings *in rem* for the foreclosure of real property tax liens has been enacted by the 1948 New Jersey legislature. The procedure prescribed, which is permissive rather than mandatory, will permit foreclosure 45 days after the filing of the petition in the court of chancery and publication of the notice of sale.

Foreclosure proceedings *in rem,* which are the recommended type of proceedings for property tax lien foreclosure in the *Model Real Property Tax Collection Law* of the National Municipal League, generally are much more economical to the taxing unit than are proceedings *in personam.* This writer recalls that in the early 1930's an official of a northern New Jersey city told with justifiable pride of how his city had, by consolidating foreclosure actions, reduced the cost of foreclosure from an average of about $600 per parcel to about $65 per parcel, the higher cost being prohibitive whereas the lower cost permitted the city to restore much property to taxpaying status by foreclosure and sale. With proceedings *in rem* available, the cost of foreclosure will show another spectacular reduction.

Louisville Award Goes to San Diego's Comptroller

The 1948 Louisville Award of the Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada went to John McQuilken, city auditor and comptroller of San Diego, California. Given annually for outstanding service and accomplishment by a public finance officer, the award was established with a grant from the city of Louisville, Kentucky. The 1948 award was based on Mr. McQuilken's work in developing a comprehensive system of accounting procedures, including classification, forms, manuals of procedure and reports.

Achievement awards went to Portland, Maine, for improvements in budget preparation and control, pay administration, planning and reporting, and to Montreal, for the technical aspects of its debt refinancing program. The awards were announced at the association's 1948 annual conference, held in Denver in June.

Connecticut Tax Study Started

A special state tax commission, authorized by the legislature to study

(Continued on page 468)

Books in Review

Municipal Year Book 1948. Edited by Clarence E. Ridley, Orin F. Nolting and Frederick C. Peitzsch. Chicago, International City Managers' Association, 1948. x, 558 pp. $8.50. ($9 if remittance does not accompany order.)

This creditable and unique volume gets more massive, complete and authoritative every year, and this is its fifteenth. It provides as of December 31, 1947, statistics re the 2,042 American cities of over 5,000 population, their forms of government, officials, retirement systems, their financial methods and the trends of management in each typical municipal department in 1947.

No such orderly assemblage of information about our cities existed as recently as twenty years ago. Now we have the pamphlets on administrative problems of the Public Administration Service, the informational services of the ICMA and—this annual review of the progress of the year and the tables of facts. Municipal administration is thus become a science with an increasingly adequate array of scientific literature!

Among the many new features of the volume are data on new taxes in cities over 5,000, personnel organization, airport management and revenues, cemetery management, sewer service charges, taxicab regulation, and certain fire and police information. Features brought up to date include municipal salaries and a directory of officials, state-administered retirement systems of local employees, police and fire department data and salaries, number of employees with payroll, hours, methods of overtime pay, and city planning data.

Administrative Reflections from World War II. By Luther Gulick. University, Alabama, University of Alabama Press, 1948. xii, 139 pp. $2.50.

With his characteristic terse lucidity, Dr. Gulick recites the experience with our vast wartime crop of alphabetical agencies, an experience in which he was repeatedly called in as adviser or installer. His appraisals of what hasty devices of administration were found sound are authoritative. Among them is his first conclusion, "The American governmental system was found to be fully adequate for the management of the war," in contrast to the German system where fiats from the top stood uncorrected by any continuous backflow of free criticism from the ranks in the field. Our conduct of the war was the bulkiest administrative adventure in history and, as so often happens, bigness, complexity and haste provide the best and most numerous disclosures of principles.

The book reinforces belief in citizen action even in administration and the absolute need for widespread citizen support for the executive's direction of administration.

Amazingly, you can read the book in an hour!

R. S. C.

Financing Municipal Off-Street Parking Facilities. By Miner B. Phillipps and Irving Tenner. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1948. vi, 65 pp. $2.50.

Discusses and analyzes principles of finance, accounting and budgeting as applicable to off-street parking facilities and describes actual experience and proposed plans of 109 U. S. and Canadian cities with fringe parking lots, methods of financing and operating parking lots and garages, and fees charged for parking. Information given is based on questionnaires sent to all cities in the U. S. and Canada which owned or operated such facilities or proposed to do so.

Know Hamilton County. Edited by Mrs. Reginald C. McGrane. Cincinnati, League of Women Voters, 1948. 36 pp.

A very competent-looking description of the government of Hamilton County, Ohio, and what is wrong with its design. It lifts the veil of obscurity from the county government but leaves the mystery as to how such a neglected ramshackle mechanism can work at all. Strictly local in its material but the picture is typical and a good model for all such manuals.

Guide to Politics in Massachusetts. By Political Science Students. South Hadley, Massachusetts, Mt. Holyoke College, 1948. 24 pp., pocket-size. 15 cents.

This tightly written manual tells a Massachusetts voter all he needs to know to perform his duties of citizenship in respect to federal, state and county government, including participation in the functioning of the political parties and the use of the initiative. To Professor Victoria Schuck's students who did this highly creditable job, our congratulations!

New York: The World's Capital City. By Cleveland Rodgers and Rebecca B. Rankin. New York 16, Harper & Brothers, 1948. xviii, 398 pp. $5.

A fluent, informal and readable account, well packed with facts and wise interpretations, of the history of New York City from the discovery of the harbor in 1524 by Verrazzano (Hudson came later!) to the capstone of its growth—the coming of the United Nations to 48th Street.

County Data Book. By Morris B. Ullman. Washington, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of th Census, 1947. xiii, 431 pp. $2.75.

This volume, a supplement to th *Statistical Abstract of the United States* presents some of the more importan social and economic facts about eac of 3,050 counties and 49 areas of othe types treated as counties, together wit a summarization of the data for eac of the 138 metropolitan areas in th country made up of whole counties Maps for all the states show county boundary lines.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Accounting

Municipal and Governmental Accounting (second edition). By Carl H. Chatters and Irving Tenner. New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1947. xiv, 593 pp. $6.65.

Assessing

Assessment Administration 1947. Papers Presented at the Thirteenth National Conference on Assessment Administration, Miami Beach, Florida, December 1-4, 1947. Chicago, National Association of Assessing Officers, 1948. ix, 113 pp. $2.

Congress

Congress in Action. How a Bill Becomes a Law . . . in Words, Pictures and Staged. By George H. E. Smith and Floyd M. Riddick. Washington 4, D. C., National Capitol Publishers, Inc., 1948. 87 pp. 75 cents (discounts on quantity orders).

Directories

Directory of Michigan Municipal Officials 1948-49. Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, 1948. 68 pp. $3.

GRA Directory of Organizations and Individuals Professionally Engaged in Governmental Research, 1948-1949. New

York, Governmental Research Association, 1948. 48 pp. $1.50.

National Conference of Judicial Councils — Directory of Member Councils. Newark, New Jersey, 1948. 53 pp.

Public Administration Organizations. A Directory of Unofficial Organizations in the Field of Public Administration in the United States and Canada 1948. Chicago 37, Public Administration Clearing House, 1948. xi, 216 pp. $3.

State Lawmakers Directory (and Members of the National Congress) to May 1, 1948. By Vance Muse. Houston 5, Texas, 1948. 68 pp. $10. (Apply to author, Lock Box 6614, Houston.)

Hospitals

A Study of Hospital Administration. By Frank Hart and A. J. Waldegrave. Published under the auspices of The Institute of Public Administration. London, Stevens & Sons Limited, 1948. ix, 188 pp. 15s.

Housing

Housing in America. Its Present Status and Future Implications. A Factual Analysis of Testimony and Studies. Prepared for Joint Committee on Housing Pursuant to H. Con. Res. 104. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1948. v, 178 pp.

Housing of the Nonwhite Population 1940 to 1947. By U. S. Housing and Home Finance Agency. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1948. 13 pp. 15 cents.

The Housing Situation—The Factual Background. Washington, D. C., Housing and Home Finance Agency, 1948. Variously paged.

Judiciary

Rules Governing the Courts of the State of New Jersey. Effective September 15, 1948. Newark, New Jersey, Soney & Sage Company, 1948. v, 436 pp.

Military Government

American Military Government in Germany. By Harold Zink. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1947. 272 pp. $4.

Parking

Commercial Parking in Residential Areas. A Transitional Use under Zoning. By Seward H. Mott and Max S. Wehrly. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, 1948. 8 pp. $1.50.

Personnel

You and Your Job with the City of Baytown, Texas. Baytown, City Manager's Office, 1948. 32 pp.

City Employment in 1947. Washington, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1948. 38 pp.

Planning

Aerial Photography in Urban Planning and Research. By Melville C. Branch, Jr., Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1948. 150 pp. illus. $3.

Metropolitan Plan Greater Winnipeg. Annual Report for the Year 1947. Winnipeg, Metropolitan Planning Committee and Winnipeg Town Planning Commission, 1948. 36 pp. illus.

Framingham: Your Town Your Problem. Prepared by Planning Students in the Graduate School of Design, Harvard University. Report compiled and edited by Arthur T. Row, Jr., Louis P. Dolbeare and Judith Tannenbaum. Cambridge, Harvard University, Department of Regional Planning, 1948. 61 pp. illus.

How Big Will Richmond Grow? Richmond, Virginia, City Planning Commission, 1948. 8 pp. illus.

Local Planning Administration (second and revised edition). Chicago 37, International City Managers' Association, 1948. xiii, 337 pp. $7.50.

Planning As a Solution to State and Local Problems. Proceedings of the Section on Planning, 12th Annual Institute of Government, 1947. Seattle 5, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services in cooperation with the Division of Adult Education and Extension Services, 1948. 78 pp.

Shopping Centers—Look Before You Leap! By J. C. Nichols. Washington 6, D. C., Urban Land Institute, *Urban Land,* June 1948. 4 pp.

Population Statistics

A Chapter in Population Sampling. By the Sampling Staff, Bureau of the Census. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office. vi, 141 pp. $1.

Estimates of Future Long-Term Trend of Population Growth in the Philadelphia-Camden Industrial Area 1950-2000. Philadelphia, City Planning Commission, 1948. 20 pp. tables.

Internal Migration in the United States: April 1940 to April 1947. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1948. 29 pp.

Public Welfare

Community Organization for Health and Welfare Services. A Selected Bibliography of Publications in 1947. By Margaret M. Otto, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1948. 16 pp. 20 cents.

Race Relations

"To Secure These Rights" in Your Community. A Manual for Discussion, Fact-Finding and Action in State and Local Communities. Chicago 15, American Council on Race Relations, 1948. xii, 59 pp. 50 cents (discounts on quantity orders).

Refuse Disposal

Refuse Disposal Practice: A Bibliography. Compiled by the Joint Reference Library. Chicago 37, American Public Works Association, 1948. 10 pp. $1.

Rural Life

American Rural Life. A Textbook in Sociology. By David Edgar Lindstrom. New York, The Ronald Press Company, 1948. xv, 385 pp. $4.

Taxation and Finance

British Block Grants and Central-Local Finance. By Reynold E. Carlson. Baltimore 18, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1947. 222 pp. $2.50.

Efficiency Tax Administration — the *Sine Qua Non* **of Tax Equity.** New York 7, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* April 1948. 12 pp. 25 cents.

Financial Statistics of Municipal Governments in Canada 1944. Ottawa, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Public Finance Branch, 1948. 41 pp.

Historical Review of State and Local Government Finances. By Wylie Kilpatrick and Robert F. Drury, assisted by Josef Berolzheimer. Washington, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1948. 41 pp.

Revised Summary of State and Local Government Finances in 1942. By Wylie Kilpatrick and Robert F. Drury. Washington, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1948. 31 pp.

TAXATION AND FINANCE

(Continued from page 464)

the Connecticut tax structure and make recommendations for its improvement, has declared adherence to two objectives: to reduce taxes as much as possible and to adjust tax loads so that Connecticut will continue in a favorable competitive position with other states. The commission will study the relationship and combined effect of state and city taxes on individuals and industry, but its recommendations will be limited to changes in the tax structure of the state government.

The commission of nine members is headed by Roswell Magill, of Weston, Connecticut, professor of taxation at Columbia University, who is chairman. Consultant to the committee is John F. Sly of Princeton University.

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The League's Business

Practical Citizenship Conference Keynote

PRACTICAL CITIZENSHIP will be the keynote of the League's 1948 National Conference on Government to be held in Boston, November 22, 23 and 24. The program is based on suggestions and requests from people engaged in crucial civic tasks and battles.

Each topic will be dealt with by persons who have shown they have answers helpful to others facing concrete problems. Here are some of the civic problems of 1948-49 on which the Conference will throw light:

1. **Political Slum Clearance**—to borrow a phrase from League President Charles Edison. A new drive has started on some of the last outposts of old style political bossism. The Conference will get first-hand reports on recent victories and plans for future victories over the boss system, the shame of American cities.

2. **The Council-Manager Plan**—both as spearhead of municipal reform and as the most efficient tool of local democracy. At the present rate of adoptions the plan will become in the next decade the standard system of local government in cities and towns of all sizes. New England is one of the most active laboratories for the practical demonstration of the council-manager plan. The Conference will make full use of that laboratory.

3. **How About Our Metropolitan Communities**—and the problems created by many governments working in the same area? Greater Boston symbolizes this problem which affects directly a majority of Americans. The Conference will take a close look at the latest methods for enabling all the citizens and all the governments in one area to eliminate conflict and work together.

4. **What Should a State Expect from Its Constitution?** The 1948 edition of the *Model State Constitution* will be presented and leading authorities will come to grips with the question "What Is a State Constitution For?" More and more states are moving toward constitutional revision, partly because drastic reorganizing is needed to prevent still more power from flowing to Washington.

5. **Education for Practical Citizenship.** Educators are at last discovering that the schools have not been teaching democracy effectively. The Conference will hear reports on steps now being taken to correct this tragic error. At the adult level the Conference will, for example, investigate with the cooperation of the National Association of Civic Secretaries (which holds its own annual meeting at the Statler Hotel, Boston, November 21 and 22) methods of establishing and maintaining virile, nonpartisan local citizen organizations.

6. **Financial Support for Local Democracy.** The Conference will discuss how self-reliant state and local governments can be financed in an inflationary period.

7. **Proportional Representation.** Emphasis will be on methods of educating voters on the use and advantages of P. R. (see page 512).

Scores of practical problems will be dealt with, such as the future of county government, local home rule, citizen action for effective city and regional planning, the conduct of a civic campaign for the council-manager plan or other objective, etc.

Look for more details and names of speakers and participants in the November number of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW and in the preliminary program. For reservations write as soon as possible to the Hotel Statler, Boston, being sure to say you are attending the National Municipal League's National Conference on Government.

(Continued on page 520)

Editorial Comment

Revolt in Philadelphia

PARTY responsibility and "un-American" are terms which spoils politicians are fond of using as glib and noncommittal replies to people who suggest it would be a good thing to eliminate partisanship from municipal affairs, as the majority of cities have tried to do.

Party responsibility is what they've got. Un-American is what anyone is who gets tired of their ways.

There are few cities, certainly no big ones, in which one political organization has had the responsibility so clearly and completely as in Philadelphia. Neither independent citizens nor the opposing party has had much chance for years.

So there was no way for the party to duck responsibility when, under pressures described in an article in this issue and other pressures not now mentionable, top citizens and experts, working as the Committee of Fifteen, started several months ago to unearth disgraceful scandal in the government. The disclosures are the kind that can't be dismissed as "political talk" as were the charges of the opposition candidate for mayor last year.

Four months ago, in the face of these revelations, the city chairman of the dominant party frankly admitted "flagrant and scandalous conditions." They seemed to come as a surprise to him which, obviously, they did not to the intelligent, informed average citizen. He declaimed that it was the organization's responsibility to clean things up.

As the months went by, the Committee of Seventy, one of the leading civic organizations working closely with the Committee of Fifteen, lost patience and let fly with a charge that "only one unnecessary employee (drone) has actually been fired. . . ." In one department "seven men were dismissed and nine employed. The work day and work week is not being enforced; an experienced person has not been appointed to reorganize supplies and purchases; only a small number of over-age persons have been retired or pensioned since it is difficult for the administration to decide whether a fireman or policeman can perform active duty at the age of 65, 70 or 75."

The conclusion seems clear that here, as usual, party responsibility isn't taken to mean responsibility to serve the general public interest but responsibility to maintain a political monopoly and to try to sidestep public demand if it is against the party's selfish interests. Citizens are supposed to forget this sort of unpleasantness soon. Too often they do.

Few now remember that it was the same machine which in 1939 staged one of the most amazing "public be damned" acts on record. A modern charter had been drafted and a Gallup poll showed the voters would adopt it three to one. But, with home rule lacking, the state legislature had to give the city permission to vote on it. The charter bill was buried in committee until the final day when, with great hilarity, a mock funeral service was held over a copy of the bill.

The people forgot that, so why shouldn't they forget the loading of payrolls with incompetent drones, the continued refusal to use modern, labor-saving office equipment because "machines don't vote," the theft of public funds, the failure through inefficiency or favoritism to collect large sums of taxes, and the like?

But this time it is different. The enlightened civic leadership of Philadelphia is on the warpath with an unaccustomed glint in its eye and a determined set to its jaw. It is bringing more facts and figures and political thieves out into the open than anyone has ever seen there.

A rebirth of freedom is due in Philadelphia—freedom from plundering political dictatorship.

A Good Attitude

EVERY so often someone approaches public office in a high minded, modest manner that is heart warming. A lot of less articulate candidates may feel the same way about things but may not be as practiced as Dr. Herbert C. F. Bell, professor emeritus of Wesleyan University, in expressing it.

Dr. Bell, already a member of the city council, was nominated recently by his party as a candidate for mayor of Middletown, Connecticut. After saying he never expected the honor and never tried in any way for it, he made a speech from which the following few sentences are taken:

"I cannot tell you how proud and grateful I am that a group of citizens thinks I am fit to be the mayor of Middletown. I shall promise just one thing. If you choose to put me in office, I shall do my level best to be your faithful servant, working side by side with the fine group of city officials and of councilmen to make Middletown more than ever the envy of other cities in this and other states.

"You all know that the city administration is a good deal like a thrifty housewife. She would like to have a new refrigerator or a washing machine, perhaps a new porch on the house or more ground for the children to play in. But she has only so much to go on. She cannot keep nagging at the man who pays the bills to give her more money when it will run him seriously in debt. Especially, at a time when prices are going up, she must buy only what the family can afford."

Corrupt But Not Contented

Philadelphia's Committee of Fifteen, unearthing scandals, fights to place city-county on efficient, honest basis.

By **JEWELL CASS PHILLIPS***

FORTY-FIVE years ago, in an article published in *McClure's Magazine,* Lincoln Steffens characterized Philadelphia as the city "corrupt and contented." This, indeed, has proved to be a "title which stuck." There is mounting evidence, however, as the year 1948 draws to a close, that this captious reference is at long last only a half truth. Corruption and inefficiency have been exposed this year with ruthless regularity.

Civic leaders, certain powerful and respected organizations, and an increasing number of plain citizens seem determined to sweep out incompetent officials and employees, to prosecute public officers who are guilty of high crimes or misdemeanors, and to fight with all the resources at their command for drastic changes in the city-county charter, state laws and state constitution relating to the city-county government.

It is difficult to determine what force or events have contributed most to the recent exposure of corruption and inefficiency in important departments of Philadelphia's city-county government. Some perhaps would insist that it is the culmination of the perennial surveillance of well known civic and research agencies, such as the Philadelphia Committee of Seventy, the Pennsylvania Economy League, the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce and others. The newspapers,[1] which have taken the political leaders and city-county officials to task for their mismanagement of municipal affairs, deserve considerable credit for the recent purge and the determined drive for good government. Many impartial observers, however, suggest that the one man who has contributed most to the present political upheaval in the "City of Brotherly Love" is Richardson Dilworth, unsuccessful candidate for mayor on the Democratic ticket in 1947.

The mayoralty campaign of 1947 was one of the most dramatic in Philadelphia's recent history. Mr. Dilworth began his campaign early in the autumn of 1947 with a street corner appeal to a few hundred voters. As the campaign progressed, the street corner continued to be the forum but the crowds grew to enormous proportions. The electorate

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*Dr. Phillips is associate professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Pennsylvania. Formerly at the University of Oklahoma, he is author of *The Operation of Council-Manager Government in Oklahoma* as well as numerous articles on governmental topics. Dr. Phillips made special studies on "City-State Relations" and "Tax Exempt Property in Philadelphia" for the Philadelphia Charter Commission of 1937 and more recently aided in the "Haverford Township (Pennsylvania) School Buildings Survey."

[1] All the leading newspapers in Philadelphia are now Republican, and, since the Republican party has overwhelming superiority within the city, newspaper attacks on city officials and political leaders have had no foundation in partisan politics.

was treated to the rare spectacle of an able and courageous candidate presenting sensational charges of corruption and inefficiency against specific officials, departments and agencies without once being successfully challenged in the courts. One suit for slander was filed against Dilworth but it was dropped before it came to trial.

While Richardson Dilworth was the Democratic candidate for mayor, he openly denounced a number of Democratic ward leaders and he waged his campaign with only half-hearted support from the Democratic organization. The fact that Dilworth was able to poll 44 per cent of the total vote for mayor as the representative of a badly shaken Democratic organization in a normally strong Republican city is a testimonial to his outstanding qualities of leadership and his personal integrity and ability. The 1948 grand jury investigations and the illuminating disclosures of the Committee of Fifteen have furnished incontrovertible proof that a number of the Dilworth charges were something more than campaign oratory.

Committee of Fifteen

Without detracting from Mr. Dilworth's contributions, the fine publicity efforts of the Philadelphia newspapers, and the fruitful and persistent labors of the various civic organizations, it is readily conceded that the one agency which deserves greatest credit for the present intensive drive against corrupt, inefficient and ramshackle city-county government in Philadelphia is the Committee of Fifteen.

A councilmanic resolution of December 4, 1947, empowered the mayor and the president of city council to appoint a special committee of fifteen members to survey city-county finances and to suggest ways and means which could be employed to meet greatly increased budgetary requests for 1948. Five of the fifteen members were to be councilmen, the other ten to consist of "representatives of labor, industry, commerce, finance, civic and business organizations."

The able chairman of the committee, Arthur W. Binns, is a prominent Philadelphia real estate man, a Quaker and a member of the dominant (Republican) party. Other able men were chosen to serve on this committee and they have taken their work seriously.

The committee came into being as the result of a budgetary crisis in December 1947. Under the charter, city council must adopt a budget and fix a general property tax rate on or before December 15 of each year. The council ostensibly complied with the charter requirement on December 15, 1947, and approved a financial program of $104,000,000—up to that time the largest in the city's history[2]—without changing the property tax rate or the city's earned income tax rate.

Councilmanic action in this instance, however, was a mere technical compliance, since municipal employees were demanding wage and salary increases to meet the rising costs of living and department heads

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[2] Tentative budgetary estimates for 1949 are far greater, standing now at approximately $120,000,000.

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were insisting upon larger appropriations to meet inflated prices and to finance long delayed public improvement programs.

Faced with a serious problem, city officials had the choice of several unpalatable alternatives. First, it was entirely possible to meet all reasonable demands for increased wages and departmental appropriations by increasing the property taxes or the earned income tax, or both. Indeed, some new tax, like the sales tax, might have been levied. But experience of recent years had convinced city council that the people were in no mood for tax increases. There was a deep-seated popular conviction that taxes already paid were not being used for the public's best interests and that waste, extravagance and mismanagement prevailed in many departments of Philadelphia's government.

As another alternative, city-county officials could have effected considerable savings by discharging incompetent, over-age and unnecessary employees. But there was a political organization to be reckoned with in which many of the councilmen and other officials were ward leaders and key men. The politically faithful had to be rewarded and payroll connections have long been the most coveted rewards.

In a number of departments methods and devices were so antiquated that installation of modern business machines would have cut labor costs almost in half. But, as one member of the Committee of Fifteen put it, when this plain fact was called to the attention of a responsible organization leader he promptly replied, "but Joe,[3] machines don't vote."

It can be seen, therefore, that to satisfy the demands of municipal employees and department heads, without slashing personnel and making drastic changes in organization and methods, with all members of the same political party, city council would have been compelled to increase taxes in a presidential election year.

Confronted with this dilemma, city council created the Committee of Fifteen. In this way responsibility for making certain crucial decisions was shifted to a group in which the public generally had confidence. Little did council suspect that this committee would move so relentlessly against the forces of arrogance, corruption and mismanagement, so long entrenched in the city-county government and in the dominant political machine of Philadelphia.

Committee's Functions Limited

The councilmanic resolution which authorized appointment of the Committee of Fifteen reflected clearly the council's lack of concern with corruption, inefficiency and gross neglect of the public interest soon to be brought so dramatically to public attention. The resolution provided:

> Whereas, requests have been made for additional appropriations and increases in salaries for city and county employees of Philadelphia for 1948,
>
> And whereas, in order to grant these requests it will be necessary to obtain additional revenue for the city of Philadelphia; therefore
>
> Resolved by the council of the city of Philadelphia, that the mayor

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[3] Name of the member of the Committee of Fifteen withheld.

> and the president of city council, jointly, are hereby authorized to appoint a special committee of fifteen . . . for the purpose of reviewing the finances of the city of Philadelphia for the year 1948, in order to fully ascertain the aggregate possibilities of revenue to be derived out of existing taxation, and for the purpose of recommending legislation whereby new revenues may be obtained, together with any other legislation, so as to insure an increase in compensation for employees of the city and county of Philadelphia, retroactive to January 1, 1948.

It was also provided that the committee should submit its report and recommendations on or before March 1, 1948. An appropriation of $10,000 was made to finance the committee's expenses for the two-month period.

Committee Recommendations

The Committee of Fifteen demonstrated at the outset that its investigations would not be confined to the innocuous survey which the councilmanic resolution apparently anticipated. Initial objectives of the committee were clearly set forth in its report of March 1, 1948:

> The problem before the committee resolved itself into four major considerations:
>
> 1. Is the tax dollar being efficiently used by the city and county of Philadelphia?
> 2. Is the city collecting all the money it can under existing legislation?
> 3. What is the amount of money needed (a) to give salary increases to employees to meet the increased cost of living, and (b) to provide for justified departmental requests?
> 4. If the city's requirements cannot be financed through the maximum collection of present revenues, and by realizing all possible economies, what then is the best way to bridge the gap through new tax legislation?

In the attempt to find answers to the questions raised, a subcommittee was appointed to investigate and report on each of the four basic problems. As a result of the combined efforts of the four subcommittees and their staffs (supplied without charge by the Pennsylvania Economy League, the Bureau of Municipal Research and the Chamber of Commerce), the Committee of Fifteen was able to make a forthright and illuminating report on March 1. Its main conclusions and recommendations were:

> 1. The tax dollar is not being efficiently spent. Some bureaus are efficiently operated. In others there are employees who are unnecessary, inefficient or overpaid. Supervision of employees is generally lacking or deficient. The generally accepted hours for a working day for office employees are ignored. Many city properties are old, obsolete, badly worn. . . . In most bureaus, the methods, procedures and forms used are obsolete, uneconomical and cumbersome and do not adequately protect the public funds. [Specific illustrations were supplied to support these conclusions.]
> 2. Pay increases for Philadelphia city and county employees totaling approximately $5,000,000 can be given immediately [March 1, 1948] without any increase in the tax burden. Efficient collection of taxes can provide the funds necessary to meet the requirements.
> 3. A long-range program of personnel administration . . . for all city and county departments should be established immediately. [At present only city departments are under the merit system.]
> 4. The city could increase its revenue collections from existing sources at least $5,000,000 by (a) more efficient organization and staff-

ing of the receiver of taxes office and the water bureau, (b) more vigorous action in the collection of taxes and water rents due the city, (c) complete metering of the city's water services with appropriate readjustment of rates, (d) removal of trolleys from certain streets and rerouting of traffic to increase the city's revenues from the subway system, and (e) more conscientious adjudication of traffic violation cases to insure that offenders shall pay their fines.

5. Provision should be made at the earliest feasible date for a modern budget office with an adequate staff.

At first it was assumed that the Committee of Fifteen would cease to function after the submission of its March 1 report. Findings of the committee up to that time, however, showed that it had merely scratched the surface in its investigations and that many more weeks of payroll audits and examination of departmental methods and organization were essential. Accordingly, the life of the committee was extended to December 31, 1948. Later an appropriation of $50,000 was made by city council to finance its investigations.

A staff of some 45 research assistants and part-time consultants are being used by the committee in its efforts to make as thorough and painstaking investigations as time permits. While some twenty or more are full-time personnel, it is a matter of deep public interest that approximately 25 consultants and assistants—some truly experts—have been provided by the Bureau of Municipal Research, Committee of Seventy, Chamber of Commerce and the Pennsylvania Economy League. According to Robert K. Sawyer, director of the Bureau of Municipal Research and research director for the committee, it is difficult to evaluate the services of some of these able consultants. It would be safe to say, however, that Philadelphia is getting a $250,000 research job for the councilmanic appropriation of $50,000. On September 16 council's finance committee approved $205,000 for new audits of the office of the receiver of taxes.

While the spotlight in the present turbulent and tangled situation in Philadelphia's city-county government has been focused mainly on the Committee of Fifteen, a valuable contribution to the cause of good government in Philadelphia has been made by the State Department of Justice. After long and careful investigation of the magistrate courts by the Committee of Seventy, the attorney general appointed an able and aggressive special investigator to probe the alleged illegal conduct of a recently demoted chief magistrate. Over five hundred charges had been filed against him as of September 1, 1948. Bail for the accused official was set at the fantastic figure of $75,000 but has since been reduced by a higher court to $15,000.

The State Department of Justice has also been cooperating in the special grand jury investigation of city-county departments, especially the receiver of taxes' office. The Joint State Government Commission, an arm of the Pennsylvania General Assembly, has been on the scene for a number of weeks assembling facts and holding hearings in anticipation of remedial legislation.

Investigations by the Committee of Fifteen disclosed gross negligence and the loss of city cash in the department of supplies and purchases. A clerk in the department was the first convicted of embezzlement. He is now awaiting sentence which may run as long as three hundred years. The director of this department was dismissed by the mayor and council when he refused to resign. Later a suicide in the office of the receiver of taxes disclosed widespread embezzlement of public funds in the amusement tax division. One employee has been convicted and several more are awaiting trial. The controller's audit of the amusement tax division has established shortages of over $200,000 to date.

Again, irregularities, poor administration and lack of discipline in this department moved the Committee of Fifteen and the Republican city chairman to demand the resignation of the receiver of taxes. His reply was that he intended to remain in office until "the cows come home," and since he is an elective official, the only feasible method of removal is the cumbersome device of impeachment. Plans are now being made to install four competent assistants in the receiver's office who will be expected to organize and conduct its affairs on a business basis.

In the course of the investigations, a number of unnecessary employees have been dismissed, others have been transferred to positions where they render some service, more conscientious observance of standard hours of work is reported, and the general tone of city-county government is somewhat improved.

But the job of house-cleaning and reorganization has really just begun. Of interest on the strictly political side was the removal of the chairman of the Philadelphia Republican organization early this year and the choice of a new chairman who has been cooperating splendidly with the Committee of Fifteen and other agencies in the attempt to clean up the city-county government.

Drastic Changes Necessary

Philadelphia's civic leaders and a surprisingly large number of citizens are currently up in arms as a result of these disclosures. In this moment of righteous indignation some significant changes in city-county governmental machinery and methods will doubtless be made. Some, in fact, have already been made. However, the really fundamental changes—without which no real and lasting improvements in city-county government can be expected—will entail a long and arduous fight against powerful political forces which work behind the scenes and which have suffered only minor reverses during the first half of the twentieth century.

If Philadelphia is to have modern, efficient and economical government, these are the goals that must be attained:

(1) *City-county consolidation.* This objective is unquestionably at the head of the list. Philadelphia has long endured a hybrid city-county government, with one "chief executive"—the mayor—and one council, but with more than thirty boards, commissions, departments and other agencies, twenty of which are independent of the mayor.

Many of these independent officials and agencies, like the sheriff, coroner, register of wills, recorder of deeds, treasurer, controller, county commissioners and others, are guaranteed security by the state constitution. Hence, to provide effective city-county consolidation the constitution must be amended, and that requires approval by two successive legislatures—the 1949 and 1951 General Assemblies will be the earliest—and approval by popular vote —the statewide election of 1951 will be the earliest.

An amendment to provide city-county consolidation for Philadelphia was submitted to a popular referendum in 1937 and was defeated as a result of the adverse vote outside Philadelphia. This most important of reforms will be challenged by machine politicians all the way. Only tough, courageous and long-suffering leadership and a thoroughly aroused electorate can expect to win the battle against such opposition.

(2) *Home Rule.* This is a second objective of paramount importance in Philadelphia's struggle for good government. Many months of painstaking preparation of a new charter by the Philadelphia Charter Committee and its staff came to an inglorious end in 1939 when the machine politicians, primarily from Philadelphia, blocked the charter's adoption by the General Assembly. It seems indefensible that charter changes so essential to this city's welfare cannot be made by the people of Philadelphia without outside interference. Home rule privileges require legislative action only, since the state constitution has authorized the General Assembly to extend home rule to cities, or cities of any class, since 1922.

(3) *New charter.* The third outstanding need in the drive for good government in Philadelphia is a modern, streamlined charter to replace one that has long been outmoded. Among the most important changes which the new charter should provide are these: (a) reduction in size, and change in the method of electing, city council; (b) concentration of administrative responsibility and authority in the hands of a strong mayor or city manager, as the voters may decide; (c) provision for ten or twelve well organized departments to perform the functions now unsystematically parcelled out to more than thirty boards, commissions and departments; (d) extension of the merit system to all departments of city and county government (at present only those under the mayor are covered), and provision for a well organized personnel system; (e) provision for an executive budget system where virtually no system now exists; (f) provision for both a pre-audit and a systematic and thorough post-audit, with complete coverage in both instances. These proposed changes are among the most essential but they by no means exhaust the list.

Will the Fight Go On?

It is well known that a good charter alone will not produce good government. The main requirement in the endless struggle for efficient and economical government is an intelligent, informed and active electorate. At this moment there is abundant evidence that the people of Philadelphia want good government and that they are determined to have it.

(Continued on page 494)

Farewell to the Politicians

They fought new manager charter every step of the way but Richmond's aroused citizens outvoted them six times.

By HUGH R. THOMPSON JR.*

RICHMOND, capital city of Virginia, and one time capital of the Confederate States of America, last month abandoned one of the most cumbersome and outmoded charters to be found in the nation for one of the most modern and effective.

The change is no accident. It is the result of determined action by an irate citizenry with an effective medium for cooperative action and competent leadership.

From 1928 until 1946 only 3 per cent of the adult population participated in municipal general elections and only 9 per cent participated in municipal primaries. The low ebb came in June 1944, when only 2,987 votes were cast in the election of a mayor for the city, which has an estimated population of more than a quarter of a million!

Realizing the gravity of the situation, a meeting of civic-minded citizens was called by the Inter-Club Council of Richmond in February 1945. At this meeting an organization committee was named and Claude R. Davenport, a prominent businessman and civic leader, was elected temporary chairman.

During the months that followed the committee worked intensively to lay the groundwork for a truly effective city-wide, nonpartisan civic organization—the Richmond Citizens Association. In October 1945, this organization committee adopted a proposed charter and by-laws and elected its first officers and directors. Richard H. Hardesty, Jr., a local candy manufacturer, was named as first president of the new association, which was granted its charter by the State Corporation Commission in February 1946.

Almost simultaneously with the formal establishment of the association, the General Assembly of Virginia passed an enabling act which permitted the voters of Richmond for the first time to decide whether they desired to consider formally a change in their city's charter. Under the new statute it was necessary to secure some 4,800 signatures of qualified voters on petitions asking that a referendum be held. Each signature had to be notarized.

The infant association accepted the challenge. Within 90 days it secured 5,530 properly notarized signatures of qualified voters upon petitions for a referendum on the question "Shall this city take steps to frame and request the General Assembly of Virginia to grant to it a special form of government."

The association then began work on a campaign organization. W. Moscoe Huntley, a prominent local attorney, was appointed general cam-

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*Mr. Thompson is executive secretary of the Richmond Citizens Association. He was formerly news reporter for the Richmond *News Leader* and publications editor of the Virginia Transit Company. During the war he saw service with the infantry in the Philippines and Korea, retiring as major.

paign chairman. A "personal contact" team of representatives of every section of the city was recruited to discuss the referendum question in every neighborhood; advertisements were run in the newspapers; folders, show cards and bumper strips were printed and distributed in large quantities; members of a speakers bureau appeared before scores of groups throughout the city; many prominent citizens were recruited to make radio talks; business, civic and fraternal organizations were encouraged to discuss the question at their meetings; thousands of letters were sent to prospective voters inviting their attention to the referendum and requesting them to post themselves on the question.

New Charter Supported

When the referendum was held on November 5, 1946, 20,840 qualified voters cast their ballots. Of these, 16,755 approved the proposition. On the same ballot seven candidates endorsed by the Richmond Citizens Association were elected overwhelmingly to compose a commission to draft a new charter for the city.

The commission faced its unfamiliar task seriously and with determination. Chairman W. Sterling King sought materials from the National Municipal League just in time to obtain a preliminary draft of that organization's *Guide for Charter Commissions.*

First to use the *Guide*, Richmond's commission retained Thomas H. Reed as draftsman and made use of a number of other experts as consultants.

It was not long after this that the association's nominating committee was looking for an outstanding leader to head the organization in 1947. Then it was that L. E. Marlowe, a successful tire dealer, made a speech before the West Richmond Business Men's Association, of which he was president. He had no intention of getting into the thick of the charter fight when he made it. But he said:

"A businessman has no right to complain about taxes and bad government unless he is willing to do something about it."

Before he could think of a convincing excuse, Mr. Marlowe found himself drafted. The nominating committee was unanimous in its recommendation and the board of directors was unanimous in its vote upon the association's new president.

Not once during the following twelve months did the association have cause to regret its choice. To its new president the association came first, even before his own business.

Meanwhile, the charter commission was devoting its time and energies to a study of Richmond's government and to the drafting of a new charter, which it filed with hustings court on May 2, 1947.

Even before the judge of hustings court could announce that the proposed charter would be voted upon on November 4, 1947, Richmond's entrenched politicians served notice that they intended to use whatever means was within their power to stop the movement for a change in Richmond's government. Early in June they consolidated their forces and adopted a name as cumbersome and befuddling as the charter they were fighting to retain. They called themselves the "Organization for the Preservation of Our Democratic Form of Government."

Politicians Object

The City Democratic Committee fired its first shot in a resolution:

> The City Democratic Committee of Richmond, having carefully considered the move now in full swing for the establishment of a city manager for Richmond and also for a nonpartisan council, takes this occasion to express its unequivocable opposition.
>
> The Democratic party has been responsible for the city government for nearly a hundred years and has given the city a government that is efficient and without corruption. We feel that our party can continue to carry on in the future in the same way and to that end we pledge ourselves.
>
> The insidious attempt to gain control of the city we regard as a reversion to old discarded things, to the dictatorship of a few who are to hold irresponsible power. We call upon all true Democrats to defeat at the polls this most undemocratic proposal.

This time the association knew it had a real fight on its hands. Step number one was to get the best general campaign chairman available.

Mr. Marlowe went to his old friend Ed P. Phillips, one of Richmond's most dynamic businessmen and the most outstanding leader in the association's 1946 campaign. Knowing what lay ahead, he was hard to convince. He ran through all the usual excuses of why he couldn't accept the responsibility and then said that his health wouldn't stand it.

Marlowe immediately telephoned his own doctor and made an appointment—not for himself but for Phillips. He took Phillips to the doctor and said: "Give him a thorough physical and let me know if he's in condition to run our campaign for us."

The unique procedure took Phillips so much by surprise that before he knew it he was saying "Ah," having his blood pressure taken and submitting to thumps and listenings at various sections of his anatomy. His examination completed, the doctor pronounced: "It not only won't hurt him. It will do him good."

Having received this verdict, Mr. Phillips accepted the post and immediately dug into a work schedule which would have killed a lesser man. During the four-month period, July through October 1947, he devoted from fourteen to sixteen hours a day to the campaign.

As practical businessmen with the well established habit of success, Marlowe and Phillips decided that, first of all, they had to know personally all about their "product" and by what methods others had "sold" it. They hopped a plane for New York and spent half a day at the office of the National Municipal League. From there they went to Hartford, where a successful campaign for a manager plan charter had recently been waged. Then, as they said later, they went back home and "packaged" the product.

A city-wide central campaign committee was assembled, with representatives of many organizations and groups; a special finance committee was organized to raise funds necessary to support the campaign; charts and files were prepared dividing the entire city into areas, precincts, sec-

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tions and blocks so that specific volunteer workers could later be assigned to call on every home; leaders were appointed to supervise the personal contact program; a public relations committee, with subcommittees, was organized to handle radio, newspaper, billboard, pamphlet, showcard and other promotional details; business, civic and patriotic organizations throughout the city were invited to join with the association in a coordinated effort; a speakers bureau was established to furnish the best qualified speakers to appear at meetings, debates, round tables and broadcasts; telephone committees were organized to call every home in the city to remind citizens to get out and vote; direct mail explaining the provisions of the proposed charter was sent to a majority of the homes in the city; a banner was strung across one of the principal thoroughfares; jingles were composed and recorded for use on the radio and sound trucks. In short, there were few possibilities overlooked.

Most amazing was the fact that the association was able to bring together on a common front the city's leading representatives of business, the Chamber of Commerce, the Junior Chamber of Commerce, the C. I. O., the A. F. of L., the League of Women Voters, the Junior League, Housewives League, Democrats, Republicans and other groups.

The City Democratic Committee, which had hastened to be the first to condemn the proposed charter, soon found that it could not make a party issue of the question and that many Democratic leaders were on the other side of the fence. This merely added fuel to the fire. The "old liners" fought with every weapon they could find. Their speakers variously accused the charterites of being "big interests," the "silk stocking crowd," "communists," "fascists," and "reactionaries." Dr. J. Fulmer Bright, former mayor of Richmond for sixteen years, called the Citizens Association "Richmond's Tammany Hall." Jesse M. Johnson, opposition chairman, charged that the Richmond Charter Commission had "out-communized the Communist party."

Victory at Last!

By election day there were few residents of Richmond who were not personally in the thick of the fight. This time 29,672 qualified voters—the largest number ever to vote in a municipal election—went to the polls, 21,567 of them to vote in favor of the charter drafted by the commission.

Despite this decisive vote the opposition again waged a bitter fight against the proposed charter when it was introduced into the 1948 Virginia General Assembly as House Bill Number 1. Led by Archie C. Berkeley, chairman of the City Democratic Committee, and former State Senator John J. Wicker, Jr., they fought it in committee and on the floor of both houses. After almost a month and a half of debate and delay the bill was approved by the General Assembly with only a few minor changes.

The old charter which Richmond has tossed into the ash can provided for a bicameral council of 32 members elected by wards, 20 serving on a common council and twelve on a board of aldermen. Although popularly referred to as a "strong mayor" type, the old government did not merit this designation in the eyes of most authorities in the municipal field because of hopelessly overlapping administrative authority and responsibility.

Richmond's new charter has streamlined the city's legislature to a single body of nine members, elected at large. This council is given the responsibility of establishing policy but must leave administration in the hands of a city manager whom it appoints. Although the manager may be removed at any time by the council, the charter draws a sharp line between legislation and administration. Just to keep it out of political mischief, the charter makes the entire council subject to re-election each two years.

The new basic law also provides:

A personnel system with provision for uniform classification, merit rating and pay plans;

A rigid system of budgeting with separate budgets required for each utility, a compulsory balanced budget and elimination of an old, much misused 5 per cent reserve fund;

Payment of all bonds within the probable life of the improvement, with a maximum term of 30 years;

A referendum on any bond issue upon a petition signed by 10 per cent of the voters of the city;

Appointment of all department heads, except the city attorney, by the city manager;

Two new departments—a department of personnel and a department of recreation and parks;

A new bureau of traffic safety in the department of public safety;

Appointment of judges of municipal courts by the judges of the courts of record instead of having them elected by council;

Appointment, instead of election, of justices of the peace and the high constable;

Payment of justices of the peace on a salary rather than a fee basis;

Establishment of a new traffic court.

Plan in Operation

To serve on its first nine-man council and to establish policy under its new form of government, the voters of Richmond, on June 8, 1948, elected nine men who had publicly supported the charter change. Eight of the nine were endorsed by the Richmond Citizens Association.

Thus, during a period of two years, Richmond's electorate has on six occasions decisively stood with the association: first, in petitioning for a referendum on the charter question; second, in voting for a study of and probable change in Richmond's charter; third, in electing a charter commission recommended by the association; fourth, in voting for the adoption of the commission's proposed charter; fifth, in insisting that the Virginia General Assembly enact the proposed charter into state law; sixth, in electing eight out of nine candidates for city council endorsed by the association.

What's happened to Mr. Phillips, the reluctant campaign chairman? Oh, he was elected president of the Richmond Citizens Association and says he never felt better in his life.

Good Charter, Better City

Yonkers, seared by political scandal of decade ago, goes forward with manager plan and fair election methods.

By **OXIE REICHLER***

YONKERS is getting a good press around the nation these days, and it is the result of vast improvement in its municipal government and the alertness of its citizens. The National Municipal League, for instance, recently published a revised edition of *The Story of the Council-Manager Plan,* in which it says:

"Yonkers Shows How

"When the new manager and P.R.-elected council took over the government of Yonkers, New York, (population 142,000) in 1940, they inherited a large debt and a large smell from the previous administration. . . .

"Departmental expenditures were cut from nearly $10,000,000 in 1939 to slightly over $7,000,000 in 1944. But in the same period assessed valuations were brought down by $17,000,000, and the tax levy was pared by almost $1,000,000. Notwithstanding these economies, services were improved.

"A greatly inflated payroll of 3,619 employees was reduced by about 1,000, mainly by not filling vacancies. One of the biggest patronage beds was the water extension bureau, which had 120 employees listed for work that the city manager found could be done by four persons. Later the bureau was abolished.

"These gains were scored despite bitter-end opposition from the two major political parties, often working together. For the first two and a half years progress was slow because the government was captured by a bi-party coalition.

"In 1942 both parties attacked the charter with simultaneous referenda to kill proportional representation. Each proposition lost by two-to-one. A real factor in this victory for the voters was the civic leadership of the Yonkers *Herald Statesman,* a newspaper that rates city affairs as page one news, and the manager plan and P. R. as worth fighting for."

Yonkers has earned such a glowing tribute (which really is only a small part of the story) by digging out of the mess and by trying hard to hold on to its gains and to move still further onward and upward in civic achievement.

Fifteen years ago Yonkers was regarded as one of the worst-governed among America's first hundred cities. It was in the clutches of political machines. It had to get down on its knees to borrow money.

Today—after nearly nine years under a streamlined council-manager charter with the proportional representation method of electing its councilmen—it is widely regarded as one of the well governed cities in America. Banking syndicates outbid each other in their eagerness to invest in the city.

Under the leadership of a common

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*Mr. Reichler is the hard-hitting editor of the Yonkers *Herald Statesman,* whose crusade for better government has been a major force in Yonkers' civic renaissance.

council that represents the positive preferences of 97.2 per cent of the electorate and under an aggressive new city manager, Thomas V. Kennedy, Yonkers has just concluded the biggest street resurfacing program in recent history, is spending a million dollars a year to catch up on long postponed school repairs.

Public criticism of prior paving contracts was eliminated by publicizing in advance the safeguards that would be used to prevent loss to the city. Every project was personally checked by the city manager.

Efficiency Sought

Every municipal department has been surveyed and many changes are under way for economy and efficiency. Recommendations of the manager include collection of ashes and garbage by contract, merger of parks and recreation departments, closing of a city hospital for communicable diseases and the city museum. Projects under way include incineration and parking meter expansion.

Promptness among employees has attained new importance, with signing in and out plus a permanent record for personnel attendance at work, for use in sick leave grants.

Department heads meet regularly for over-all coordination. Prepurchase control has been inaugurated, requiring prior approval by the manager or his assistant for each purchase or requisition, thus limiting nonessential purchases and decreasing emergency purchases.

Price tags are placed on all projects advocated by the common council, the general public or submitted by the manager, thus also limiting adoptions where cost is out of proportion to the project's desirability.

Revision of all insurance policies and bonds is under way for economy. By a series of letters to the council, the manager has informed both officials and public of the status of city finances together with recommendations for improvement.

Physical examinations have been inaugurated for all personnel in the public works department and chronic absentees have been discharged.

Confronted with heavy inflationary pressures and skyrocketing payroll costs, Mr. Kennedy is seeking to obtain council support for the levying of new taxes—other than real estate—to increase the city's revenues.

As its editor, I am proud to say that *The Herald Statesman* has had a great deal to do with effecting the improvement in government. It provided a lot of information in interesting and absorbing form. It helped to clarify problems by printing many facts—some of them very ugly. It encouraged readers to exercise civic energy, to speak their minds and to write their opinons in the paper, where all could share them.

In premanager days, when the paper discovered what seemed to be purchasing scandals, for instance, it began publishing each day an itemized list showing every municipal purchase. That data soon had a grand jury very busy.[1]

When the proposed new charter was put before the voters it published a series of simply stated questions and answers, which are still a civics textbook in our schools.

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[1] See also "Local Press as Civic Force," the REVIEW, April 1947, pages 184-188.

The Herald Statesman offered leadership in exposing the true condition of the city's finances. It first revealed a five-million-dollar deficit in a single year! It first disclosed gambling and election scandals. Some of the "situations" of those precouncil-manager days are still being uncovered.

City in the Mire

When I came to Yonkers nineteen years ago, I found new schools that were crumbling, and a brand new city health center that was put up with the wrong kind of steel and had to be torn down and rebuilt.

I saw Dutch Schultz run a brewery a block from the city's principal business sector, with the help of important politicians, watched him fortify the building with machine guns and order police and milkmen off the streets. I saw miles of fire hose stretched in filthy sewers—to carry illegal beer to convenient drops around the city.

I saw a city that was mired in troubles, unable to pay its employees, obliged to administer deep paycuts, to close the schools. Scrip was used to pay merchants. It was next to impossible to borrow money for public purposes.

There was refinancing of the city's debts—by new huge borrowing at 6 per cent interest. There was more borrowing—year by year—to "hold down the tax rate." Lavish spending, vast waste, political patronage continued unabated.

By that time—thanks to a small group of residents who also had the warm cooperation of *The Herald Statesman*—a movement was under way to seek relief by a modern, businesslike charter.

We won the right to a referendum on what New York calls Plan C[2]—which had failed in 1925. The administration in power refused to let the people vote on it at the regular election and set a special election two weeks later. That was in 1936 and it failed. Again, in 1937, there was a failure.

Then an amendment to the home rule law, permitting cities to amend their charters, was adopted by the New York State legislature in 1938, and that year Yonkers was the first city to take advantage of it.

It adopted an amendment providing not only for council-manager government but also for the proportional representation method of electing the council. The city has kept both. Efforts by both the Republican and Democratic machines to repeal P. R. have been defeated in landslides.

Samuel Johnson said that "to improve the golden moment of opportunity, and catch the good that is within our reach, is the great art of life." Yonkers did just that!

We had our troubles, of course. Council-manager government is no absolute panacea! It is another way—usually a better one—of carrying on a city's housekeeping. The responsibility of the people to elect first-class councilmen is not decreased. It is increased.

If dishonest councilmen are elected, the council-manager form may permit even greater abuses than any other plan—because of the peculiar concentration of power. But if there is an interested citizenship, which elects a dependable council, you get astonishingly excellent benefits.

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[2] Optional law providing the council manager plan.

That is one reason why proportional representation is such a valuable companion piece of council-manager government. It lets the people nominate and elect councilmen, taking the power away from the political machines. It allows what Abraham Lincoln advocated, "Government of the people, by the people, and for the people." It also lets the minority have representation on the council in accordance with its proportionate strength. In Yonkers the Democratic party, which has about 40 per cent of the vote, gets 40 per cent of the council. Our Democratic leaders concede that, if we did not have P. R., they would be locked out of the government entirely.

How did the idea get going?

Civic Endeavors

There were a number of things. There were informative newspaper articles in great abundance. There were editorials offering suggestions and giving inspiring examples from other communities.

There were some lively taxpayer organizations and an organization where they pooled their ideas and talents—the Council of Yonkers Civic Associations—where the seed of council-manager government was planted and germinated under fiery leadership.

There came the emergence of Edith P. Welty, housewife and grandmother, who stumbled out of the elation of winning a debate on city manager government into examining her own city—plunging her actively into the fascinating field of local government. She has been a foremost exponent of municipal reform. She was elected to the first council-manager common council and she has been reelected ever since. The political machines fear her more than anything else or anybody else in town.

Mrs. Welty helped organize the women of the city into all kinds of small groups—clubs, socials, bridge groups—all part of a "Wake Up Yonkers" drive that sprouted so rapidly and so efficiently that old-fashioned politicians rubbed their eyes in wonderment and disbelief. They have learned that valuable lesson: Never underestimate the power of a woman!

There was a vigorous pro-charter group, called the City Manager League, which was ever ready to breathe fire and brimstone down the necks of those who steal elections and loot the public treasury. It was competently led by Horace M. Gray, a New York admiralty lawyer.

There was a splendid governmental research group, called the Committee of 100, led by James H. Moseley, industrialist, which began using its talents to pry into accounts and procedures at city hall and to lay bare the details of mismanagement and dereliction. In teamwork with the newspaper, its work was effective beyond words. Even the people it exposed and criticized invariably commended its high standards of procedure, its insistence upon justice and fairness, its willingness to present all sides of any case.

The top leadership, however, rarely if ever totaled more than 40 persons, but they were people who had public confidence and therefore support.

Both the City Manager League and the Committee of 100 have now passed from the picture, and a new Yonkers Municipal League is seeking to take the place of both and build a wider and more comprehensive good government advocacy, with a large membership.

Meanwhile, an extraordinary program of women's participation in registration and election is being organized this fall with perhaps as many as 7,000 women enlisted by election day. A long series of teas has been held in every part of the city, each woman agreeing to hold a tea for others of her neighborhood, with a massing of effort on the part of this large feminine contingent to "get out the vote" If the kill-P.R. referendum to be voted on at the November election fails, it may be due to this group's announced determination to save the P. R. form of voting.

Some Achievements

We have made long strides forward in a great variety of fields, but the biggest achievements are these two. First, we have enhanced our own self-respect as a community of civic-minded individuals. We have demonstrated that we can have what we want, and that we can have decent government because we demand it. Second, we have achieved substantial national recognition of our efforts. People see Yonkers as a crucible of good government, where the good people are in triumph.

Eight years ago the city's bonded debt totaled $34,000,000. It was the highest per capita debt of any city of our size in America. Today that debt has been reduced to about $19,000,000.

Since that debt is, in effect, a prior lien or charge against the home and property of every citizen, its reduction has increased correspondingly the value of every home and of every property.

Eight years ago the city had a current deficit of several million dollars. Merchants who sold supplies to the city were unpaid for years. Today there is no current deficit. Bills are paid currently and even discounted. The city's current account is on a full cash basis for the first time in history, and it is in the black in current operation for the first time in many years.

Eight years ago the tax rate was $3.97 per $100 of valuation. Today, when tax rates for most other cities are going up, it is $3.71 per $100. Taxes in Yonkers are lower than in any other major city in Westchester County.

In other years city employees—including school teachers—were forced to work under salary cuts. Today all salary cuts have been restored. In addition, raises and increments have been given in an equitable revision of the entire city salary scheme, increasing the average income of city employees by over $300. Cost-of-living adjustments, amounting to $300 per employee this year, also have been paid for several years.

Teachers now are working under a new single-salary schedule, which they have advocated for years, and which will improve their salary scales by an annual amount of over half a million dollars.

Thus, while aggregate bonded debt,

short-term debt and current deficit have been reduced by a total of around $24,000,000 in the last eight years of council-manager government, during that same period the tax rate has decreased 26 points and the wages of employees have increased about 22.8 per cent if the cost-of-living adjustments are included.

This record graphically explains —in dollars and cents—why Yonkers, which fifteen years ago had to pay 6 per cent interest when it was lucky enough to be able to borrow money on bonds, today is able to sell its bonds easily at an interest rate of 1.38 per cent. We borrow short-term money at one-quarter of one per cent interest.

Finances in Good Shape

Here is what Dun & Bradstreet has to say:

"Yonkers' financial situation and prospects are the best in many years. While the debt load is still moderately heavy, direct net debt has been reduced 43 per cent from 1940 through 1946 and, despite rapid maturity, annual debt service declines steadily from the present level, which is well below peak.

"The current account is on a full cash basis for the first time in a long period, and the city is clearing up its delinquent tax situation effectively under *in rem* procedure.

"The present administration is giving strong support to good government and sound fiscal policies."

Such a recommendation, circulated widely, is priceless. It speaks for itself.

Yonkers still has problems, of course. Serious ones! It must develop new sources of revenue to meet the rising costs of municipal housekeeping. But it is taking the lead in developing such sources. New industries are coming into the city and a fifteen-million-dollar brand new shopping center is under construction, with a huge John Wanamaker department store as a keystone.

We are streamlining our government for economy and efficiency and for improved services. We are getting ready to do some substantial spending on highways, on schools and on other matters that have been neglected during the depression and the war.

We are liquidating our city-owned real estate, which is a major problem —one of the legacies of shabby government. We are taking title to 7,500 parcels of real estate valued at over $10,000,000 and making plans to put back these properties into private hands, so they can earn their way by paying taxes.

For all the gratifying changes, we have to thank the council-manager charter with proportional representation.

PERIODICAL DEPT

School for City Managers

Maine, leading all states in number of communities with plan, combines academic work with on-the-job training.

By **EDWARD F. DOW***

AMONG city managers it is well known that the state of Maine leads in the number of communities operating under the manager plan. Auburn, Maine, came into the manager system in 1918 and, as of July 1948, there were 92 Maine cities and towns governed by a manager and council. Over half these communities have adopted the plan since 1942.

A favorable climate for professional manager training was thus provided when veterans and their friends interested Governor Hildreth in the idea in 1945. It was suggested that the University of Maine had the best available facilities and President Arthur Hauck and the trustees agreed to have curricula set up. Professor Weston Evans, head of the department of civil engineering, has been especially helpful in devising and promulgating the joint curricula, and the faculties in arts and technology have cooperated fully in administering the programs and assisting students.

The University of Maine offers bachelor's and master's degrees in "public management." Its "state and federal" option centers in public administration and does not differ greatly from work given in many colleges. This work includes internships in state agencies and plans are under way for a more extensive use of the intern program in cooperation with the governor, the Maine personnel board and state department heads. Emphasis thus far has been upon the "city manager" option and only a few students are enrolled in the state and federal curriculum.

In the city manager option students receive the benefit of the usual arts or engineering subjects and, in addition, they get large doses of material aimed at a judicious combination of the theory and practice of city and town management.

Assume that a high ranking arts student desires to come into the program. He enters a somewhat rigid curriculum not later than his second year and must maintain high grades throughout the course. He must satisfy all the requirements of the college in English, sciences, foreign languages, etc., and complete such subjects as drafting, mathematics, surveying, statistics and accounting. He also begins his studies in American national government, state and

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*Dr. Dow is professor of government and head of the department of history and government at the University of Maine, and author and director of the training program of which he writes. He is also director of the annual New England Managers' Training Institute and aided in initiating a training school for Maine tax asssessors. Dr. Dow is a member of a seven-man committee studying the Maine tax system as it affects local government, of the advisory committee of the Maine Municipal Association and of the state Y. M. C. A. committee which sponsors the model state legislature. He is co-author of *City Manager Government in Portland, Maine,* and contributor to numerous periodicals and encyclopædias.

local government, municipal government and administration. In his junior and senior years he takes courses in elementary and advanced highway engineering, sanitary engineering, public finance, public administration, constitutional law, personnel management, etc.

Before he receives his degree the student must carry out three months of satisfactory work in the office of a city manager. This "internship" includes full time work at a variety of projects, including a major problem on which about half his time is concentrated. The community pays him a small weekly wage, which the federal government supplements with subsistence payments if he is a veteran. He turns in a weekly written report to his major instructor and writes a summary paper at the end of three months. If his work is satisfactory, he receives college credit.

At least once during the program the director of interns, Edward F. Dow, visits each community, interviews the manager and inspects the results of the intern's work.

Managers Aid Program

Managers in Maine and New Hampshire have been most generous of their time and effort in the intern phase of the curriculum. Interns are encouraged to attend the annual in-service training institute for managers, inaugurated at the University of Maine in the summer of 1946. The first of such manager training courses in the country, the New England Managers' Training Institute is the result of cooperation of the university with the Maine Town and City Managers' Association and the International City Managers' Association, acting upon a suggestion of Clarence E. Ridley, executive secretary of the latter organization. At the institutes interns become acquainted with managers as well as with their day-to-day problems.

An undergraduate civil engineering student in the College of Technology may elect a similar curriculum, including identical intern training and attendance at the managers' institute. His program differs from that of the arts college student in its greater emphasis upon engineering subjects. He fulfills all the requirements for a bachelor of science degree in civil engineering, plus the "city manager option for civil engineers," which includes courses in accounting and government. At the conclusion of his undergraduate program he may become a candidate for a master of arts degree in public management on the same footing as an arts college graduate.

The master's degree in public management, open to students of high attainment who have fulfilled either the civil engineering or arts requirements as outlined above, requires at least a year of college study in advanced courses in government, economics and engineering, plus a second period of internship of three months, and a satisfactory thesis and oral examination.

The thesis is written on the basis of an assigned research topic dealing with an actual problem of zoning, housing, highway planning, budget planning, purchasing, etc.

Full appraisal of the results of these curricula must wait upon greater experience. The university recognizes that there are dangers, and has made and will continue to make changes in curricula and methods of teaching as weak spots appear.

The first student in city management to become a manager was Paul Hermann of Brookline, Massachusetts. Leaving the Navy with the rank of senior lieutenant in 1945, he returned to Bowdoin College to receive his B. S. degree with a major in government in February 1946. Hermann was given the first internship in city management in Maine at Houlton. He served as assistant to Woodbury Brackett, city manager, from March through August 1946. His major project was preparation of traffic and zoning ordinances for Houlton, which were subsequently adopted by the town council.[1] Mr. Hermann entered the University of Maine in September 1946 as a candidate for the Master's Degree and completed the required courses in engineering and government in June 1947. That month he became the first town manager of Bethel, Vermont, where he is now located.

Veterans Receive Appointments

Four World War II veterans graduated in June 1948 and are serving as managers.

Albert Gray, Jr., a graduate of Ohio University, is in Meredith, New Hampshire, where he was appointed the first town manager in May. Another May appointee is Allen L. Torrey, ex-air force pilot who, at 25, is one of the youngest managers in the United States. He serves in Lancaster, New Hampshire, a town of about 3,100. Torrey served an internship in 1947 in Ellsworth, Maine, with Manager Charles A. Haynes. His special project was a tax revaluation survey of land values in the business area but he assisted in a variety of projects. He was the subject of a feature article in the *Boston Post Magazine* of July 4, 1948.

Earl A. White is the fifth manager of Belfast, Maine, a charming old city which has operated under the plan since 1929. Thomas Libby of South Portland, Maine, became manager of the town of Oakland, Maine, in September after the resignation of the previous manager. He served internships in Bangor, Maine, in 1947 and 1948, with his interests concentrated on establishment of a central purchasing system.

A fifth veteran, Merle Goff of Westbrook, Maine, served his internship in Portland with City Manager Lyman S. Moore. His special study was in purchasing procedures and his work was so highly regarded that he was invited to spend the summer of 1948 in Portland as assistant to the planning engineer. He is now in Detroit where he has a Volker Fellowship at Wayne University. He looks forward to entering the manager profession.

Nine other interns served this summer, two of them under Philip White in Claremont, New Hampshire. Projects ranged from an administrative code to a highway plan. Managers are enthusiastic in their praise of the work these interns accomplish in a brief twelve or thirteen weeks, and the demand for their services thus far exceeds the supply. Approximately 50 undergraduates and graduate students are enrolled in the city manager curricula this fall.

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[1] Houlton operates under a charter and the council has power to enact ordinances, an authority usually reserved to the town meeting in New England towns.

Students Limited

Limitations on the number of students admitted to the city manager curricula are dictated by teaching facilities and job prospects. The requirements are so rigorous that a flood of applicants is not anticipated. Of course, it is evident that not all graduates will become or remain managers. The course is not so highly specialized as to preclude entry into business pursuits or professions such as law. It is anticipated that graduates may become city engineers, research men, finance officers, tax consultants, personnel directors or administrative assistants in government or business. It is our hope that a majority of these able and intelligent young men will enter some phase of public service after receiving their diplomas.

CORRUPT BUT NOT CONTENTED

(Continued from page 479)

This same spirit and determination must be implanted in the minds of those who occupy city hall. They must be made to realize that a public office is a public trust. The merit system and governmental reorganization will help but the real solution may be found in the people's selection of dynamic and capable leaders.

No one questions the fact that much good has been accomplished as the result of the 1948 investigations. But the genuine long-range test, by which it will be determined whether Philadelphia is to continue "corrupt and contented," is yet to come.

It is to be hoped that the Committee of Fifteen will not be abolished at the end of 1948 and that civic leaders will not terminate their efforts with the achievement of a few worthwhile, but relatively minor, objectives. Indeed, there are many who now insist that the people of Philadelphia will refuse to let the curtain fall.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Municipal Leagues Mark Golden Anniversaries

Addition of Maryland Brings Official City Groups to 42

FOUR state leagues of municipalities have announced the celebration of their 50th anniversaries this year. The Michigan Municipal League met at Mackinac Island on September 8-11; the League of California Cities held its sessions at Long Beach September 19-22. Plans are under way for the 50th annual convention of the League of Iowa Municipalities at Des Moines October 13-14 and for the League of Wisconsin Municipalities at Milwaukee November 18-19.

These four leagues led in the formation of state organizations of cities. All but six states now have such groups functioning, Maryland having just been added to the list. The number of cities, towns and villages that are league members now exceeds 9,300.

The Maryland League of Municipalities, dormant since 1940, was revived officially on September 18 at a meeting of mayors and city councilmen held at the University of Maryland. Officers were elected, a new constitution adopted, and a schedule of dues for member cities agreed upon. The secretariat of the revived league was established in connection with the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Maryland.

Ohio Leagues Merge

The Association of Ohio Municipalities has recently been formed as a merger of the League of Ohio Municipalities and the Ohio Association of Cities. The Toledo *Blade,* in discussing the intermittent effort to obtain fair treatment for cities in the Ohio legislature, says, "The formation of a single association of municipalities to seek a better financial deal from the state and, it is to be hoped, a fairer representation in the legislature, should strengthen the movement."

The association is without authority to collect dues from member cities, and has to be financed by city officials personally. Efforts are expected to be made either to obtain such power from the legislature or to secure a court decision validating payment of dues by cities out of public funds, as has recently happened in Arizona (see the September REVIEW, page 439).

The Association of Washington Cities is holding a series of 21 regional meetings throughout the state, extending from September 8 to October 29. Each comprises a dinner followed by a discussion meeting.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

Voters of **Charleston County, South Carolina,** (121,105) adopted the county manager plan on September 14 by a three-to-one vote.[1]

The city council of **North Sacramento, California,** (3,053) decided September 13 on a manager type of administration and appointed a manager by unanimous vote. He will have the title of city administrator and is reported to have been given authority over department heads.

Many civic leaders in **Burlington, Vermont,** are reported to favor the manager plan; and John C. Quill, president of the **Winooski** Civic League, advocates it for the latter city, stating that many of his fellow-citizens likewise favor the plan.

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[1] See also page 513, this issue.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Springfield, Massachusetts**, has prepared in semi-graphic form a rough comparison of that city's 96-year-old charter with the council-manager forms—Plans D and E—now available in Massachusetts.

Inquiry into the manager plan has been instituted in the town of **Seekonk, Massachusetts.**

Governor John O. Pastore of **Rhode Island** has recently approved the principle that the citizens of local communities should be allowed to decide their form of local government. The Rhode Island legislature last spring rejected four bills which would have enabled local electorates to decide for or against the council-manager plan.

A committee has been organized to study revision of the town charter of **Southington, Connecticut,** and to consider the manager plan.

In **Watertown, Connecticut,** strong interest in the town manager plan is evident. First Selectman Warren Parker is reported as urging the town to adopt "the representative form of town meetings and the council-manager form of government as the best solution to its problems and to keep progressively growing."

The city council of **Newburgh, New York,** by a three to two vote approved a local law providing that the city manager can be removed only for cause, after written charges and a public hearing. This law, however, is subject to a popular referendum in November.

Petitions for an election on the manager plan for **West New York, New Jersey,** were filed September 8. They have been circulated by the Citizens Non-Partisan League for the Adoption of Council-Manager Government.

The **Denville, New Jersey,** Good Government League has sponsored public discussion of the advantages of the council-manager plan.

Adoption of the council-manager plan is under consideration in **Lake Wales, Florida.** The Chamber of Commerce is aiding in popular education on the subject.

A citizens' committee in **Mansfield, Ohio,** is promoting the council-manager plan and studying various methods of obtaining it. It is opposed by political leaders of both parties who, however, indicate willingness that the people be permitted to vote on the question.

The citizens of **Sheffield, Alabama,** voted 917 to 603 to retain their commission form of government in preference to a council-manager plan.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Pineville, Kentucky,** is studying the manager plan as a chief objective this year.

Interest in the manager plan is being shown in **Oak Park, Illinois,** which has the village form of government despite a population of 66,000 and can adopt the manager plan by ordinance—a right denied Illinois cities.

Green Bay, Wisconsin, will have an election on the question of adopting the council-manager plan November 2.

A campaign for the manager plan is under way in **Monroe, Wisconsin,** supported by the *Evening Times.*

A committee of the League of Women Voters in **Iowa City, Iowa,** is studying the possibilities of the manager plan for that municipality.

Petitions have been circulated in **Beloit, Kansas,** calling for a November vote on the manager plan.

In **Poteau, Oklahoma,** three members of the city council have been urging a popular vote on adoption of the council-manager form of government, following a meeting, attended by the council and interested citizens, addressed by Charles F. Spencer, president of East Central State College. A citizens committee has been active in pushing the city manager idea for the last two years.

Beatrice, Nebraska, is expected to vote in the near future on adoption of the manager plan.

Alamo Heights, Texas, a suburb of San Antonio, rejected a home rule council-manager charter on August 28 by a vote of 1,108 to 533. Although reported to be favored by Mayor L. A. Douglas and a majority of the city council, the plan was bitterly opposed by the police and fire departments. The volunteer firemen's organization threatened to quit if the plan were adopted.

A group of citizens in **Texas City, Texas,** aided by the Texas City *Sun,* is advocating the manager plan.

A special election June 8, on adoption of the manager plan in **Sheridan, Wyoming,** resulted in defeat, 1,814 to 709.

It is expected that the people of **Phoenix, Arizona,** will vote in November on a new charter which retains the council-manager plan but strengthens the power of the city manager. Mayor Nicholas Udall has withdrawn his proposal for a strong-mayor charter.

Mayor C. W. Oliver of **St. Anthony, Idaho,** has expressed interest in the council-manager plan, saying that citizens of that municipality are considering a change to that form of government.

A campaign for the manager plan is under way in **Pocatello, Idaho.**

Mayor Edward Burton of **San Carlos, California,** urges the council-manager plan for his city, which has nearly doubled in population in ten years.

The city council of **Modesto, California,** has called a special election for November 2 to name a board of freeholders to draft a council-manager charter.

A proposed council-manager charter for **Corvallis, Oregon,** will be voted on at the November 2 general election.

Petitions have been filed in **Salem, Oregon,** calling for a popular vote on replacement of the council-manager plan by the commission plan—each of three commissioners to head a city department; one to act also as mayor. The Salem *Capital-Journal,* in an editorial, "There Are Some Who Would Have Chaos," denounces the proposed change.

The *Astorian-Budget,* of **Astoria, Oregon,** (a council-manager city) notes with approval the possibility that **Seaside, Oregon,** will adopt the manager plan.

In **Yakima, Washington,** a citizens group is seeking to change the city government from a three-man commission to a seven-man council employing a city manager.

The manager plan is under discussion in **Pasco** and **Kennewick, Washington.**

Nine city managers in the state of **Colorado** held a meeting in Boulder, August 20-22, to form a state organization.

Massachusetts Revamps Its Optional Manager Forms

The 1948 Massachusetts legislature has passed a bill, signed by the governor on June 3, which revamps the state's optional manager legislation available to all cities but Boston.[1]

In line with the wave of improvement in city government the legislature in 1915 (Chapter 267) made it possible for cities to choose one of four optional forms of government without resorting to legislative action. With the exception of Boston, through a prescribed procedure a city could choose between a strong-mayor type (Plan A), a weak-mayor type (Plan B), or adopt a more modern model in the form of either a commission (Plan C) or council-manager plan (Plan D).

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[1] For optional charters provided in 1948 for Boston see the REVIEW, July 1948, pages 382 and 396.

Practically all cities had forms approximating the weak-mayor or Plan B type. Plan C has never been adopted by any city in the state and Plan D proved so unworkable that its two adoptions were of short duration —Waltham from 1918 to 1922 and Fall River from 1929 to 1934.

Plan D provided that the mayor be elected by the people; he had no right to veto legislation, but voted with the council. The four councilmen were elected at large. The manager was chosen by the council to act as administrative head of all departments and was to hold office "at the pleasure of" the council.

Partly to correct the weaknesses of this earlier type of manager plan and partly to provide a manager plan which would incorporate the principles of proportional representation in the election of the council, Plan E was offered by the legislature in 1938 (Chapter 378) as a fifth option. This plan proved more acceptable and gained six adoptions: Cambridge in 1940, Lowell in 1942, with Revere, Quincy, Medford and Worcester voting in 1947 for adoption.

Plan E provides for a council of seven or nine, with the mayor chosen by the council from among its own members and acting as its chairman. The manager is appointed by the council and may be removed by it. However, unlike the earlier Plan D, upon removal by the council the manager may request a public hearing. This has not been put to a test, but it has raised many queries.

In 1947 a special legislative commission established to report on public expenditures handed in an omnibus report (House No. 1725) which among many other things suggested a scrapping of the old Plan D and a substitution of a new Plan D which would offer cities an option of a council-manager plan "essentially like Plan E but without the proportional representation feature, and with clarified provisions for the preparation and filing of petition." Two bills were accordingly introduced in the 1948 session of the legislature (Senate 129 and House 2052). A third bill was introduced later (House 2115) which embodied most of the features of the former House measure and was substituted for it. This was passed and signed by the governor.

The 1948 act provides: (1) for removal of some of the obstacles in the petition procedure of both plans D and E, *e.g.* the register of voters is to certify names on the petition instead of the clerk (old Plan D), a time limit is placed on the clerk's action, and complaints are handled more expeditiously; (2) in the case of Plan D the mayor is chosen by the council from among its number; no city will be without a mayor longer than fourteen days, for if the council fails to elect one of its number within that time (as in the case of Cambridge which required 1,321 ballots of many weeks running), the member receiving the highest number of popular votes becomes the mayor; (3) uniformity in the size of the council for both Plans D and E—either seven or nine; and (4) tenure for the manager in Plan D by requiring a statement of charges in writing for his removal, and a two-thirds vote of the council instead of a simple majority. Whether

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forces behind this latter provision wished to force reform or to make removal of the manager extremely difficult it will undoubtedly tend to retard adoptions, and calls for continuation in the 1949 session of the legislature of a fight to correct this measure in a manner similar to action being undertaken in New Jersey.[2]

LASHLEY G. HARVEY, *Director*
Bureau of Public Administration
Boston University

City Officials Constitute Civil Defense Committee

The American Municipal Association has appointed a fourteen-member committee to represent municipal government interests in the increasingly active preparations for civil defense. Mayor Eugene I. Van Antwerp of Detroit is chairman.

The committee will be concerned essentially with relationships among the federal, state and local governments on matters of civil defense, including the current recommendation that the National Guard be placed under direct jurisdiction of the army.

To avoid waste motion and conflict of authority a precise distinction between civil and military defense matters will be attempted, together with clear definitions and distinctions as to the interests and responsibilities for civil defense of the state on the part of the nation, the states and local governments.

An immediate concern of the committee will be to study the proposed organization plans for civil defense to be issued soon by the Office of Civil Defense Planning. The staff work for the committee will be done by a technical advisory committee.

Unless municipal interests are well represented, according to AMA president Fletcher Bowron, mayor of Los Angeles, there are four federal interests and activities that may leave municipal governments unprotected should any national emergency arise. They are: (1) the recommendation that the National Guard be completely nationalized; (2) the fact that police, fire and other employees belong to naval or army reserve forces; (3) the army's affiliated unit program; and (4) the work of the Office of Civil Defense Planning in the Department of National Defense. Local public services vital to civil defense—police, fire, health, hospitals, public works and utilities—might be severely crippled by federal activities pre-empting municipal man power in the absence of unified organization.

Public Services Improved by Intercity Cooperation

New projects in intergovernmental cooperation, ranging from joint financing of natural gas lines by Alabama cities to consolidation of public personnel services by three California cities, are reported by the American Municipal Association.

Atmore, Brewton and Flomaton, Alabama, acted jointly to provide natural gas services to their residents. In New Jersey 50 towns in the Hackensack River area are cooperating in an extensive sewer construction project.

In southern California, Alhambra, Arcadia, Azusa, Covina, El Monte, Monrovia, San Marino, Sierra Madre and West Covina have pledged cooperation to the Los Angeles air pollution control district in starting a regional cut-and-fill rubbish disposal operation pending construction of smokeless incinerators.

In the same state, Inglewood, Culver City and Gardena are planning to employ a personnel officer to serve all three cities. In the San Francisco Bay region, eight public personnel agencies recently conducted a joint pay survey, setting up unified job classification for their jurisdictions.

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[2] See the REVIEW, September, page 437.

Prairie du Sac and Sauk City, Wisconsin, are considering merging their police services.

Six Colorado Towns Form Recreation Association

Six municipalities in southeastern Colorado have gotten together to form a recreation association. They are Las Animas, La Junta, Fowler, Swink, Lamar and Rocky Ford.

Legislative Improvement Seen for Oklahoma

In view of increased salaries recently granted the members of the Oklahoma legislature by constitutional amendment a movement toward streamlining the legislative structure and procedure is in progress. The State Legislative Council has completed many of the basic studies, which are soon to be presented to the legislature, and prepared a bill-drafting manual. Size of standing committees, reduction in their number, pre-session training for legislative employees and the time limit for introduction of bills are among matters expected to be considered by legislators in the near future.

The salary amendment, adopted at the June 6 primary election, gives each legislator $15 per day during the sessions (not exceeding 75 legislative days) and $100 per month in intervening periods, as against prior compensation of $6 per session day, up to 60 days, and $2 per day thereafter.

Two other amendments were adopted on June 6. One permits counties to levy an additional mill per dollar of property valuation for separate (Negro) schools. Maximum tax levies for white schools had been increased 5 mills by a 1946 amendment. The other amendment places six existing state colleges under a state board of regents as is now the case with the state university and the state agricultural colleges.

Wisconsin Legislature Approves Housing Amendment

The Wisconsin legislature has approved a proposed constitutional amendment permitting the state to subsidize housing for veterans. According to the National Association of Housing Officials, some $8,000,000 was made available for this purpose by the legislature last year but is held up because the state supreme court ruled that the constitution bans expenditures for "internal improvements." The proposed amendment would exempt veterans' housing from the restriction. Before becoming effective it must be approved by the regular session of the legislature next year and then by Wisconsin voters, probably next April.

Employment by States Shows Large Increase

State government employment has reached an unprecedented level, according to a recent report by the Bureau of the Census, *State Employment in 1948,* based primarily on April 1948 data. The total number of state employees was given as 926,000, with a monthly payroll of $171,000,000. The payroll increased 22 per cent—$31,000,000—between April 1947 and April 1948. State employees increased 8 per cent in number during the same period.

Primarily because of cost-of-living and other pay adjustments, average monthly earnings of state employees rose from $163 per employee in April 1947 to $185 in April 1948.

State governments accounted for almost half as many employees as the

(Continued on page 519)

Researcher's Digest . . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Bureaus Discuss Expenditures, Budgets

Concerned by Rising Costs and Increasing Services.

A LOOK at Michigan's Financial Future—July 1, 1948" is offered in a bulletin of the **Michigan Public Expenditure Survey,** Henry Steffens, director. Tables of estimated revenues and legislative appropriations point up the contention of the survey that Michigan may be entering another period of deficit financing similar to that of the depression years.

A five-year trend in local government expenditures has been prepared by the **Wyoming Taxpayers Association,** Percy F. Jowett, executive director. It consists of a series of tables reviewing past expenditures, with blanks for proposed budget figures for use at budget hearings.

Municipal revenues and expenditures of Kansas City since 1940, compared with those of other municipal governments of like size and with those occurring in the business world, have been analyzed in *Revenue and Expenditure Trends* (71 pages, charts, tables) by the **Department of Research and Information of Kansas City,** W. D. Brant, director. Rising costs of commodities, labor and services were cited as chief causes of increased expenditures.

The rising cost of government has become a cause of concern to the citizens of Phoenix, Arizona, where operating expenditures during the past six years have increased 84.4 per cent, according to *City of Phoenix, A True Story of How It Spends Your Money* (23 pages, tables, charts and appendix), issued by the **Arizona Tax Research Association,** S. A. Spear, managing director.

Progressive and effective budget administration, free from rigid bureaucratic controls, is discussed and evaluated in *Budget Administration in the Tennessee Valley Authority,* by Donald C. Kull, published by the **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Tennessee,** Lee S. Greene, director, and the **Bureau of Research of the University's College of Business Administration,** Charles P. White, director.

The **Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy,** D. Benton Biser, director, has made its eighteenth annual survey of Baltimore City's financial condition. The sixteen-page report, principally tables, reveals that the city's situation at January 1, 1948, continued favorable, but the "commission found it necessary to sound a note of caution regarding further debt creation, pending substantial improvement in the taxable basis," according to the commission's news letter *Your Tax Dollar.* The news letter discusses the mayor's proposal for $50,700,000 of new loans for various purposes and raises the question of increasing costs of city government.

Budgets adopted by San Francisco, Los Angeles, Woonsocket, Buffalo and Providence are summarized respectively in the **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research** *Bulletin,* Alfred F. Smith, director; *For the Record,* news letter of **Los Angeles Government Research,** Ed F. Thompson, executive secretary; *Your Business,* a report by the **Woonsocket, Rhode Island, Taxpayers Association,** William H. Cunningham, executive director; *Just a Moment,* **Buffalo Municipal Re-**

search Bureau, George G. Sipprell, managing director; and **Providence Governmental Research Bureau** leaflet.

Research Brevities, published by the **Research Department of the Taunton Association of Commerce,** in three of its recent numbers explores the mounting cost of municipal government as reflected in a four-year appraisal of the city budgets and explains a six-year plan for long-range improvement already adopted by nineteen Massachusetts municipalities as an essential part of their financial programs and now under consideration in Taunton.

Taking Stock

A recent *Newsletter* of the **Pennsylvania Economy League's Western Division,** Leslie J. Reese, director, is entitled "Taking Stock of the Cities, A Comparative Review of Twenty-four Western Pennsylvania Communities." On the basis of comparative statistics the review indicates that, although most of the cities had a good year in 1947, "the trend seems to point to more difficulties in more cities. Revenues were having a tight race with costs."

Another *Newsletter,* entitled "The Tax Rate Isn't Everything," declares that efficiency or true economy cannot be measured by the size of the budget or a change in the tax rate, that the success of local government depends upon the techniques which have been tried and proved in private business.

Research Brevities of the **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research** discusses the city's financial condition, noting that further property tax increases will be necessary in the near future. Another issue describes the amended New York State permissive local tax law and presents a table estimating returns from each tax under the law if it were applied by the Schenectady city or county government.

A citizens committee of the **Lake County Civic League,** of Waukegan, Illinois, under the chairmanship of J. E. Sams, has made and published its *Survey of the City of Waukegan* (53 pages). Walter R. L. Taylor, executive secretary of the league, made the survey for the committee with the assistance of Henry R. Malmquist.

The **Oklahoma Tax Commission's Research Division,** Ernest M. Black, director, has published a series of tables covering *State Payments to Local Units of Government by Purposes and Sources of Revenue, Fiscal Year 1934-5 Through 1946-7.*

Assessments, tax rates, property taxes, budgets and per capita taxes and budgets for New Mexico cities, towns and villages in 1947 are charted in the *Tax Bulletin* of the **Taxpayers Association of New Mexico,** Rupert F. Asplund, director.

The **Woonsocket Taxpayers Association,** in *Your Business,* calls attention to the immediate needs of that city—repairs on school buildings, sewers and streets, new fire fighting equipment, improvement of water supply and expansion of the municipal sewage treatment plant. Out of a postwar reserve fund for public improvements of $300,000, the bulletin points out, the city has appropriated $166,000 for a high school gymnasium which has not passed the blueprint stage. Aside from this, most of the money has been borrowed from the fund, leaving a balance of only $4,000. A system must be set up and adhered to, says the association, before Woonsocket can get public improvements.

The **Manchester, New Hampshire, Taxpayers Association,** John J. Gaines, executive secretary, recommends an 8 per cent cost of living salary adjustment for city employees—this despite increases amounting to 58 per cent from 1942 to 1947.

Legislative Council Reports and Other Useful Documents

Legislation before the Minnesota legislature is being studied and expedited by the **Legislative Research Committee** established by the 1947 legislature, Louis C. Dorweiler, Jr., research director. Progress reports are issued by the committee.

One such report is a 33-page mimeographed study, with tables and a statistical appendix, on *Veterans' Preference in Minnesota,* exploring "the effect of those provisions of the civil service laws of the state of Minnesota relating to veterans' preference as applied to state and local government," and comparing the veterans' preference provisions of other states.

The **Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research,** Harold L. Henderson, executive director, presents a thorough study of the bonus issue in *Proposed Soldiers' Bonus in Minnesota.* The report points out that a majority of the 48 states did not pay a soldiers' bonus for either world war[1] but offer special benefits to veterans such as tax exemptions, preference for governmental jobs, etc., while the federal program of special benefits is unequalled in liberality by any other nation. The voters of Minnesota must decide in November whether to pay a veterans' bonus for World War II.

The magnitude of the federal government program of benefits to veterans of World War II is illustrated by the fact that it will spend in 1946-50 more than $1,400 per veteran. In the first four years after World War I the federal government spent about $400 per veteran. The **Tax Foundation,** Alfred Parker, assistant director, presents these and other significant facts in *Cash Bonuses for Veterans, A State by State Analysis,* covering both federal and state costs.

The **Oklahoma Legislative Council,** H. V. Thornton, research consultant, has issued the following additional reports of its constitutional survey: *Institutions and Institutional Control in Oklahoma,* by Bill Ingler, a supplement to *A Handbook on Executive and Administrative Agencies in Oklahoma; Legislative Organization and Procedure,* Part A: A Statistical Study, Part B: Bicameralism versus Unicameralism, by H. V. Thornton and Betty Quinlan; and *Legislative Apportionment in Oklahoma,* by H. V. Thornton and William Brandenburg.

The **Research Department of the Kansas Legislative Council,** F. H. Guild, director, has issued a *Progress Report of the Council,* reviewing its work as a clearing house for ideas on current legislative problems, research for the proper consideration of such problems, and reports to the legislature and to the general public.

A report of the Subcommittee on Apprenticeship Councils of the **Nebraska Legislative Council,** Roger V. Shumate, director of research, considers the desirability of a regular system of training apprentices and concludes that the program might better be left to voluntary cooperation than be placed under a state apprenticeship council. Another report, from the Subcommittee on Agriculture, deals with the legal status and financial support of agricultural associations and with agricultural research.

A factual *Survey of Power and Industrial Facilities in Southern Nevada* is presented in a 22-page booklet of the **Nevada Legislative Council Bureau,** J. E. Springmeyer, legislative counsel.

"As modern as tomorrow and as old-fashioned as the whiskers that adorned the faces of her early-day governors, Nevada is a topsy-turvey compound of contrasts." This is the opening sentence in a breezey yet fact-crammed 405-page book, *A Survey of the Functions of the Offices, Departments, Institutions and Agencies of the State of Nevada and What They Cost,* prepared for the Nevada bureau by the late legislative counsel, Frank Helmick. With "no intention of making this a snooping expedition," the counsel presents recommendations for improvement in every department as well as factual information. For example, duplication involving motor vehicle owners so that "a motorist now must go to the highway department to get his driver's license and to the secretary of state for his auto license plates and record his certificate of ownership with a brief stopover at the county assessor's office en route," is condemned. Chapter head's state briefly the purpose of each section, *e.g.*: "Lieutenant Governor, a report on the duties of the second in command of the state's government, with a description of his work while he stands by awaiting the time when the governor leaves the confines of the state or resigns."

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[1] See page 517, this issue.

A recent Research Report of the **Utah Foundation,** Henry R. Pearson, director, outlines the activities, organization and expenditures of the Utah State Department of Agriculture.

Recreation Administration in New Mexico, by Dorothy I. Cline and K. Peterson Rose, "undertaken with the primary purposes of taking stock of what the state of New Mexico is doing now in recreation, and staking out the job that lies ahead," has been published by the **Division of Research of the Department of Government, University of New Mexico,** Jack E. Holmes, acting director.

A Report on the Department of Public Welfare of the State of Maryland has been issued by the **Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy,** D. Benton Biser, director.

"California acquired a fiscal 'new look'" in its first annual "budget" session of the legislature in March, with an increase of $278,000,000 over last year's budget, according to the *Report on the 1948 Regular (Budget) Session of the California Legislature* prepared by the **State and Local Government Department of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce,** Ruth E. Meilandt, manager. The report includes a summary of major legislation.

A selected list of references on *General Constitutional Revision in the States,* covering the period 1937-1947, has been compiled by Ione E. Dority, chief librarian and research associate, **Bureau of Government, University of Michigan,** R. S. Ford, director.

Intergovernmental Fiscal Dealings and Controls

The **Legislative Reference Bureau of the University of Hawaii** has published *Governmental Expenditures in Hawaii* by Robert M. Kamins, research associate, showing how governmental and territorial expenditures have risen in Hawaii in the past several years and revealing the striking similarity of the pattern of territory-county expenditures in Hawaii to that of the states and their localities. Illustrative tables and figures accompany the report.

A report showing payments received from state government, either from "earmarked" or other special funds, by local units of governments for the years 1931-32 through 1946-47 has been prepared by the **Oklahoma Tax Commission, Research Division,** Ernest M. Black, director, with a compilation giving such payments by years, special funds, units of government, etc.

Division of Work between the Central and Local Governments and Rules for Grants-in-Aid' to Local Governments in Norway, Sweden, England and Wales, and Holland, by Kjeld Philip, published by the **Bureau for Research in Municipal Government, Harvard Graduate School of Public Administration,** Morris B. Lambie, director, is a translation of an opinion submitted in the summer of 1946 to the Danish Taxation Commission of 1937.

GRA Holds Conference in Chicago

The 1948 conference of the **Governmental Research Association** was held in Chicago at the Congress Hotel, September 8-10. Mayor Martin H. Kennelly of Chicago delivered the main address at the opening luncheon meeting; Harland C. Stockwell, executive secretary of the Chicago Civic Federation and chairman of the conference program committee, presided.

The annual GRA award for the most noteworthy piece of research was presented by Douglas Sutherland, chairman of the awards committee, to the **Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research,** Harold L. Henderson, executive director, for *The Minnesota Tax System.* The **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research,** Loren B. Miller, director, received honorable mention for *Budget Backgrounds.*

Conference sessions discussed "Community Development Councils and Governmental Research," "Problems in the Field of Public Welfare," "How Can Our Municipalities Best Be Financed?" and "The Current Status of American Public Education." Workshop sessions were devoted to "Citizen Agency Financing," "Current Developments in Governmental Research," and "University Preparation for Governmental Research."

Among the principal speakers were Herold C. Hunt, general superintendent of schools, Chicago; Raymond A. Hilliard, commissioner of welfare, New York City; Mabel L. Walker, executive director, Tax Institute; George W. Mitchell, tax economist, Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago; and Park H. Martin, executive director, Allegheny Conference on Community Development.

The feature of the Thursday, September 9, luncheon meeting was the showing of *Life Magazine's* "The New America," a breathtaking visual presentation of scenes of Americana in magnificent color which utilizes a new revolutionary technique of projecting on five huge screens arranged in a 50-foot arc.

Louis D. Brown, new GRA secretary, was introduced to the membership at the annual association meeting. Mr. Brown succeeds G. Gordon Tegnell who resigned to become director of research of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York.

The following officers and trustees were elected for the coming year: *president,* Robert E. Pickup, director, Northeastern Division, Pennsylvania Economy League; *vice president,* N. Bradford Trenham, general manager, California Taxpayers' Association; *trustees,* Richard A. Atkins, secretary, Boston Municipal Research Bureau; Henry W. Connor, director, Newark, New Jersey, Bureau of Municipal Research; Merle W. DeWees, executive director, New Haven Taxpayers Research Council; Carl R. Dortch, director, Bureau of Governmental Research, Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce; and Steve Stahl, executive vice president, Oklahoma Public Expenditures Council.

Worcester Civic Group on Its Toes

Prepares for Inaugurating New Charter January 1950

UNWILLING to rest on its achievement in helping to secure adoption of a council-manager charter with proportional representation for the election of the city council and school board, the **Worcester Citizens' Plan E Association** is now in the throes of educating the voter on the advantages of the new government and how best to make it work when it goes into effect in 1950.

A drive for new members is under way with contributing members now numbering 860.

Headquarters were opened on July 1—with a two-year lease—on Worcester's Main Street. It is a convenient location, obvious to passers-by, with plenty of room. Armand J. Brissette, Jr., until recently managing director of the Crusade for Children, has been appointed executive secretary. Mr. Brissette will give full time to the activities of the association and will be assisted by a staff and volunteer workers from the League of Women Voters and other civic groups.

The association lists as its three objectives: (1) to promote democratic, honest and efficient conduct of local government and to recommend improvements therein; (2) to keep Worcester citizens currently informed on, and to induce them to take an active interest in, the affairs of the city; (3) to encourage and support as candidates for public office competent men and women who will make it their primary duty to promote the best interests of all citizens of the city.

In keeping with these objectives the association is organizing neighborhood groups to study the new government. Several dozen persons have been lined up as speakers and manuals for their use have been prepared on several subjects. Motion pictures will be available.

The *Citizens' Plan "E" Planner,* a mimeographed sheet, is issued "from time to time" to keep members informed of developments. A four-page printed leaflet describes the association and its objectives. A permanent volunteer group to handle addressing and mailings to a list of some 3,000 names has been organized.

One of the outstanding achievements of the association was the booth it maintained at the Worcester Centennial Industrial Exposition, July 25-31, where information on the manager plan and P. R. was dispensed. "Rest Your Feet and read about Worcester's future under Plan E," read one of the signs.

The Worcester *Daily Telegram* and *Evening Gazette* are cooperating in the association's educational work. The latter recently commented editorially:

"To guard against any complacency . . . requires work and organization. That fact has been recognized in Worcester and one of the groups devoted to making Plan E succeed is the Citizens' Plan E Association. It carried a big part of the drive to win the referendum last November. It is busy now trying to keep Plan E problems and prospects before the public. It is especially concerned to see that good candidates run for council and school committee. It expects to endorse those it believes best qualified. . . . How well it succeeds depends on the size and civic zeal of its membership. That's why the membership campaign now begun deserves a big response."

LWV Grows

Membership in the **League of Women Voters of the U. S.,** Anna Lord Strauss, president, continues its growth, according to a report in *Action*:

"At the end of the fiscal year March 31, 1948, the membership of the league had risen to 83,000, or an increase of 17 per cent over 1946-47 and 68 per cent over 1944. This represents 630 local and provisional leagues organized in 43 states—an increase of 16 per cent over 1946-47. Most local leagues have from 50 to 200 members and are in towns and cities from 5,000 to 50,000 population. About 40 have less than 25 members and are in towns under 5,000. Only eighteen leagues have from 500 to 1000 members and only five have over 1000 members."

Publication sales rose from $6,220 for 1939-40 and $16,674 in 1944-45 to $31,500 in 1947-48.

The **New York State League,** Mrs. Edmund M. Boyne, president, has devoted the September issue of its *Monthly News* to urging registration of voters and reciting registration and voting procedures.

"Problems of Constitutional Revision in Illinois" is the theme of a luncheon discussion for October 8, planned by the **League of Women Voters of Illinois,** Mrs. Walter T. Fisher, president.

The Georgia Voter of the **Georgia League of Women Voters,** Miss Frances Blackmon and Mrs. Edward M. Vinson, editors, devoted a recent issue to information on candidates for the fall primaries as furnished by the candidates themselves.

The **Minnesota League's** *Articulate Voter,* Mrs. Lincoln Thomas, editor, discusses problems of organization. "In league work," it comments, "because of its largely voluntary nature and ever-changing personnel, good, basic organization is especially important. It must provide an ever-present structure into which the constant turnover of members with new or rotated responsibilities can channel their efforts with a minimum of confusion and maximum of efficiency."

* * *

New Civic Group Takes Stock

The two-months old **Dallas County Citizens Association,**[1] Louis Blaylock, chairman, lists the following accomplishments as reported in the *Dallas Morning News* of July 22:

"1. It has exerted enough influence to arouse real pressure from enemy interests attempting to cripple its goal of good government in the courthouse.

"2. It has impressed hundreds of citizens who want a cleaner county government—enough friends to form a solid core of representative taxpayers determined to foster better government.

"3. Its mere existence has had a surprising effect on both officeholders and candidates.

"4. It has been besieged with suggestions for needed reforms at the courthouse.

"5. It has won the approval and support of both *The Dallas News* and the *Times Herald*.

"6. Its membership has climbed slowly but steadily. This growth has been accomplished in the face of a campaign of intimidation, false rumors and persistent charges of partisanship."

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[1] See "Newspaper Editorial Bears Fruit," the REVIEW, June 1948, page 331.

Civic News in Brief

"Plant a council-manager tree in Manchester," says the September number of *Tax Topics*, **Manchester, New Hampshire, Taxpayers Association**, John J. Gaines, executive secretary. Most of the issue is devoted to a discussion of the manager plan and its application to the city. . . .

A volunteer service to encourage more Toledo citizens to lend their efforts to civic activities has been suggested by Felix Gentile, executive secretary of the **Toledo Board of Community Relations.** Mr. Gentile believes that citizens might be glad to register their qualifications at a central service and be on call for active duty. "There are willing and able people," he commented, "but they are confined to their homes because of families or other reasons and unless we are able to provide them with free baby sitters and free assistance of other kinds we will be unable to employ their particular talents in local volunteer activities."...

Reports of local candidates to be voted on at the primary elections this fall have been issued by various groups including the **Detroit Citizens League,** Hale G. Knight, executive secretary, the **Seattle Municipal League,** C. A. Crosser, executive secretary, and the **Citizens Union of the City of New York,** George H. Hallett, Jr., secretary. . . . The **Inglewood, California, Chamber of Commerce** recently helped sponsor a "Candidates' Night," with candidates for congressman, state assemblyman and county supervisor taking ten minutes to tell why he should be elected. . . .

The July issue of *City Club News* gives a resume, by President Robert Kohler, of the work of the **Milwaukee City Club.** Five committees led by Leo Tiefenthaler, civic secretary, have carried on the civic activities of the club—city planning, county affairs, public education, public finance and civic council. The latter group consists primarily of the chairmen of the other civic committees. . . .

The **McMinn County Good Government League,** Edmund R. Lingerfelt, executive vice president, in its August *New Notes,* offers congratulations all around for the "splendid way in which the August 5 election was conducted"—to the board of election commissioners, party leaders and candidates and "to the public generally who went to the polls in an orderly manner, waited as long as necessary to take their turn and cast their ballots with a smile for the candidates of their choice." The league is especially proud of the fact that the nonpartisan council ticket which it supported was elected to continue effective government administration under the new county manager charter.

The league's third series of annual community meetings are scheduled for October 11-16.

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Civic Planning Efforts

"Fort Wayne has heart trouble," says the **Fort Wayne, Indiana, Civic Association** in its *News Letter,* Lee J. Ninde, editor. Conditions in the center of the city will affect all the population of the city, the association points out, depreciate the value of real estate, injure business, and "plant in the minds of our youth the idea that good community housekeeping isn't worth while. . . . Let's start at the heart." Other issues of the *News Letter* describe actions which must be taken to improve the physical aspects of the city.

An outline of its program is published by the **Louisville Area Development Association,** Kenneth P. Vinsel,

(Continued on page 512)

PERIODICAL DEPT

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Malta Parliament Elected by Hare System

Draft Constitution for Israel Provides P. R.

THE HARE system for the election of parliament, first adopted in 1922, has been retained by Malta's new constitution, reports the Proportional Representation Society of Great Britain in its 1947-48 annual report, *The Will of All the People for Justice, Peace and Security*. The country is divided into eight divisions, each returning five members.

In seven of these divisions at the general elections of October 1947 three parties contested for seats—Labour, Nationalist (pro-Italian) and Democratic Action—usually with full tickets. In four divisions all three parties secured representation; in the other three the Labour and Nationalist parties only secured seats.

The election in the eighth division, the Island of Gozo, was of quite another character. Three of the five seats went to the Gozo party—a middle class group which has announced its intention of supporting the Labour government; two went to the Jones party, named for its leader. Jones himself polled 3,378 first choices, nearly twice the necessary quota. His four colleagues secured 5, 8, 30 and 57 each. By far the greater number of Jones's surplus votes were marked with next choices for Camilleri, the candidate with 30 first-choice votes, who was therefore also elected.

Voting was overwhelmingly along party lines—some 97 per cent of the ballots being cast for party candidates. There was no lack of interest in personalities, however, for in most cases first-choice votes varied enormously between candidates within parties. The first woman ever elected to the Maltese parliament was one of four Labour candidates elected from division 2.

The election and Hare system count created much interest among the voters. Progress of the count was followed by large numbers of people over the radio and also in the street outside the hall where it was conducted.

Valid votes totaled 105,481, about 75 per cent of the eligible voters. Invalid ballots in the six divisions for which figures are available averaged 0.67 per cent—running from 0.52 to 0.79 per cent.

Figures for the election are reported by the British society as follows:

MALTA PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS, October 1947

Party	First-choice Votes	No. of Seats
Labour	63,148(59.87%)	24(60.0%)
Nationalist	19,632(18.62%)	7(17.5%)
Democratic Action	13,409(12.72%)	4(10.0%)
Gozo party	5,485(5.20%)	3(7.5%)
Jones party	3,664(3.48%)	2(5.0%)
Independents	143 —	—
	105,481	40

P. R. in Israel's Draft Constitution

Prepared by Dr. Leo Kohn for study by a subcommittee of the Israel State Council, a draft constitution for that state calls for a unicameral legislature to be elected every four years by proportional representation.[1] The fixed quota is provided, each party securing as many deputies as it has quotas of 10,000 votes. The provision for P. R. is in accordance with a United Nations resolution of November 29, 1947.

Vote Off in New York, On in Beacon

The American Labor party did not file its petitions for a vote on the restoration of P. R. in New York City and the legal deadline is now passed. Consequently, the question will not come up this fall, much to the relief of the civic forces which favor P. R. but are convinced that a trial of the district plurality system adopted last year is both proper and necessary to secure a popular majority for readoption.

The Beacon, New York, city council voted on August 30 to accept the Beacon Taxpayers and Rentpayers Association's petition for a referendum on its P. R.—council-manager charter amendment and put the question on the ballot for a vote at the general election on November 2.

Widespread sentiment for a change was evidenced by the ease with which a large surplus of petitioners was signed up, but both major party organizations have come out in opposition. The one local newspaper, the Beacon *News*, is also opposed editorially but is giving good treatment to both sides in its news columns.

The local Kiwanis Club has had a talk in favor of the proposal by Mr. Hallett of this department, who drafted it for the local sponsors, and plans one in opposition by former Mayor Theodore Ornstein of Long Beach, who was ousted from power when a similar amendment was put into operation in his city. Councilwoman Edith P. Welty and newspaper editor Oxie Reichler of Yonkers, which has P. R.—manager government, helped to launch the movement with addresses earlier in the year.

British P. R. Society Reports on Activities

The Proportional Representation Society of Great Britain, in its 1947-48 Annual Report, describes its activities in bringing P. R. to the attention of the British public.

During the past year the society conducted publicity campaigns and opinion canvassing in local districts at the time of by-elections. In Islington, for example, whose voters are badly misrepresented in Parliament, the society held a poster display, distributed leaflets demonstrating how P. R. would give fair representation and furnished speakers for meetings of local groups. A house-to-house canvass in certain areas of the district produced 163 replies for P. R., 21 against and 40 with no opinion.

P. R. for Parliament?

The case for P. R. was also discussed in Parliament, particularly by Mr. Wilfrid Roberts and Lady Megan Lloyd George, although the amendments in favor of which these Liberal M. P.'s spoke failed to pass.

The society's report discusses in some detail the Representation of the People Bill, commenting in part:

"Both the government's Representation of the People Bill and the Conservative opposition's attitude to it show the same failure to understand—or to admit—what is involved in representation. The foundation of the bill is the reports of the boundary commissioners, which recommend numerous adjustments of constituency boundaries designed to make the electorate in each constituency 'as near the electoral quota as practicable consistent with the preservation of local unities.' That aim in itself is unexceptionable; what this society objects to is that those who are so anxious to make an M. P. for one part of the country represent as many people as an M. P. in another part of the country refuse to take any steps to make an M. P. for one party represent as many people as an M. P. of another party.

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[1] New York *Herald Tribune*, August 23.

Experiment Suggested

"The government has yielded to those who consider it unfair that 41,735 electors in Bermondsey should have one M. P. and 82,675 in Battersea also only one, but it remains quite satisfied that 29,000 Labour voters should have one M. P., while 47,000 Conservatives or 187,000 Liberals also have only one. [The report here alludes to the average number of votes cast per member of Parliament elected by the three leading parties at the 1945 general election.] . . . .

"On the committee stage, amendments with which we were concerned were directed to two possible openings: the establishment of a limited number of experimental P. R. constituencies, to compensate for those of the universities which the bill abolishes,[1] and the use of P. R. for future elections of the London County Council—in which the number of councillors per constituency is to be increased from two to three.

P. R. for London Council

"Regarding the L. C. C. [London County Council] we were somewhat hopeful—the case being so clear, with ready made constituencies, in respect of which the only change needed is the method of marking the ballot paper, and where the present method (the block vote, with each elector having three votes) will so grossly exaggerate the advantage of the party having the support of the largest number, but not necessarily a majority, of those voting. In almost every L. C. C. constituency, the existing system gives the largest party every seat. In a case like West Lewisham, where in 1945 there were 10,000 Conservatives and 9,500 Labour voters, we can understand anyone accepting the position in which the 10,000 have one representative and the 9,500 none, but how can it be thought right that the larger party should have two representatives against the other's none (as at present), let alone three against none, as under this bill?"

The report mentions two instances of protest coming to public notice against the action of party committees preferring other candidates over the claims of aspirants with considerable popular following. Nominations in England are generally made by party committees or caucuses. The society points out that proportional representation by the single transferable vote would enable a rank-and-file candidate to contest the party organization candidate for the right to represent the party without any risk of having rival parties benefit by a split vote.

Opinion Poll Favors P. R. in Presidential Elections

A public opinion poll conducted by the American Institute of Public Opinion, of which George H. Gallup is director, showed a 58 per cent response in favor of changing the method of electing the president of the United States so that each candidate would receive the same proportion of the electoral vote of each state that he gets in the popular vote. At present all electoral votes to which a state is entitled go to the candidate with most popular votes. Fifteen per cent preferred the status quo, 27 per cent had no opinion on the matter.

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[1] Reported in this department last month.

A constitutional amendment to initiate such a proposal was introduced by Representative Ed Gossett of Texas in the House and by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., of Massachusetts in the Senate. It was reported out of committee in both houses but failed to come before either for a vote.[1]

P. R. League Plans Annual Session

The Proportional Representation League's annual meeting at the Hotel Statler, Boston, announced in this department last month, will be held the morning of November 23 as one of several group sessions of the National Municipal League's National Conference on Government. Subject of the session will be education of the voter in the use and advantages of P. R. Boston is a particularly appropriate place for this year's meeting since there are now seven Massachusetts communities using the manager plan and P. R. and Boston itself is seriously considering such a charter under legislation made available earlier this year.

CITIZEN ACTION

(Continued from page 508)

executive director, in *Planning for th Louisville Area.* Matters considered include population, housing, sewers flood protection, water resources traffic and expressways, transportation, schools, parks and recreation, hospitals, smoke abatement, municipal revenue, etc.

"A Frontal Attack on the Housing Problem—Industrial, Business and Civic Leaders Join Forces," is the lead article in the *Bulletin* of the **Citizens Development Committee of Cincinnati.**

The **Citizens' Council on City Planning of Philadelphia** reviews a report on activities for the first six months of the year, by Executive Director Samuel B. Zisman, in its *News Letter* for June. Two developments stressed are "greater emphasis on the technical approach to problems and the development of relationships with other groups for more effective effort."

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Strictly Personal

The McMinn County, Tennessee, Good Government League announces the resignation of its executive vice president, **Edmund R. Lingerfelt,** who has been with the organization since its inception in 1946. Mr. Lingerfelt will continue his activity in the work of the league and as a director from the Clearwater community.

The Citizens Union of the City of New York announces the election of **Newbold Morris,** New York City planning commissioner and former president of the New York City Council, and **William H. Davis,** patent attorney, former member of the New York City Board of Transportation, as members of its executive committee.

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[1] See this department for June 1948, page 334.

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Charleston County Adopts Manager Plan

Proposed Charter for Santa Clara Has Similar Provision

VOTERS of Charleston County, South Carolina, on September 14, adopted a county manager charter by a vote of three to one. On the ballot were three proposals as provided by the 1948 session of the legislature: Plan A, the only alternative offering a measure of home rule, providing for the county manager plan, with the transfer of considerable financial authority from the county's legislative delegation to the council and the county manager; Plan B, providing that actions of the council, which was given both legislative and administrative authority, be subject to approval of the state legislature; and the present system, under which full control of county business has been exercised by the county's legislative delegation. Support by a majority of those voting in the election was necessary for adoption.

Citizen organizations, particularly the Charleston County League of Women Voters, began an educational campaign for the manager plan while the reorganization act was still before the legislature. They were joined by the two local newspapers, the Charleston *Evening Post* and the *News and Courier,* both of which published strong editorials just prior to election day, radio stations, a majority of the county legislative delegation, leading businessmen and other groups. Handbills were passed out from door to door and the Charleston County Civic League published large newspaper ads just before the election. These activities, plus widespread dissatisfaction with the present system, combined to carry the day for the manager system.

The new government will go into effect in January 1949 after an election for members of council in November.

Proposed Manager Charter for Santa Clara County Filed

A board of freeholders, elected in June to frame a new charter for Santa Clara County, California, has now filed its proposal with the county board of supervisors and the county clerk. The suggested charter, result of long preparation and several public hearings conducted by the board of freeholders, provides for the county manager plan. Various department heads, now elected, would be made appointive by the county manager. The charter is expected to be submitted to the voters at the November 2 election.

California Counties Study Charters

The League of Women Voters of San Mateo, California, is studying the San Mateo County charter in an effort to improve and strengthen some of its provisions. As previously reported in this section,[1] the officials of the city and county of San Francisco recently recommended that San Mateo, along with Marin and Alameda Counties, be annexed to San Francisco.

Citizens of Sonoma County are studying the manager plan with a view to its possible recommendation for their county.

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[1] See the REVIEW, June 1948, page 309.

Montgomery County Charter Still in Court

The case involving the proposed Montgomery County charter, which includes the manager plan, has been appealed to the Court of Appeals, highest court in Maryland. As previously reported in this section,[1] opponents of the home rule charter challenged its constitutionality in the courts on the ground that it provided for enactment of the budget at a time other than during the "legislative" month. The state constitution provides for such legislative month in the home rule article, and it was alleged that the county budget had to be enacted during that period.

Counsel for the defense maintained:

1. The court had no jurisdiction over the matter, since it involved proposed action rather than a duly enacted law;
2. The proposed charter fully met the specifications of the home rule article; and
3. If the budget provision was found to be unconstitutional, it was separable from the remainder of the charter.

The Montgomery County Circuit Court ruled that:

1. It had jurisdiction;
2. The charter did not comply fully with the home rule article; but
3. The budget provision was separable, and hence it had to be deleted from the charter before the referendum election.

The charter proponents made no attempt to appeal, since they lost only a minor and technical point and in reality had gained a victory. The charter opponents, whose sole objective has been not to ascertain its constitutionality but rather to prevent the referendum, therefore made an appeal. Charter proponents hope to secure a decision early in October, which would allow them sufficient time to secure a referendum vote in the November general elections.

County Home Rule Campaign in Washington State

The three proposed constitutional amendments affecting counties, including provision for county home rule, are being made the subject of an intensive campaign in the state of Washington preparatory to the November elections. The other two amendments relate to consolidation of Seattle and King County and removal of the restriction limiting elected county officials to not more than two successive terms.

The Seattle Municipal League has assigned one man full time to the campaign and has issued two leaflets entitled *Unshackling County Government* and *How Counties Can Get Home Rule.* It has also placed an argument in favor of home rule in the *Voters Handbook,* issued by the Secretary of State.

The State Grange and the League of Women Voters also are conducting campaigns for the county home rule amendment.

Baltimore County Considers Home Rule

A recent news report in *The Baltimore Sun* declares that there is growing interest in a new charter for Baltimore County. This county practically surrounds the city of Baltimore from which it was separated almost a century ago.

The *Sun* article comments: "The move toward a charter for Baltimore County is gaining such momentum that many countians believe that a charter commission may be called in 1950, when the county's quadrennial elections will be held.

"Those favoring a charter point to

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[1] See REVIEW, July 1948, page 400.

the growing perplexities of the county's metropolitan-area government as the main reason why a charter should be adopted.

"Neither the present county administration nor any of its predecessors has been enthusiastic about the charter idea. A charter was prepared and submitted to the voters in 1920, but was defeated. . . .

"A campaign for a charter, it was pointed out, would engender a renewed interest in county affairs, which is now lacking in many places in Baltimore County.

"Another advantage of a county charter, its advocates contend, would be the establishment of procedures to amend the basic county laws without going to the General Assembly for special legislation."

Trend to County Units in Education

The small, outmoded local school districts throughout the nation are undergoing sweeping reorganization and complete abolition in favor of larger units, sometimes embracing the entire county. Specific cases of school consolidation and the planning of such consolidations have been reported in this section.[1]

School reorganization in Illinois in the past three years has cut the number of local school districts from 12,000 to 7,500. Previously, Illinois had more local school districts than any other state. Now it has more than 133 consolidated districts meeting the legal minima of 2000 persons and $6,000,000 assessed valuation.

In Wisconsin, counties are creating special school committees to develop plans for reorganization at the request of the state legislature.

School reorganization efforts in Washington, Arkansas, Kansas, Iowa, Illinois, New York and West Virginia were covered in an intensive study recently completed by the National Commission on School District Reorganization. Ohio, Minnesota, New Mexico and Missouri are other states planning extensive school reorganization.

Recent Indiana legislation permits township trustees to organize the township school districts into county units. In Idaho, each county has been directed to organize its schools into effective, efficient units by 1950.

In the state of Washington, the number of school districts has been reduced from 1,400 to 670 since 1941, and plans for further reduction are in progress. Kansas eliminated almost one-third of the 8,000 districts which existed before a reorganization act passed in 1945. The redistricting process was stopped, however, when the law authorizing it was held unconstitutional by the state supreme court last year. The legislature passed a subsequent act validating the reorganized districts.

It is estimated that there are 103,000 local units of school administration in the United States. School authorities agree that the small districts organized before the days of modern transportation are uneconomical and inefficient today in view of the postwar boom in education and the "bumper crop" of babies born in the past few years.

Tennessee Local Government Finances Studied

The Tennessee Taxpayers Association has issued its twelfth annual survey of local government in that state.[1] Chapter I relates to the financial statistics of local government in Tennessee and discusses tax base, tax levies, collections, receipts and disbursements, and indebtedness of counties, cities and towns. Chapter II discusses the status of fiscal control in Tennessee local government. Chapter III consists of several editorials and articles reprinted from other states. Chapter IV presents the financial tables of counties, and Chapter V presents the financial tables of cities and towns.

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[1] See the Review, June 1947, page 333; July 1947, page 416; July 1948, page 400; September 1948, pages 460-461.

[1] *County, City & Town Government*, Nashville, Tennessee, 1948, 101 pp. mimeographed.

The introduction of the report declares "the purposes of this twelfth annual report are to (1) present financial statistical data respecting each county, city and town for a fiscal year ending in 1947, and (2) analyze trends in local governmental finance by comparing 1947 and prior years' data."

There appears to be some decline in the rate of increase in values in county assessment. Tables indicate that the 1946 rate of increase shows a decline from that of 1945 and of preceding years. Property taxes also, although continuing to increase, were not increasing at as rapid a rate as formerly. The report concludes from these data that assessed and actual values of county property throughout Tennessee are near their peaks. The tax collections record remains excellent, but this "is probably due in large part to the prosperity generated by the war effort." The report observes that "many counties in the state do not maintain adequate budgetary, accounting and tax collection records."

Greatly increased receipts are noted. During the ten-year period from 1938 to 1947, county receipts increased 67 per cent. This has resulted primarily from: (1) increased tax rate, (2) better tax collections, and (3) considerable increase in state aid. In fact, in 1947 approximately one-fourth of all local government receipts was in the form of state aid. In many small counties more than half the governmental receipts came from the state. This percentage probably will be even larger in the future since the distribution of sales tax revenues had not begun in the final year reported in the survey.

The downward trend in county indebtedness, noted through the year 1946, was sharply reversed in 1947. The gross debt increased in the last year by $1,700,000. The report strongly advocates pay-as-you-go financing and adequate fiscal control through proper procedure of accounting, budgeting, financial reporting and auditing.

The financial trends of cities and towns resemble those of counties, and the report proposes similar remedies.

City-County Cooperation in the News

El Paso County, Texas, has agreed to share with the city of El Paso the cost of purchasing an X-ray machine for the city-county health unit.

Traverse County, Minnesota, attempted to construct and operate a jail jointly with a village in its boundaries, but the state attorney general ruled it had no statutory authority for such action.

Texas County "Scalped"

Yoakum County, Texas, found itself buying too many wolf scalps at $3 each. It decided it was being "scalped" by residents of surrounding counties where the wolf bounties were only $1.50 per scalp. It now will pay the bounty only when the scalps are brought in by its residents.

1947 Tax Collections Over 49 Billion

Federal Revenues Decline, State and Local Increase

TAX collections in 1947 for all levels of government in the United States came to $49,600,000,000, reports the Bureau of the Census in its *Governmental Revenue in 1947*. This is an average of $344 per person. Net federal collections accounted for three-quarters of the total, or $257 per person; state governments receiving $47 per capita and local units $40. These figures represent net collections in the 1947 fiscal year after deduction of tax refunds.

Taxes accounted for 95 per cent of the $52,100,000,000 total of governmental revenue in 1947, the report states, with fees and other miscellaneous charges and non-tax revenue amounting to $2,500,000,000.

Federal government revenue has declined in the past two years, but state and local revenue has been rising, from $12,400,000,000 in 1945 to $13,200,000,000 in 1946 and a new high of $15,300,000,000 in 1947. Total 1947 revenue of all governments was more than double the 1942 amount, federal revenue increasing by 179 per cent and state and local by 34 per cent.

Because of financial grants and tax-sharing as between the various levels of governments, each level finally has for its own direct spending an amount of money differing from the amount collected directly in taxes and charges. Considering such transfers, the federal government had 71 per cent of all revenue in 1947 "for its own purposes," the states 11 per cent and local governments 18 per cent.

Taxes on individual incomes provided more than a third of all 1947 revenue. A net total, excluding refunds, of $18,300,000,000, or $127 per person, was collected, $17,800,000,000 by the federal government and the other half-billion principally by states.

Revenue from sales and gross receipts taxes and federal customs made up the second largest segment, totaling $11,300,000,000 or $79 per capita. This is an increase of 15 per cent over the previous year and of 99 per cent over the 1942 level.

Collections from corporation income taxes—primarily a federal revenue—dropped 26 per cent from 1946 to 1947. The 1947 net was $9,100,000,000.

Property taxes continue to represent the largest single class of state and local revenue, yielding $5,500,000,000 in 1947, 11 per cent more than in the previous year. All but a quarter-billion of this amount represented local revenue, the remainder being state tax collections. The federal government does not impose property taxes.

All other taxes together—social insurance, death and gift, and miscellaneous minor classes—accounted for 10 per cent of federal, state and local government revenue in 1947.

Soldiers' Bonuses up in November

Six states—Indiana, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, South Dakota and Wisconsin—will hold referenda this fall on bonuses for World War II veterans. Pennsylvania will vote on the question in 1949. Total amount of payments proposed is $1,200,000,000, reports the Tax Foundation in *Cash Bonuses for Veterans*.

Approval of all these measures would bring the total of bonuses for World War II veterans to $2,800,000,000 in seventeen states, as compared with $400,000,000 provided in twenty states for the veterans of World War I.

Nine of the World War I bonus states have approved cash payments to the newer crop of veterans, while five others have referenda scheduled. Maine is the only state among those paying World War I bonuses which has finally rejected one for World War II veterans.

Wisconsin's $200,000,000 bonus plan is the largest to be voted on this fall. A retail sales tax of 3 per cent is provided to finance payments.

Missouri's proposed $160,000,000 bonus would be financed by raising the state sales tax from 2 to 3 per cent. No bonds will be issued to pay the Missouri bonus. Payments are to be deferred until the state accumulates $135,000,000 from the 1 per cent sales tax increase.

Indiana veterans will receive some $120,000,000 if its bonus plan is adopted. The Indiana referendum this fall is not final but is being held to test public opinion for the 1949 legislature. Voters also will be asked their preference as to which of five ways to finance the bonus.

Minnesota's proposal calls for payments totaling $100,000,000. Iowa's $85,000,000 bonus, if approved, will be financed by a state property tax. Methods of financing proposed bonuses in several states are not being submitted to the voters.

The Pennsylvania bonus, to be voted on in 1949, would provide an estimated $500,000,000 in bonus payments—more than any other state. New York has the most expensive plan now in effect, with $400,000,000 being distributed. Interest payments on bonds, of course, push total bonus costs much higher.

Most recent bonus adoption was in North Dakota, where voters in June authorized $27,000,000. Other states which have adopted World War II bonuses are Connecticut, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire, Ohio, Rhode Island and Vermont.

Vermont was the first to authorize a bonus for recent vets—in 1942. So far it is the only state that has made the payments without finding it necessary to issue bonds.

Minnesota Grants Cost of Living Pay Boost

Some ten thousand state employees have been given cost of living pay increases under a new salary plan in Minnesota—the only state granting by law salary adjustments based on the cost of living index of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

The new plan operates automatically. When the cost of living goes up nine points during the year Minnesota employees will secure pay raises of as much as $16 per month without having to wait for further legislative action. Adjustments are made annually on July 1.

This is the first year the automatic provision went into operation. Since the price index for Minnesota advanced from 148.2 to 166.2 during 1947, a "two-step" increase was granted this summer, with highest raises amounting to $32 per month.

Amount of the current round of raises is $2,070,000. Lowest paid workers went from $130 to $140 per month; highest from $751 to $783 per month. These are cost of living increases only, merit raises being granted separately.

What happens when the cost of living index goes down instead of up? The plan specifies that automatic pay decreases are to be made on the same basis as increases—in proportion to changes in the cost of living index. Originally enacted in 1945, the plan underwent major revisions last year.

Although almost a score of cities have pay adjustment plans based on the cost of living index, Minnesota's plan is unique among the states. The first city plan was put into effect in St. Paul 26 years ago. When the cost of living decreased during the depression, the pay of St. Paul city employees was decreased proportionately.

Massachusetts Subsidizes Housing Units

Almost a hundred cities in Massachusetts have applied for aid under the state's new housing program of $200,000,000, reports the National Association of Housing Officials. Provision is made for municipal construction and management of 20,000 low-rent units for veterans.

The cities may issue bonds for the cost of land assembly and construction, hiring private builders. These bonds will be guaranteed by $200,000,000 in state credit. The state will pay for part of the construction costs. State subsidy is limited to $5,000,000 a year for 25 years and to 2.5 per cent of development costs of any one project.

Localities must have housing authorities before they are eligible for state aid and their number has more than doubled as a result of the program. More than 60 of the 99 communities applying thus far have created their housing agencies since the program was inaugurated in May.

The amount of aid any city may get in credits is generally limited to 3 per cent of the municipal assessed valuation. On this basis, Boston may issue bonds up to $48,000,000 and have them guaranteed 100 per cent by state credit. Cambridge's share of the credit totals about $20,000,000. Other cities which have applied include Lawrence, Lynn, New Bedford, Rockport, Winthrop and Worcester.

Once a local authority has applied for aid, the state housing board, through which assistance is provided, surveys actual housing needs in the community. Then a careful estimate is made of costs for land, land improvements and construction and maintenance. The state board makes the final decision on how much credit is allocated each municipality.

The Massachusetts housing board is managing another housing program which has a potential of 10,000 units. Boston alone is building 1,700 dwellings under the latter program, which provides direct subsidy for five years by the state to cover 10 per cent of development costs. Local housing authorities may rent the dwellings for five years after which they must be sold.

CITY, STATE AND NATION

(Continued from page 500)

federal government and for almost a third as many employees as all local governments combined.

The upward trend in state employment from 1947 to 1948 was shared by most of the 48 states, only five showing a reduction in number and only one a decrease in payrolls. Schools accounted for almost a third of all state employees in 1948; highways and hospitals each accounted for 16 per cent.

Governmental Purchasers Hold Convention

The National Institute of Governmental Purchasing will hold its third annual conference and products exhibit on October 17-20 at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel in Philadelphia.

THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS

(Continued from page 470)

Hughes Led League at Crucial Period

Charles Evans Hughes, eleventh chief justice of the United States and president of the National Municipal League during what was probably the League's most critical year, died August 27 at the age of 86.

Mr. Hughes was elected League president at the 25th annual meeting in Cleveland in December 1919. On April 1, 1920, Harold W. Dodds became the League's second secretary and in July headquarters were moved to New York from Philadelphia, where they had been maintained since 1894.

It was during Mr. Hughes' presidency that the National Short Ballot Organization was merged with the League and studies were begun which led to the issuance of a series of model laws and administrative systems which are credited with having had a profound effect on the improvement of the conduct of public affairs.

Mr. Hughes relinquished the presidency in 1921 when he was appointed secretary of state by President Harding.

Beard Served League for Many Years

Charles A. Beard, historian and noted advocate of education to strengthen democracy, who died September 1, was closely associated with the National Municipal League for nearly half a century.

In addition to serving on the Council and as honorary vice president, Dr. Beard frequently functioned as one of the League's many volunteer experts in committees and in an editorial capacity. When the National Municipal Review was established in 1912, he was one of its five associate editors. Although he was always busy with his own voluminous writings, some of them in collaboration with his almost equally noted wife, Mary, Dr. Beard always found time to work through the League.

His last service to the organization was the writing of an article, "The League and the Future," for the November 1944 Review which commemorated the League's 50th anniversary. In this article, Dr. Beard recalled that when, at what might be called the dawn of the study of political science, the League began the gathering of facts and experience, virtually nothing of the kind existed for the benefit of scholars and students.

Jones in U. S. Diplomatic Service

Howard P. Jones, former secretary of the League, has received a permanent appointment in the United States diplomatic service, it was announced recently. Former newspaperman and educator, Mr. Jones also has had a varied career in government. He was appointed to the New York State Civil Service Commission in 1939 and deputy state comptroller in 1943, serving until he was commissioned a major later that year. He was with American Military Government in England, the Low Countries, France and Germany during and after the war, rising to the rank of colonel before reverting to civilian status. He will continue for a time as U. S. Chief, Finance Group, Bipartite Control Office, Germany.

Newspaper Series on Manager Plan

A new series of 18 ready-made half column articles entitled "The Rise of the Manager Plan" was prepared in the League's office and offered free to 435 daily newspapers during July. The articles with their illustrative diagrams occupy the equivalent of two full newspaper pages. Acceptances thus far total 41 with circulation adding up to over a million.

A Few Thesis Ideas

Teachers and students are always looking for solid ideas to develop into thesis material. Here are a few subjects for studies that should be made in the neglected field of voters and elections:

Nonpartisan elections in American cities of 25,000 plus. Common now in smaller cities up to Detroit. Do the Democratic and Republican local machines really refrain from intervention? Cite some specific cities and find the national trend.

Nominations by petition vs. the Canadian and British systems of nomination by forfeit (*e.g.,* British parliamentary candidates post £150 to get name on the ballot and forfeit it if they get less than 1/8th of the vote). Big petitions are laborious, frequently fraudulent, expensive, difficult for insurgent candidates and largely meaningless in indicating backing of signers.

Literacy tests as qualification of voters. New York has them for first voters. Where else? What methods and what experience?

Independent candidates in state and local elections. Why so rarely successful? What conditions suppress insurgency?

Elective vs. appointive boards of education. Compare the experience.

Substitutes for elective coroners. In some jurisdictions the equivalents of coroners are now appointive, *e.g.,* New York City, Massachusetts, etc. Elements of a model medical examiner law?

Initiative, statutory and constitutional. Objective appraisal of experiences since the last published round-up of such data.

Representative Town Meetings in New England. How, when and where have they come into existence? How are they working?

Tammany Hall. Its internal structure of government, its official rules and its actual working and current sources of power.

Single-house legislature in Canadian provinces. Did it improve conditions? Compare with current conditions in remaining bicameral provincial legislatures.

Alternative methods of apportionment of legislative and congressional districts. Many states are in a bad way because legislatures neglect duty to reapportion. What other routes to fair apportionment have ever been devised or tried?

Democratic procedures in large trade unions. Some unions have self-renewing political machines which defy dislodgement and are protected by unworkable procedures parallel to political machines. What rules should government impose to protect members if regulation of unions should become public policy?

NOTE. All such projects should be checked in the library to be sure that prior publication does not make them superfluous.

Books in Review

Democracy—The Threshold of Freedom. By Harold F. Gosnell. New York, Ronald Press Company, 1948. vii, 316 pp. $4.

Dr. Gosnell has provided here an orderly history of suffrage as it has broadened down the ages to its present somewhat incomplete state in America, followed by a history of representation. Completeness of coverage of such subjects compels the author to put down a great many facts that are matters of universal knowledge but he moves with serenity also through some controverted areas and we can be particularly grateful for the grace with which he disposes of some of Professor Hermens' odd interpretations of European experience with proportional representation.

Now, Dr. Gosnell, keep going! The people having been given the suffrage, what are they in practice doing with it. Why do they so often get into sticky messes called bossism, political machines and apathy? Where is the limit as to length of ballots, frequency of elections, obscurity of elective offices in terms of character or importance? What happens when the voters have no opinions to express? How have reforms in such matters fared? Granted that citizens, equipped with suffrage, sometimes perform magnificently in their own interests, why do they also often fail and wallow in a mire while their political masters look on in arrogant scorn? Explain Chicago and Philadelphia as compared with Glasgow and Ottawa in respect to the way suffrage and representation seem to work out! Take us across your threshold and expound the diversity of the results in another good book like this!

R. S. C.

A Twentieth-Century Congress. By Estes Kefauver and Jack Levin. Foreword by Robert M. LaFollette, Jr New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1947. xiv, 236 pp. $3.

In 1946 Estes Kefauver and other members of Congress cracked through the conservatism of their fellow members and actually accomplished some important reforms in the antiquated procedure of that body. The results have been hailed as beneficent and ridiculed as inadequate, correctly in both cases.

The value of this book is in its readable exposition of the wealth of objective evidence turned up in the debates and researches which the vast effort and partial progress entailed. Mr. Kefauver and Dr. Levin have produced a rare contribution with the temporary status of a classic. It will be unfortunate if, in spite of Mr. Kefauver's efforts to the contrary, the 1946 improvements be accepted with complacency as sufficient. Fortunately, one of the further steps, the abandonment of the functions of acting as municipal council for the District of Columbia, seems near success. And fortunately, too, Representative Kefauver has survived his encounters with Boss Crump of Tennessee and will be in Congress as a senator for six years more of valiant leadership in this matter.

R. S. C.

The Neighborhood Unit Plan—Its Spread and Acceptance. A Selected Bibliography with Interpretive Comments. Compiled by James Dahir. New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1947. 91 pp. $1.

Planning the Neighborhood. Report prepared by Anatole A. Solow and Ann Copperman; edited by Allan A. Twichell. Chicago 37, Public Ad-

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ministration Service, 1948. xii, 90 pp. $2.50.

A development which is gaining favor among those seeking better communities in which to live is the idea of neighborhood planning. Mr. Dahir's bibliography "constitutes a rough measurement of the extent to which this urban planning concept has been accepted." His listings, with comments, are grouped under a series of subjects: the facts of city life, background of the neighborhood unit plan, planners test the plan, the plan makes friends and faces obstacles, American plans and projects, the neighborhood unit abroad.

Planning the Neighborhood is the first of three monographs on "standards for healthful housing" and deals with the physical aspects of the problem. It was prepared by the subcommittee on environmental standards (Frederick J. Adams, chairman) of the American Public Health Association's Committee on the Hygiene of Housing. Discussed are basic requirements for site selection: development of land, utilities and services; planning for residential facilities; provision of neighborhood community facilities; layout for vehicular and pedestrian circulation; neighborhood density; and coordination of housing elements.

Municipalities and the Law in Action. A Record of Municipal Legal Experience in 1947 and Proceedings of the 1947 Annual Conference of the National Institute of Municipal Law Officers. (Eleventh Edition). Edited by Charles S. Rhyne. Washington 6, D. C., National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, 1948. 327 pp. $10.

This 1948 edition sets forth in one place the legal experience of cities during 1947. Its information brings up to date all municipal legal developments previously reported. Included are discussions on problems of revision and codification of city charters and ordinances, the "tidelands" decisions of the U. S. Supreme Court, radio broadcasting and municipalities, the so-called Rizley bill dealing with natural gas pipeline companies, municipal revenues, etc.

The volume includes the complete texts of reports of the sixteen NIMLO committees studying various phases of municipal legal endeavor as well as the panel discussions at the institute's 1947 conference.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Bonds

Directory of Municipal Bond Dealers of the United States. New York 4, The Bond Dealer, 1948. 430 pp. 50 cents.

Civil Liberties

Civil Liberties in New Jersey. A Report Submitted to The Honorable Alfred E. Driscoll, Governor of New Jersey, by the Committee on Civil Liberties. Trenton, Governor's Office, 1948. 33 pp.

Cooperatives

Cooperatives. By Robert Kramer, Charles E. Nieman, etc. Durham, North Carolina, Duke University School of Law, *Law and Contemporary Problems,* Summer 1948. 161 pp. $1.

Industry

What Does Industry Expect of a Community? By H. Y. Bassett. University, Alabama, Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Alabama, 1948. 19 pp.

Population Statistics

Estimates of the Population of Continental United States 1940 to 1948. Estimates of the Population of Hawaii, Puerto Rico, the Panama Canal Zone,

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Manager Plan and Taxes

Boston Herald, Editorial July 29, 1948

The foes of Plan E[1] are going to jeer, "Yah, look at Cambridge. Had to boost the tax rate $4.40. Guess the city manager cities don't do so well either."

But if anyone bothers to look closer, he will find that this Plan E city, oldest in the state, is doing, comparatively, very well indeed, thank you, and the comparison with Boston is distinctly not in Boston's favor.

Yes, Cambridge's rate has gone up $4.40. But Boston's went up, on paper, $6.90, and even this doesn't reflect the true increase. A dubious "surplus revenue" account was drawn on for $5,000,000 and property valuations were upped $25,000,000, a perennial phony.

Cambridge's new rate is still less than the rate for 1941, less by $6.40. It is the only city in the state except Chicopee that has a lower rate this year than in 1941. This is the first year since Plan E was adopted that the rate has not gone down. In that same period since 1941 Boston's rate has gone up $13.80.

The Cambridge rate, which is an honest rate uncontaminated by juggling of property valuations, is now $39.90. Boston's rate, on paper, is $53.40, though under an honest computation it would be considerably more. Even so, there is a lot of difference between $39.90 and $53.40, and the difference is not in Boston's favor. Thirty-four cities in the state have higher rates than Cambridge; only six have higher rates than Boston.

Cambridge had its high tax levels back in the old pre-Plan E days, when it reached $46.30. Boston's is still climbing, and seems likely to keep on climbing until we turn to the efficiency of a good city manager.

To sum up, Plan E produces no miracles. When the legislature piles up welfare costs, when city employees have to be given 40-hour weeks at higher pay, when other inescapable costs rise a Plan E city is hit as much as any other. But these increases are added to a sound, efficient government. When these inescapable costs hit Boston, they go on top of an already wasteful administration.

---

[1] Plan E, optional for Massachusetts cities, provides the manager plan with P. R. It has been adopted by Cambridge (1940), Lowell (1942), Worcester, Medford, Quincy and Revere (1947). The town of Saugus has a similar charter, given by special act of the legislature.

Cincinnati Honors Murray Seasongood

Led by the Cincinnati City Charter Committee, friends of Murray Seasongood, former president of the National Municipal League and mayor of Cincinnati from 1926 to 1930, honored him with a testimonial dinner on October 27 on the occasion of his 70th birthday. More than six hundred of his fellow citizens, including associates of the local state and national bar associations and business and industry, joined in the tribute.

Arthur S. Flemming, president of Ohio Wesleyan University, presented the testimonial address. Other speakers were Mayor Albert D. Cash and Harry J. Gilligan, president of the City Charter Committee, of which Mr. Seasongood was one of the founders.

Mr. Seasongood, responding, thanked the audience for the honor they did him, but added he had no intention whatever of retiring from either his professional activities or his many civic interests.

Long in demand as a speaker by civic groups throughout the nation, Mr. Seasongood has been a member of the National Municipal League Council for two decades and a leading contributor to the REVIEW.

Editorial Comment

And Now — Village Government Reform!

A FEATURE of village government is that "everybody knows everybody else"—supposedly, at least—and ballots may be long without getting beyond the range of the average voter's information. Historically, the oldest village and town governments as seen in the New England states are a patchwork of elective boards, added one by one in past decades as new functions developed, and always rather independent of each other.

Here, for instance, is the structure of a certain old elm-shaded Connecticut town of 11,000 population: the voters elect a board of three selectmen, board of three assessors, town clerk, town treasurer, six members of a board of finance, two fire district committees which levy their own taxes to support area service of water supply and sewers, tax collector, board of tax review, several constables who, however, do nothing and are paid nothing, several justices of the peace who get together and elect one of their number to hold court, grand jurors in whom is vested selection of the prosecutor and assistant prosecutor, and a nine-member board of education. And a town meeting with mostly negative functions!

Call it twelve governments, for each officer or group, being independently elected for a fixed term, is a little separate government whose cooperation with the others is highly optional!

Ballots are partisan and nominees of the parties are chosen by party caucuses, open to all party members; the Republican caucus last year brought out an attendance of 60, the Democratic caucus, eighteen. Election of the Republican designees is routine but their ticket amiably leaves certain minority positions to be filled by the Democrats.

Town meetings recently have had an attendance varying from eleven to a thousand, and have sometimes been packed and are sometimes disorderly. The town employees are generally willing, honest, elderly, leisurely and low paid. It's wonderful that it works at all!

So such towns are finding their own way to vesting all or most of the power in the board of selectmen and empowering it to appoint a town manager with control over the whole payroll except the schools. Strong efforts are proceeding to make this plan available to all Massachusetts towns; there is bitter resistance by associations of town officials.

An unforeseen expansion of the movement is taking the principle into very small towns and villages clear down to hamlets of 200 or 500 population. A state law in Maine that facilitated the consolidation of little elective and appointive offices, combining them into one paid managership, has brought adoptions in that state to more than 90 communities.

Several village managers run two villages at once and one manager, Fred C. Greaves, serves three—Hodgdon (town), population 1,076 and the adjoining town of Linneus, population 775, since 1940 and Reed (plantation), population 450, since

1945. The jurisdictions are not always adjoining; one manager oscillates 58 miles from one village to the other.

Sometimes the manager handles a village and its enclosing town; there are six such arrangements in Vermont where A. F. Hawkes, for instance, since 1945 has managed Chester (village), population 749, and Chester (town), population, including the village, 1,740. The manager may be assigned as many as five other time honored titles and duties—tax collector, treasurer, road commissioner, clerk and overseer of the poor.

All that is new since 1940 and is spreading fast!

Hear Ye! Hear Ye! Hear Ye!

National Conference on Government this Month.

Come to the Hotel Statler in Boston, November 22, 23, 24.

Come one, come all, from Maine, California, Minnesota, Florida and Missouri. Meet with several hundred of your fellow citizens of Hometown, U. S. A.

Hear League President Charles Edison, Cincinnati Mayor Albert D. Cash, New York State Comptroller Frank C. Moore, Kansas City Manager L. P. Cookingham, Memphis Editor E. J. Meeman, St. Paul's School Master Charles C. Buell, Cincinnati Councilman Charles P. Taft, Michigan LWV Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, Municipal Consultant Thomas H. Reed, Civic Educator John J. Mahoney, California Constitutional Expert Norris J. Burke, Harvard Professor Carl J. Friedrich, Richmond Citizen L. E. Marlowe, Jacqueline Tyrwhitt of London, England, and many others.

Ask questions and get facts about the future of our big cities and their suburbs, the twilight of the political bosses, the meaning of the council-manager plan, how a small town can be efficient and democratic too, what is in store for the local taxpayer, how to get the truth about your hometown affairs, the trend to modern state constitutions, what P. R. really means, the techniques of successful citizen organization, how to educate for democracy, how powerful a single citizen can be.

Raise your own voice, tell about your own experience, give your own ideas. It's your home town, your meeting.

National Conference on Government this Month.

Let the Citizens Play a Part

Philadelphia advisory planning commission with adequate citizen backing makes for good results, civic leader finds.

By **WALTER M. PHILLIPS***

SHOULD a city planning commission have legal powers to make it difficult for the city council and the city government's executive departments to alter the plans developed and promulgated by the commission?

In New York the city planning commission is fortified by charter provisions such as those requiring a three-quarter vote of the board of estimate to overrule actions of the commission in order to add to the capital budget or make zoning or map changes.

I take the view that a city planning commission should have no such powers, that in general they are not only contrary to the best principles of representative government but also of no value in the long run and possibly defeating to the very purpose of effective city planning.

Philadelphia, which carefully considered adopting the New York setup but rejected it in favor of a commission only advisory to the mayor and city council, has had in the past few years a commission which has functioned effectively.

In 1939 there was a campaign in Philadelphia for a new city charter. The planning provisions of the proposed charter were modeled on the New York law and required a two-thirds vote of a proportional representation council to overrule the city planning commission on the matter of adding to the capital budget or making zoning and master plan changes. For political reasons the new charter failed.

Some of the young and enthusiastic supporters of the proposed charter then formed an organization called the City Policy Committee, which decided to make city planning its major theme of interest. A group of young lawyers and the Junior Chamber of Commerce were invited to participate in a special joint committee on city planning. That committee prevailed upon the Philadelphia Housing Association to serve as its secretariat and it persuaded the Bureau of Municipal Research to make a study of the functioning of planning commissions in the other large cities of the United States. Philadelphia at that time had a completely inactive, non-paid, advisory planning commission of fourteen citizens.

When the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research, on the basis of its study, recommended that the joint committee seek the creation of a new and purely advisory commission of five citizens and four public officials, and when the bureau cautioned against a commission with powers, the joint committee in Philadelphia was confronted with a momentous question. This was an especially difficult problem for a group deriving its existence from a charter campaign which had included as a major objective the New York setup with powers.

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*Mr. Phillips, Philadelphia businessman, is chairman of the board of the Philadelphia Citizens' Council on City Planning and vice president of the Better Philadelphia Exhibit of 1947 to which he refers in his article. Long interested in civic welfare, Mr. Phillips was formerly president of the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research.

Decision Reached

The decision to adopt the recommendation of the Bureau of Municipal Research was reached only after extensive consultations with city planning people, government experts, interested groups and persons deep in the New York picture. The helpful and authoritative study by Robert A. Walker, *The Planning Function in Urban Government,* was read and re-read with great care. The final decision was based on these considerations:

1. City planning deals with many questions of broad policy. In representative government final power on public policy and expenditure should rest unencumbered with elected officials.

2. A commission which exercises its powers to override the majority wishes of city council will in time be starved for budget appropriations by council and will then be unable to conduct planning studies.

3. The requirements of a three-quarters or two-thirds vote in Philadelphia would not mean anything because of the long tradition of one-party government, with all important decisions made informally in caucus and usually with an almost unanimous official vote in city council afterward. In recent years there have never been more than two Democrats to twenty Republicans in a council of twenty-two members. Without proportional representation the requirements would have little effect.

4. Power is illusive. It does not reside primarily in city charter provisions but principally in the will of the people. It was felt that an aroused public interest would do more to further city planning than would reliance on legal authority.

5. The factual study of the Bureau of Municipal Research indicated that, except for New York, nearly all city planning commissions were only advisory. Their successes and failures depended on many factors not eliminated in the New York experiment. Very important among those factors is the working relationship of the staff of the city planning commission with the personnel of other city departments.

The joint committee in Philadelphia realized that city planning is greatly resisted by politicians because it so frequently runs counter to political considerations, especially those of a log-rolling character. That is why charter reform people felt the need for commission powers imposed by the state legislature on unwilling local political leaders. The joint committee knew that it too could go to the legislature with a program for a planning commission with powers and could undoubtedly have the support of the senior Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce, the Pennsylvania Economy League, many other civic organizations, and the leaders of the recent charter reform movement. The chances would have been good for getting as a "sop" the planning provisions of the new charter without the politically disliked proportional representation and manager setup.

Ordinance Introduced

Nevertheless, the young group on the joint committee decided that it wanted city planning established by city council itself and belonging to the city council, not imposed by the legislature.[1]

A draft of an ordinance to be introduced in city council for the creation of a new advisory commission of nine members was prepared by the Bureau of Municipal Research, but the new acting mayor failed to recommend it to council and, when the bill was finally introduced in April 1941 by one of the councilmen, it was marked "by request." The words "by request" mean to the other councilmen "this is not my measure and you need not support it. I am only introducing it to satisfy one of my constituents."

The introduction of the ordinance gave the joint committee a chance to test its theory of aroused citizen interest. It was felt that the political leaders were not bad individuals. To survive under the system, they were persons sensitive to the wants of people.

It was possible now to organize for a specific objective—the passage of the ordinance. Various organizations were invited to adopt resolutions in support of the new city planning ordinance and to appoint a delegate to an action committee on city planning. A total of 80 civic and professional groups gave their active support. They included architectural, engineering and other professional societies, welfare institutions, labor unions, businessmen's associations, service clubs, civic organizations and neighborhood improvement associations. Their interest was aroused and their actions coordinated by a well knit group of young persons devoted to the idea which these young people had developed. At hearings finally held by city council, the council chambers were crowded by interested citizens, and outstanding leaders of the community testified in favor of the ordinance. Without a single material change the ordinance was passed by council in December 1942.

Interest ran so high that excellent appointments to the new commission were soon made by the mayor, and Edward Hopkinson, Jr., an outstanding business and banking leader, was named as chairman.

The action committee on city planning, representing the 80 organizations, constituted itself into a permanent body, the Citizens' Council on City Planning. At first it was serviced by the staff of the Philadelphia Housing Association; later it was admitted to the Community Chest and obtained its own executive staff. It has grown to 120 organizations maintaining, each to its own degree and along its own lines, an active interest in city development.

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[1] There is one city charter provision which was acceptable and would still be favored as an act of the legislature, namely, a requirement that all capital improvement projects should be submitted to the city planning commission for study and public recommendations to city council prior to final action by council. This has been termed "compulsory review."

The citizens' council serves its member groups by supplying information, arranging meetings and speakers, rendering to its members semi-technical planning assistance, and by aiding and advising the various groups in their special concerns and their more general concerns for the city. The net result has been a sustained interest in city planning for the past five years.

In the fall of 1947 the enthusiasm of Philadelphia's city planning movement flowed over into an exhibition dramatically but accurately showing the plans developed by the commission. It cost nearly $400,000 and about 400,000 people saw it.[2]

Commission Is Effective

The measure of achievements in Philadelphia, however, lies in the effectiveness of the commission. In the early days there was a tendency of city council to by-pass it. The commission's suggestions about the first express highway considered for Philadelphia were ignored, and the protests of the Citizens' Council on City Planning could not overcome political obstacles to the commission's idea.

Similarly, city council was about to double the size of one of the two major airports and triple the size of the other without reference to the airport studies just being completed by the city planning commission. On a protest from the citizens' council, the commission was promptly consulted and its recommendation for the immediate large-scale development of one airport only, an idea strongly supported by the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce, has been followed. The land for the other has been acquired for future reserve with planning commission approval. The log-rolling which threatened a dissipation of public funds in a double development was thus stopped.

In the acquisition of about 50 new playgrounds, city council began with its own program of independent selection by the councilmen of sites for their districts, but when council's attention was called by the citizens' council to the planning commission's studies on this subject, a selection of sites was finally worked out with the commission and adopted in almost entire harmony with the commission's plans. It was a good resolution of political interests and city planning considerations.

The big test of the commission has come in the past two loan authorizations, $72,000,000 last year and $38,500,000 this year. Last year they were in accord with city planning commission's recommendations with but one or two minor exceptions. This year it was a 100 per cent planning commission program. Pressing needs for over $70,000,000 of commission recommendations were reduced according to commission priorities to the $38,500,000 possible under the debt limit.

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[2] The Better Philadelphia Exhibition is well described in text and with many interesting photographs in "Philadelphia Plans Again," *The Architectural Forum,* December 1947.

The Philadelphia commission has been adequately financed by city council, about $300,000 per year. It has been most ably staffed and free of political appointments. It has been allowed to do city planning without the burden of handling administrative work such as zoning exceptions and subdivision control. These functions are performed by separate boards with which the commission works on matters of policy.

Whether Philadelphia has hit upon a special formula for effectuating the city planning process, has had the good fortune of a series of accidental favorable events, or has experienced a "flash-in-the-pan" city planning reform cannot yet be finally determined. There is no assurance that the present standards will be permanently maintained, and there are many very serious problems relating to the execution of the improvements program.

The theory of informal organization, however, clearly supports the Philadelphia approach. That theory holds that an organization is no stronger than the personal relationships of the people involved, extending from the inner to the outer circles. A strong idea may fail for lack of supporting informal organization to create the understanding, cooperation and the spirit of purposefulness so essential to accomplishment.[3] City planning based on voluntary cooperation may be less perfect in terms of structural detail than "wisdom" imposed by law, but surely it is more satisfying in terms of the wants of all the people.

The Philadelphia experience of recent years is an illustration and application of our theory of democratic government, and demonstrates the workability of an advisory city planning commission backed by a citizen organization well rooted in the community.

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[3] For development of the concept of informal organization see *The Functions of the Executive,* by Chester I. Barnard, Part II Chapter 9, Harvard University Press, sixth printing, 1947. The entire book is applicable to the problems of civic organization.

ODICAL DEP

Erie County Gets New Tasks

But ancient governmental setup, without central executive
cannot hope to cope with increased responsibilities, costs

By **MARY K. NENNO***

WHAT is happening in Erie County? The answer is, "Plenty!"

Recent years have witnessed a new trend in relations between the county and its major city, Buffalo. Important functions of municipal government, among them health, welfare, libraries and probation, have been transferred from the city to the county with a consequent increase in county responsibilities and costs.

In 1930 residents of the county spent about $8,600,000 for services from their county government. The budget listed 948 county employees and properties totaled $15,600,000.

In 1948, the county budget is $32,470,000, there are 3,609 county employees, and county properties are valued at $48,500,000.

Erie is the largest county in upstate New York and one of the seventeen counties in the United States of over 500,000 population. The 1940 census showed a total of 798,377 residents; the estimate for 1948 is 876,710. Almost 70 per cent reside in Buffalo.

Slowly but steadily since 1930 the county government has absorbe new responsibilities until today i is a major influence in the loca picture. The increased momentun of this "trend to the county" i shown dramatically in the event of the past year, driven home t the citizen in the hard fought election of November 1947. Thi contest climaxed the most vigorou battle to raise Buffalo's dust in decade and the disturbances whicl prompted it have not been settled A year later the issues behind th election are still "red hot" and hav great meaning for the future.

The real setting for the electio was laid in February 1947, when resolution was introduced in th county board of supervisors, unde the auspices of the majority party calling for transfer from Buffalo t the county of five city services health, libraries, airport, probatio and bathing beach. The sponsor advanced in strong terms their picture of Erie County as a metropolitan area, proclaiming that consolidation would "promote progres in our teeming metropolitan community" and that all county residents were "mutually dependent o the general economic prosperity, industrial development and cultura progress of our common goal o better living."

With such lofty aims as an opening sally, majority leaders presse strongly for immediate action. Almost overnight bills appeared in th state legislature paving the way for probation changes and public hearings were called to discuss creation of a county health department and a county library.

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*Miss Nenno is a staff member of the Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau. She began her graduate training, with field work in local government, at the Institute of Local and State Government of the University of Pennsylvania. This article is based on her master's thesis—she secured her degree from the University of Buffalo early this year—on the changing picture of Erie County government from 1930 through 1947.

From the first, it was evident that proponents would draw heavy support from professional sources. Leaders in public health, both state and local, who long had been on record as favoring the county as a unit of health administration, firmly supported the new measure. A new liberal policy of state aid for county health departments also made such a move attractive. The heads of the city's two libraries as well as the Erie County Library Association, representing rural communities, embraced the county library idea as sound and logical.

City taxpayers' organizations and rural village trustees, as well as the partisan opposition, registered every opinion from words of caution to outright claims of political maneuvering. The sole minority member of the city council and a minority member of the board of supervisors scored the mayor for his willingness to voluntarily "spearhead the wholesale transfer of essential city property" and expressed the fear that Buffalo might become "worse than a one-horse town."

Although less outspoken in its reproach, rural sentiment nevertheless demanded more information on the proposed changes and a possible referendum.

Taxpayers' groups in Buffalo generally regarded the transfers as an evasion of the 2 per cent constitutional limit which placed a lid on the amount of money which could be raised in the city from real estate taxes. They saw an increase in the county taxes with no corresponding drop in the city. There was a prevailing opinion that the move was closely tied with the financial difficulties facing the city administration as it prepared the budget for the fiscal year beginning July 1947

Tangible Results

Ten weeks after the first resolution was introduced locally, the governor signed the necessary state legislation and a substantial part of the program became cold fact: (1) A county health department was created, to include that formerly administered by Buffalo; (2) a county library was established, with the anticipated membership of Buffalo's two libraries as well as other libraries in the county; (3) the county probation department was extended to include the city department. These changes became effective January 1, 1948.

The fruits of the city-county transfers were brought forth in the campaign and election in the fall. They became one of the major local issues and the views, pro and con, were aired from one end of the county to the other.

Looking back on the year of controversy in the cooler light of succeeding months, it seems clear that the financial plight of Buffalo was the most important single cause for the transfers. The metropolitan idea was not new and there is no indication that this question had suddenly developed a strong and insistent demand for its adoption in February 1947.

If the transfer program was due primarily to the realization that Buffalo and Erie County were now an interdependent metropolitan area, the change-over would have been more gradual and accompanied by a more definite plan. The simple facts are that the functions which were transferred allowed the city to carry only one-half year's expenditures in the proposed budget and made it possible to hold expenses within the legal tax limit. The medium of the metropolitan area was used in helping to solve Buffalo's budget dilemma.

One result of the vigorous airing of opinions on the city-county transfers was to focus attention on the county government. Thus, the changes which have taken place over the past years have suddenly been brought into the public light. These developments can be summarized as follows: In 1932 the Erie County Children's Court was created; in 1938 the Buffalo welfare functions were transferred and a consolidated welfare department was set up for the whole county; in 1939 the position of county comptroller was established; in 1940 the Veteran's Service Office was created; in 1942 a personnel officer was authorized; in 1943 the county was made a soil conservation district; in 1946 the city's general hospital was shifted to the county and a county youth bureau was set up; in 1947, in addition to the transfers already listed, a county planning board was created and a 1 per cent sales tax was imposed, receipts to be distributed to the county's school districts.

Perhaps the most strategic change in this impressive list was the transfer of city welfare functions in 1938. The real beginning of city-county transfers came on the advice of the then mayor of Buffalo because, in his words, "the city of Buffalo cannot continue to carry the welfare load on its present basis." This move was the first indication that Buffalo's pressing financial problems, brought about apparently by expansive construction in the 1920s and heavy relief financing during the depression, were not temporary but were due to long-term causes and would have permanent repercussions.

Long-Term Cause

In the face of rising costs and ever-mounting demands for new services, Buffalo's population had been losing ground to the suburbs since 1920. The city's residents, which numbered 573,076 in 1930, increased only 0.5 per cent by 1940 in contrast to the 13 per cent increase shown in the previous decade. The six towns and two cities immediately adjacent to Buffalo increased 20.7 per cent in the 1930-40 decade. The nine towns in the next adjacent radius gained 14.3 per cent while the ten towns comprising the most removed units from Buffalo increased 7.5 per cent. This population trend toward the suburbs removed a growing number of citizens from the city tax rolls at a time when services and costs were increasing. The pressure of a growing city could not be confined behind an artificial political boundary—the Buffalo city line.

The transfer of welfare in 1938 was the first break in an impossible situation. It is clear to the careful observer that it is not a partisan political problem but one made crucial by a condition paying no heed to any party or pressure—just plain physical growth.

Erie County has become an increasingly important unit of government largely because of the transfer of functions from Buffalo. It would have been fortunate if the county structure were well equipped to do the job; the fact is, it is not.

What Is Needed

Unlike Buffalo, which has operated under five different charters since 1832, the county has had no basic overhauling of its machinery since it was erected in 1821. The county organization is a mixture of nine elective officers, six boards and twenty officials appointed by the board of supervisors or judicial officers. The 54-member board of supervisors, through its power of appropriation, is the only connecting link among them. Through its committees the board also directs activities of appointive officers. But a large, part-time board cannot both legislate for and administer a $32,000,000 corporation. There is a desperate need for a central executive to direct administration.

In spite of the failure of the county manager plan at a referendum in 1937, reorganization is not a dead issue. The basic causes which then prompted a reform demand have not been satisfied. The following problems, among others, are very much in the picture:

1. Need for a central executive;
2. Difficulty in coordinating the powers of elective and appointive officers into a unified system;
3. An adjustment of the powers and facilities of the board of supervisors to make it an effective policy-making board by:
    a. Relieving it of burdensome administrative detail,
    b. Examining the number and distribution of members to assure ease in operation as well as adequate representation,
    c. Giving the board increased power of local legislation;
4. The need for a sound departmental organization and modern budget and accounting systems;
5. A closer definition of the respective places of the county and the state in the various functions.

The county is being called upon to do a job it was not set up to do —and it is straining under the load. It must be adjusted to new responsibilities by the introduction of more modern tools. This problem demands immediate solution; the future will not wait. By the 1950 census, increasing population will have pressed still deeper into areas adjacent to the city, placing even greater demands on the county machinery. To avoid tragic and costly mistakes, the county structure must be put in shape.

In a few words, Erie County has come of age, full of promise for the future—but experiencing some disturbing growing pains!

Big City Held in Hobble Chains

Little hope seen for a revision of Los Angeles charter even though authorities call it the 'worst in the nation.'

By CLAUDE E. HAWLEY*

LOS ANGELES is a well governed city in spite of its charter which, by almost any standard, is bad. Mayor Fletcher Bowron recently called it the worst in the nation. Councilmen periodically fulminate against it. Civic organizations have issued reports on why and how it should be changed. Even members of the city attorney's office have confessed privately that they are not sure what certain sections of it are all about. There is no general agreement on the contents of a new charter, however, hence chances are good that the nation's most rapidly growing city will continue to bumble along with a basic law drafted initially for a cow town.

The present charter was drawn up by a board of freeholders and adopted in 1925, when the city's population was less than a million, as compared to nearly two million today. Moreover, the present charter follows the essential outline of its predecessor adopted in 1889, when the city's population was 50,000 and its area was less than 30 square miles, as compared to 452 square miles today.

Because of the maze of detail found among the charter's more than 300 pages, many legislative or administrative actions cannot be taken by city officials without popular approval of an amendment. That is why, year after year, voters are called upon to express their opinion on such matters as changing the name of the humane department to department of animal regulation, or whether an obsolete section of the charter pertaining to a nonexistent department ought to be eliminated. Many of the amendments are of such a highly technical nature it is a foregone conclusion that the voters do not know what they are voting for or against. One recent amendment, thirteen pages in length, proposed a substantial increase of city employees' pensions. That the voters approved it was undoubtedly due less to their understanding of its contents than to the reported $70,000 worth of radio, billboard and newspaper advertising used to implore the people simply to "Vote 'Yes' on Charter Amendment Number 1."

In 1947 alone, the people were asked to approve twenty proposed amendments. Since the adoption of the charter in 1925, they have found it necessary to amend it 164 times—and a new batch of changes will be voted on at the 1949 election!

The organization of eighteen of the twenty departments of the city is frozen into the charter. Regardless of the individual needs of departments, all are organized essentially alike. All are headed by boards of five commissioners, most of whom serve on a part-time basis for $50 a month. Only two of the twenty departments are not controlled by charter provisions. They were created by ordinance and, curiously enough, kept under the direct supervision of the council.

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Nearly all the commissioners are appointed and subject to removal by the mayor with the consent of the council. Actual heads of the departments, chief of police, health officer, city librarian, etc., are appointed from a civil service list and are removable by the boards of commissioners only. Thus practically no direct control is given the city's chief executive over the departments for whose supervision the charter makes him responsible.

Eight Budgets, Three Pensions

Los Angeles has eight budgets. Seven individual departments have their own and are, therefore, for all practical purposes, separate governments unto themselves, beyond control of the council or mayor. Happily, most of the separate departments conform to the general policies of the city—sometimes, to be sure, because their own sources of revenue are inadequate and they must seek additional appropriations from the council.

Although there is some justification for the existence of separate budgets, especially for departments engaged in proprietary functions, Los Angeles has found out that departmental independence can be carried too far. This is especially true when independent departments fix wages for their employees without reference to pay scales established in other departments.

A recent study reveals, for example, that the department of water and power pays entrance rates that are approximately $34 per month higher than those paid by the rest of the city for comparable positions. Messengers, clerks, stenographers, secretaries, key punch operators, warehousemen, carpenters, blacksmiths and elevator operators, all fare much better if they work for water and power than they would if they worked for any other department. The effect of such a situation on the morale of city workers is not good.

Still another form of independence perpetuated by the charter accounts for the existence of three separate and distinct pension systems for city employees. Department of water and power workers have their system, firemen and policemen have theirs, and the rest of the civil servants have a third. The details of operation of each of the systems are thoroughly described in the charter in some 30-odd pages of text. Changes effecting a consolidation of the systems which. from an objective view would seem wholly sensible, cannot be made by legislators or administrators. The entire electorate must approve.

Despite numerous court decisions to the contrary, the charter of Los Angeles declares the right of a policeman or fireman to hold his position to be "a substantial property right of which he shall not be deprived arbitrarily or summarily."

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Kansas City, Mo.

Procedure is set up whereby policemen and firemen can be discharged normally only after a hearing before a board of rights made up of officers of their departments. These sections have been the subject of much controversy, but there is little chance that they will be altered while the Police and Fire Protective League continues to be one of the city's most potent pressure groups.

The Los Angeles city council must hold a public meeting at least five days every week, whether its business warrants such meetings or not. The charter insists! As a result, the fifteen-man legislative body puts on a public performance each week day at 10 A.M. Sometimes the subject of the meeting is city business; frequently it becomes national or international in scope. Seldom a day goes by without a display of oratory, on almost any subject. Many of the legislators admit that they would accomplish much more in less time if they were not required to make speeches every day, but the charter puts a premium on egoism.

Another curious charter proviso relative to the council is that which creates fifteen council committees—a number just sufficient to provide each councilman with one chairmanship and two other memberships! The committees hold formal hearings and otherwise emulate their congressional counterparts. Whether this imitation of the national legislature expedites the execution of city business or not, is open to serious question.

In spite of these and other features of the charter that do violence to the principles of good government and sound administration, Los Angeles by most measurable standards compares favorably with other American cities. That is a major reason why agitation for a new city charter is not strong. The present mayor and many another responsible citizen, however, claim that Los Angeles could be a much better governed city were it not for the obstacles placed in the way of its officials by the charter.

Changes Difficult

Efforts to obtain a general revision of the document were made in 1935, 1937, 1939 and 1940, but all failed. The more detailed and complicated the document is, apparently, the more people there are interested in its *not* being simplified. Many a vested interest, particularly of civil servants, is written into the charter. None will be changed or removed without a major battle.

Nothing remotely resembling an integrated administrative organization exists in the government of the city of Los Angeles under its charter today. One can attribute the relatively effective government of the city primarily to such fortuitous circumstances as the willingness, without legal compulsion, of the departmental managers to cooperate with each other and with the mayor. Until a new charter is adopted, there will be a premium on circumventing those provisions that have plagued many a Los Angeles city administrator for more than twenty years.

Citizens Would End Counties

Horse and buggy age duties, unsuited to modern times, bring increased recognition as useless in New Hampshire.

By **JAMES M. LANGLEY***

TIME has passed New Hampshire county government by. So entrenched is habit, however, that it has been nearly twenty years since this first became obvious and nothing has yet been done to rid the state of this obsolete third level of government.

Only within the past year have events conspired to awaken a much enlarged segment of the public to the facts, and to generate an increased demand that the state, in the interests of both economy and better public administration, abolish county government as no longer necessary. Such action is both practicable and desirable, and could be most readily accomplished by constitutional amendment.

It was not until 1856, just before the Civil War, that county commissioners, with powers similar to those they possess today, were created by legislation and county government as we know it really began. The commissioners were given custody of paupers, which previously had been exercised by the court of common pleas, the duties of the old road commissioners were turned over to them, and they were made responsible for all county property. The powers of the county convention, consisting of the county's delegation to the state house of representatives, were not increased. The convention remained only a taxing and appropriating authority.

The only other important change in county government came when the constitution was amended in 1877 to provide for popular election of solicitors, sheriffs and registers of probate. It is this constitutional article which must be amended to permit the abolishment of county government, though nowhere in the constitution are there any provisions for county conventions or county commissioners, they being creations of the legislature.

Historically the town is the basic unit of local government in New England. One New England state, Rhode Island, has no county government. There, counties are merely judicial districts for the convenience of the people. They are little more than that in some other New England states. That is all they should be in New Hampshire.

Even though county government is much stronger and is used far more extensively as the basic local government in many of the states outside of New England, it is generally agreed that county gov-

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ernment everywhere is the real seat of political bossism in this country. Richard S. Childs, chairman of the council of the National Municipal League, puts it this way. County government is "the most stubborn citadel of political bossism." The dispassionate and nonpartisan League of Women Voters, in its study pamphlet on county government, says: "the county is often the vital unit of party government and the stronghold of the spoils system." Mr. Childs makes another critical but deserved observation when he says:

> Obscurity and complexity of county government partly explain the rareness of an attack upon the county boss. Responsibility in the county structure is so vague and scattered that voters in their fitful rebellions cannot find fair targets; the character of the county's work is inconspicuous by nature, the trail is easily confused. . . . And so the county boss, his machine, his grip on the clumsy mechanism of democracy, go on unmolested.

Officials Defend Counties

In our own state the organizations of county commissioners and of sheriffs and, finally, of all county officials, for purposes of defending their citadel against every effort to reduce it or to improve it, is evidence that so far as bossism goes county government in New Hampshire is no different from that anywhere else. Fortunately the towns are the basic units of local government here and the few functions which county government exercises can be taken away without trouble, with some economies and with assurance of improved public service.

Our county governments are subordinate to the state and not responsive to the people. The counties are rigid judicial districts and the expense of the judiciary is divided between the state and the counties. The courts control their own expenditures even though the counties must pay them—other than salaries paid by the state. The courts are supposed to control periodical audits of county accounts, a duty in which they have been lax, as might be expected, because it is an administrative function and courts are not administrative implements.

Some county records are kept in the office of the secretary of state, other county activities must be reported to the State Tax Commission, which is supposed to exercise certain controls over counties. The county convention does not legislate for counties; the state legislature does. The county convention can appropriate and what it appropriates becomes a tax upon the towns within the county; otherwise it has no powers. It may investigate county affairs, as it did recently in Merrimack County, but the county commissioners under state law cannot be compelled to adopt a single recommendation the convention may make.

Members of the county convention are not elected as such by the people but as representatives to the legislature. Members of the county commission and other county officers are elected, hence are independent and not as a group responsive to legislative representatives.

The only comprehensive study of government in New Hampshire, that by the Brookings Institution, summarized its findings this way:

> Relative to county organization, the conspicuous needs are for improved welfare administration, strengthened financial control, separation of the judiciary from general administration, closer coordination between state and county agencies, more specialized qualification in county officers and more effective popular control. Reorganization to attain these ends results in a reduction of elective county officers to the three commissioners only.

The Brookings study found not a single thing to commend about county government, and its recommended changes in county organization require repeal of the same constitutional article which must be repealed to abolish county government.

Not Good Subdivision

In describing characteristics of the political subdivisions in New Hampshire the Brookings study commented: "Confined chiefly to welfare and judicial administration, county government is not physically or psychologically close to the people."

The county as a political subdivision does not lend itself to the best districting of the state even for those governmental functions it has. While there are ten counties, the "convenience of the people" makes it necessary for the courts to sit in sixteen places. The county is a poor welfare district, for it overlaps the larger cities and towns where there is competent welfare administration or supervision.

The county is not the proper district for jails or houses of correction. There is need for far less than ten of each of these according to the only competent study of this problem which has been made, that undertaken by the Federal Bureau of Investigation several years ago in the process of approving New Hampshire jails in which federal prisoners could be housed.

In 1947, worst crime year in the annals of the nation, New Hampshire jails all together had only 100 prisoners on June 30 and houses of correction only 151, a total of 251, about enough to warrant one well managed institution. In 1944, a more normal crime year, the total of all prisoners on June 30 was only 181. In the past four years the jails in two counties have averaged only one prisoner. The present laws permit consolidation but the county governments have done virtually nothing in that direction.

The county is so unsuited to public administration that it has been given no new governmental functions since county government was organized under commissioners 92 years ago. Its early functions in connection with highways have virtually disappeared, its welfare responsibilities are less than a fifth of what they were, and their law enforcement functions have been greatly reduced since the state police were created. Yet in the past century the functions added to government in New Hampshire have been many. They have been administered by the state, often through districts designed to fit the particular function and its requirements and to decentralize administration, or by assigning the function

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to the cities and towns—never to the counties.

Public education, for example, functions, so far as state supervision is concerned, through 50 superintendent districts which have no regard for county lines. Motor vehicle inspector districts number twelve, and have nothing to do with county lines. There are sixteen district liquor inspectors, five weights and measures inspectors, fifteen employment service and unemployment compensation district offices, ten highway division offices, twenty-nine fish and game area conservation officers, six development regions, none organized with regard to county lines.

Only the Public Welfare Department has field offices on a county basis, and it does so only because of the unnecessary participation of county government in relief functions.

Whereas counties were once election districts for members of the Governor's Council, they are no longer. Nor do they any longer serve as state senatorial districts. County lines are ignored even in dividing the state into two congressional districts.

Because the county tax is assessed upon a basis of valuations in the respective cities and towns in a county, it has long encouraged (so did the former state tax similarly assessed) evasiveness in maintaining valuations at 100 per cent of their true value according to New Hampshire law. County taxes have cost the cities and towns between $2,000,000 and $4,000,000 a year in recent years and local assessors have too often been tempted to hold down valuations in order to prevent their city or town from paying its just share of the county tax. Abolishment of county government would abolish the county tax and help eliminate the inequitable assessment practices it encourages.

Naturally, before abolishing county government, it is proper to ask what becomes of the functions it performs. These are roughly two, judicial and welfare.

The judicial and law enforcement function is essentially a state function, and should be financed as well as controlled by the state.

The welfare function performed by the counties can be divided between the state and the cities and towns, all of which already exercise welfare functions. There would be a similar division in financial responsibilities.

How Distribute Functions

Certain general principles should control the redistribution of county functions. One is that the courts should be divested of administrative functions. Another is that wherever fees are charged they should be paid to the office and not to an officer. Another is that all judicial and administrative officers should be appointed and not elected. Another is that offices like the registry of probate and registry of deeds should, through fees charged for services, be self-supporting. Another is that "for the convenience of the people," the judiciary and welfare supervision should be districted, and that judicial districts should be called counties.

In whole, what the Brookings recommendations mean is establishment of a state department of justice under the attorney general and a state police force, both of which we technically have now.

Common sense does not justify continuing to maintain a third level of government to handle 10 per cent of the state's relief load and, if the settlement law is changed as it should be, the maintenance of county government to handle less than 2 per cent of the total relief load becomes ridiculous. Without the counties there would be no conceivable reason for the present nonsensical settlement law, under which a person, after five years of being on relief, automatically becomes a county rather than a local charge.

Transfer of Properties

If county government were abolished what would happen to the properties they operate? Court houses should go to the state, presumably to the state superintendent of buildings. Jails and houses of correction should be administered by a state agency which, after taking them over, could effect the consolidations so desirable and liquidate the rest. County farms should become state property and their fate determined by the welfare department in cooperation with the agency which directs the fate of the adjacent jails and houses of correction.

County properties belong to the people. Now they are in the custody of county commissioners. If transferred to the custody of state agencies they would still belong to the people. There is no need for the state to pay the counties for these properties. The state also should assume any capital indebtedness outstanding against these properties. Those which would be liquidated probably would reimburse the state for indebtedness which must be paid.

There is no serious obstacle to abolishment of county government except two articles in the constitution. We believe the people are entitled to the opportunity to vote on the subject. Efforts to have the 1948 constitutional convention submit an amendment to articles 71 and 72, to give them that opportunity, have failed.[1] It may be borne in mind, however, that New Hampshire holds a constitutional convention every seven years and that the issue is now forcefully launched.

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[1] See "New Hampshire Takes No Action on Counties," the REVIEW, July 1948, page 401.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Planners Weigh Decentralization

Officials Debate Problems of City Growth, Congestion

INCREASINGLY urgent questions of urban growth and congestion on the one hand and of the advantages of decentralization on the other were faced at the 1948 conference of the American Society of Planning Officials in New York on October 11-13.

An immediate and vigorous start on comprehensive urban decentralization was urged by Tracy B. Augur, assistant to the director of the Tennessee Valley Authority's Department of Regional Studies, as a remedy for two great menaces—urban blight and the atomic bomb. He pointed out that more than 5,000,000 people have moved to the nation's metropolitan districts since 1940—at which time they already housed almost half the country's total population. As these areas include concentrations of industrial plant, transport facilities, business management and governmental administration, permitting them to grow larger would be viewed as desirable chiefly by foreign military planners considering long-term strategy of an attack upon us.

He declared that the United States would be much better off if it were building fifteen new dispersed cities of 50,000 population every year, instead of adding their equivalent, as is being done now, to a congestion that steadily makes our big centers less efficient as places of production and more attractive as targets for attack. He called it a most fortunate coincidence that a city of 40,000 or 50,000 which the National Security Resources Board considers generally too small to present an attractive target for atom bomb attack, is a rather good size for effective social, economic and political organization.

Mr. Augur insisted that the United States can achieve a pattern of dispersed small cities located singly, in small clusters, and in large metropolitan agglomerations that will give to all the advantages of a highly developed urban civilization, while reducing to the point of elimination the two greatest present dangers to its security—the atom bomb and financial bankruptcy. "Perhaps the trouble is that our accustomed pattern of real estate values would be disturbed," he commented. "Shall urban realty be left to seek its own new levels under the impetus of bombs and blight, or shall we begin now to work out readjustments that can be accomplished gradually through orderly and peaceable processes?"

Professor Charles E. Merriam of the University of Chicago discussed the question of urban decentralization from several angles—ways of living, industrial-economic factors, political considerations and military safety. He concluded:

"I do not anticipate the decline of urban population or the wholesale dispersion of great centers of population. A city expands but does not often disintegrate or disappear. If the urban community has a fundamentally sound economic base and has a site whose disadvantages are not too costly to overcome, then the realistic answer to the question of a desirable urban environment lies not in wholesale dispersion but in the judicious reshaping of the urban community and region by systematic development and redevelopment in accordance with forward looking and intelligent plans. It is possible to loosen up the central areas of congestion and create a more decentralized metropolitan pattern. . . .

"A reasonable set of conditions for the attainment of a desirable urban community sketched in these broad terms would usually include a sound, well balanced industrial structure; a rather compact community pattern—with ample light and air and adequate streets, recreational and other public spaces available in all sections; a balanced development free of congestion in building, population or traffic; a relatively stable and reasonable level of land values with all the land in efficient and socially desirable use. Such an arrangement may be expected to extend the material and cultural advantages of urban life to a far greater number of our population, to give them the benefits of a more healthful environment and a richer personal and communal life".

Human Element Paramount

Lewis Mumford, writer on architectural and city planning subjects, asserted that programs of urban dispersal do not contribute materially to the comprehensive reconstruction of urban life. He said that the needs of human growth and development should be the city planners' chief concern; and that such planning should aid the spiritual, economic and cultural welfare and development of people from the cradle to the grave.

A leading British city planner, Professor Gordon Stevenson of Liverpool University, told the conference that timid municipal policies are endangering leadership by the western democracies, and stressed the need of realistic programs that devastated European cities can accept. He explained recent developments in British urban planning policy that have led to a program of building new industrial towns—a program that is hampered by national economic difficulties. War damage is still being repaired, and the pre-war building rate of 250,000 houses annually has been reached, with most of them being erected by the municipalities.

Charles B. Bennett of Los Angeles, who was re-elected president of the society, said that people in communities of all sizes are becoming more and more aware of the benefits to public administration flowing from planning, and that they are eager for concrete results. All planning should be "woven around the needs of people." He stated one planning difficulty to be a shortage of trained planners whose schooling has been tempered by contact with the city officials who must try to meet municipal needs out of inadequate budgets.

Some 400 officials, consultants and others interested in city and regional planning attended the conference. Besides Mr. Bennett as president, Rafael Pico, chairman of the Puerto Rico Planning, Urbanizing and Zoning Board, was chosen vice president, and Charles S. Ascher of the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization, treasurer. Walter H. Blucher continues as the executive director.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

Narrows, Virginia, (population 1,489) has been granted a council-manager charter by the 1948 state legislature.

San Benito, Texas, (population 9,500) has now adopted the manager plan under an optional provision of its 1927 charter.

The council of **Glendale, Arizona,** (4,855) adopted a manager ordinance on September 28.

In **Eliot, Maine,** a town manager committee is making a study of the manager plan for the information of the committee and the electorate.

A citizens' group in **Nashua, New Hampshire,** is planning preparation of a council-manager charter bill for presentation to next year's legislature and the holding of a local referendum at the regular city election in November 1949.

The **Barre, Vermont,** *Daily Times*, in advocating a study of the council-manager plan, states that a committee of the Chamber of Commerce has been gathering data on which to base a report on the subject to its membership.

The manager plan is under study by the Young Executives Group of the **Burlington, Vermont,** Chamber of Commerce.

The **Rutland, Vermont,** board of aldermen on September 20 unanimously adopted a resolution asking Mayor W. N. Temple to appoint a commission to formulate a council-manager plan for Rutland and to draft the necessary charter amendments. The commission has accordingly since been appointed; it consists of three aldermen and four laymen, with the mayor an ex-officio member and the city attorney as legal advisor. The Rutland Chamber of Commerce is turning over to the new commission a favorable report on the manager plan recently prepared for the chamber by C. A. Webber, former city counsellor and now a member of the commission. The council-manager plan will be the topic for discussion at the Rutland meeting of the Vermont Forums, B. B. Warfield, local program chairman.

The trustees of the village of **Waterbury, Vermont,** are investigating the possibilities of the manager plan.

The council-manager plan or the strong mayor plan—preferably the former—has been recommended for **North Adams, Massachusetts,** in a survey report by Public Administration Service. The city now has three elective boards, eight appointive boards and ten city departments.

An ordinance proposed by Councilman Lee A. Worrell, calling for a November referendum in **Providence, Rhode Island,** on the question of state legislation to permit localities to vote for or against the council-manager plan, was defeated on a straight party vote September 16. Three Republican councilmen supported it but all 21 Democratic members were opposed. The Providence *Bulletin* has been conducting a poll of legislative candidates as to whether localities should be permitted to select their form of government from various optional types including the manager plan. Those expressing any opinion were overwhelmingly in favor of such permission.

A proposal for adoption of the manager plan in **North Bergen, New Jersey,** was defeated on October 20 by a vote of 6,646 to 4,699.

The Citizens Advisory Committee of **Takoma Park, Maryland,** organized by a member of the city council, adopted a resolution endorsing the manager plan and calling for state legislation in the 1949 session and a local referendum. The city council has approved proposed legislation to this end, for submission to the state assembly.

The city council of **Cambridge, Maryland,** is considering the manager plan.

The **Gate City, Virginia,** Chamber of Commerce has instituted a campaign for the manager plan.

A group of citizens in **Mansfield, Ohio,** is working for a council-manager charter.

In **Michigan** council-manager charter votes will be held in **Rochester** on November 8 and in **Wakefield** on December 6.

The mayor and council of **St. Ignace, Michigan,** are planning to present the question of charter revision and council-manager government to the voters at the April election.

The council of **Watervliet, Michigan,** has been investigating the manager plan as a possibility for that city.

The **Wausau, Wisconsin,** League of Women Voters is studying the manager plan.

A city-wide committee has been organized in **Knoxville, Iowa,** by service organizations, women's groups and the Chamber of Commerce to bring about adoption of the council-manager plan at the March 1949 election.

A council-manager proposal was defeated in **Poplar Bluff, Missouri,** at a special election on October 12 by a vote of 2,380 to 799, or about three to one.

A proposed city-manager amendment for the charter of **Miami, Oklahoma,** was defeated on September 7 by a vote of 967 to 459.

The manager plan was endorsed by speakers at a meeting of the **Guymon, Oklahoma,** Kiwanis Club, including the secretary-manager of the Chamber of Commerce, president of the Lions Club, and two newspaper representatives.

A council-manager charter has been in preparation by a board of freeholders in **Newport Beach, California.**

A vote on adoption of the manager plan in **Santa Barbara, California,** on September 22 resulted in defeat, 6,624 to 2,587.

Manager proposals have been defeated in two Washington municipalities—**Burlington** on July 27 and **White Salmon** on August 10.

Managers' Convention Breaks Records

The 34th annual conference of the International City Managers' Association, held on Mackinac Island, Michigan, September 12-16, attracted 199 managers—21 per cent more than the previous high attendance at Montreal in 1946. Total registration was 413.

Emphasis at this conference was on the functions and functioning of the manager rather than on municipal problems generally. Two days were devoted to the former subjects, the third day to the latter, and the fourth day to a general summarization of preceding sessions. Seventeen group discussions were held, on the following topics: The city manager as a leader, relations between council and manager, employee morale, selection of administrative personnel, grouping jobs in a small city, how to sell city government to the people, methods of ascertaining what the public thinks of municipal policies, activities and employees, planning one's own time or how to find time to be manager, training employees in public relations, problems confronting cities: personnel—finance—planning; and population group sessions: under 6,000, 6,000-12,000, 12,000-20,000, 20,000-50,000, over 50,000.

Community leadership by the city manager was approved where the council and manager are in harmony as to policies and ideas involved. Many specific problems of relations between the manager, the council and city employees were discussed, with emphasis both on diplomacy and on professional firmness and integrity. Needs and methods of telling the public about city government, its problems, and the efforts and achievements of administration were stressed along with consideration of technical problems of organization, personnel, finance and public services.

International Union of Cities Reorganized

A successful effort has been made to strengthen the International Union of Cities, which has suffered from lack of adequate funds and staff and the absence of the United States, Canada, Denmark, Norway and Sweden.

A conference at The Hague on September 27 and 28 was attended by representatives from Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Great Britain, The Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, the United States and the U. S. Military Government in Germany.

Although often invited the three Scandinavian countries had never before participated. As a result of a visit to the Scandinavian capitals by Dr. Nicholas Arkema, secretary of the Dutch Union of Cities, and members of a special committee of the U. S. Conference of Mayors headed by Mayor George W. Welsh of Grand Rapids, Michigan, the Scandinavian unions of cities sent active observers to The Hague.

New Office

Headquarters of the International Union were transferred by agreement from Brussels to The Hague, where it will have the benefits of proximity to the Dutch Union of Cities and its large and capable staff. G. Montague Harris of Great Britain, president, and Emile Vinck of Belgium, secretary-general and founder of the union in 1913—both of whom are approaching 80 years of age—retired and were respectively succeeded by Dr. P. J. Oud, mayor of Rotterdam and president of the Dutch Union of Cities, and Mr. Arkema.

An executive committee of seven members was agreed upon as the governing board with power to modernize the constitution and by-laws, for ratification at a general assembly to be held in Geneva beginning September 12, 1949. All unions of municipalities will be invited. Problems to be explored will particularly include housing and traffic control. Individual cities will be allowed to join the union.

Mayor Welsh, in commenting on the conference and the circumstances surrounding it, said: "At this juncture in the world's affairs it is an extremely significant thing to be able to report that the representatives of the cities of a dozen nations, European and North American, were able to sit about a table and come quickly to fundamental agreements on a program that we hope will enable the cities of the world to be mutually beneficial to one another and, perhaps in this way bring their peoples closer together."

AMA to Meet in December

The 1948 conference of the American Municipal Association will be held in Washington at the Statler Hotel, December 13-15. The program will consist of discussions of municipal revenues, home rule, housing, social security, civil defense, etc., with the objective of formulating a national municipal policy. Only two formal speeches are scheduled. Municipal league secretaries, and also the National Association of Municipal Legislators, will meet on Sunday, December 12.

Consolidation of California Cities Proposed

Mayor Charles Wortham of Redondo Beach, California, has proposed the consolidation of that city, Hermosa Beach and Manhattan Beach, and has appointed a special committee from his city to study the matter. The three cities form a continuous urban area closely built up in a narrow strip along six miles of coastline in Los Angeles County. Present populations of the three are given as: Redondo Beach, 21,288; Hermosa Beach, 11,172; and Manhattan Beach, 9,290.

Constitutional Revision for South Carolina

A commission for revision of the state constitution has finally been organized in South Carolina, but without representation, originally proposed, from the court system. The 1948 legislature provided for a commission of 21 members to study the need of constitutional revision; it was to consist of five members from each house of the legislature, five citizens appointed by the governor, five members from the state court system, and the attorney general. The chief justice of the Supreme Court declined to appoint the five court members, however, on the grounds that their appointment would violate a prohibition against dual office-holding. The chairman of the commission as now organized is Senator R. M. Jefferies of Walterboro.

In the June issue of the REVIEW the proposal to form the commission was ascribed in error to North Carolina.

Constitutional Revision Moves Forward in California

A final meeting of the California Joint Interim Committee on Legislative Constitutional Revision and of its entire advisory committee has been called for November 18 to 20, at Santa Barbara.

Matters to come before this meeting will include consideration of the final report and recommendations of each of the ten subcommittees, and of a final report on the part of the whole committee; and discussion and action by the Advisory Committee of various aspects of constitutional revision, especially on matters recommended in the several subcommittee reports.

Outstanding Legislative Program in Kentucky

The 1948 Kentucky General Assembly enacted 36 bills dealing with 26 out of 38 proposals contained in the "People's Legislative Program for Kentucky."

This program was developed and approved by various important Kentucky groups and interests working together under the auspices of the Committee for Kentucky, a fact-finding organization made up of representatives of business, industry, agriculture, labor, education, etc. These groups met together and presented their respective programs, which were considered and criticized. Recommendations that were unanimously approved were combined to form the "People's Legislative Program." All candidates for state office were sent copies of these proposals and 8,000 additional copies were distributed to other influential persons throughout the state.

The 38 proposals were presented and discussed by representatives from the participating groups at a joint hearing before important committees of the house and senate. Although the list of proposals was considered in the nature of a long-range program, nearly two-thirds were acted upon at the 1948 session. General topics included agriculture, aviation, business, conservation, education, labor, health and welfare.

Public Administration Training Program in New York

A joint program of internship and graduate training in public administration, sponsored by the State of New York and now in its second year, has recently been enlarged. Governor Dewey announced establishment of the program on May 22, 1947, and appointed an official committee of state officials and educators to act as its governing body.[1] Both the internships and the related graduate courses in public administration were under way by September 1947. During the first year of the program 25 internships were provided; this number has been increased to 30 for the second year.

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[1] John E. Burton, director of the budget, *chairman*; Paul H. Appleby, dean of the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public

Appointments to internships are made for a period of one year only. Candidates with a year of graduate study in public administration or the social sciences have been preferred and in the second year internships were opened to out-of-state residents. Most of the internships are located in Albany, although a few have been approved in state offices in New York City.

Training Program

The interns begin their training with a general orientation session in Albany followed by more specific introduction to the work of the department to which they are appointed. Interns are assigned to junior administrative duties designed to help them obtain a broad view of administrative methods and problems. They are given experience in several departmental divisions and, when practicable, may spend some time in related departments and in the central staff agencies of the state.

Semi-monthly seminar meetings of interns are held in Albany. Administrative details of the internship program are handled by the Department of Civil Service. Professional guidance outside the departmental organization is provided by a coordinator appointed from the public administration faculty of one of the state universities.

The graduate courses in public administration are offered jointly by New York University and Syracuse University and are under the direction of an administrative committee composed of Paul H. Appleby and William J. Ronan. The two schools have together worked out an integrated curriculum in public administration designed to stimulate professional growth and to develop administrative aptitude among the employees of the state. For most of the students enrolled the program leads to the master's degree in public administration.

Documentary and archival resources of the New York State Library and the state departments have been made available to the classes. Instruction is given by the regular faculties of the Graduate Division for Training in Public Service of New York University and the Maxwell School of Syracuse University. At least one member of the graduate faculties is resident in Albany.

Although a number of the courses have been developed with particular regard for the needs of students in Albany, the program is neither narrowly technical nor vocational in nature. It is not designed to prepare persons for promotion examinations or to train them as personnel technicians or budget examiners. Rather, courses have been selected with a view to widening the experience of state personnel and to promote understanding of the mainsprings of administrative policy and action and of the character and consequences of administrative processes. The committee on professional training of the Capital District Chapter of the American Society for Public Administration has advised and assisted the universities in the selection and planning of the program.

Courses being offered during 1948-49 by the New York University faculty include introduction to public administration, economics of public finance,

(Continued on page 559)

Affairs, Syracuse University; J. Edward Conway, president of the New York State Civil Service Commission; Robert T. Lansdale, commissioner of social welfare; Frank C. Moore, comptroller; William J. Ronan, director of the Graduate Division for Training in Public Service, New York University; Francis T. Spaulding, commissioner of education of the State of New York.

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

"Teas for Ten" Reach Thousands

Yonkers Women Organize in Support of Good Government

SEPTEMBER 27 was a red letter day for Yonkers, New York. Simultaneously with the opening of voters' registration week, four hundred "teas for ten" were held by the women of the city in an "unprecedented mass project to provide accurate and honest information about the problems of city government," reports the Yonkers *Herald Statesman.* The newspaper devoted some twenty column inches of space to a listing of the day's hostesses. The teas continued throughout registration week, reaching thousands of women.

Called the **New Women's Group,** and led by Mrs. Milton W. Harrison, its director, the organization has announced its purposes as follows:

> The New Women's Group—through its teas for ten—hopes to arouse the women of this city to their political responsibilities.
>
> The organization is nonpartisan and educational in its methods and aims.
>
> There will be no dues payments. Membership is open to all who are interested in making Yonkers a better place in which to live and to raise their families.

"The new organization hopes to acquaint more and more women voters of Yonkers with important local issues," says Mrs. Harrison. "Among the topics to be discussed this year will be the proportional representation method of electing members of the common council." Mrs. Harrison first conceived the idea—and carried it out—in her former home town of Akron, Ohio.

Mrs. George Shively is organization director. Her steering committee, working for past months, addressed more than 70 teas to make known the purposes of the group. The women thus reached were asked to give one of the teas for ten during registration week. The city has been organized into sections, each with its own leader, covering the entire community.

Hostesses at each tea outlined the aims and purposes of the New Women's Group and read prepared literature which stated, in part:

"This year we will vote as to whether P. R. will continue, or whether we will go back to the old ward plan with its dangers of machine control and petty ward politics. Proposition 1 for repeal of P. R. will appear on the top line of the voting machines. If you want to save P. R., vote No on proposition 1. Democracy must work—it's up to you and me here and now to make it work."

BPW Clubs Seek 'Political Alertness'

"Effective citizenship is a year-round responsibility," says the **National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs.** To bring the matter home to local clubs, citations were offered during the past year to those groups in which all members met these five requirements:

> 1. Every member of the club is enrolled in the political party of her choice.
> 2. Every club member has volunteered to do tasks at her party election district or precinct office.
> 3. Every member is identified with a local political party club.
> 4. Every member is informed of her state and local election laws.
> 5. Every member votes at the primaries, if primaries are held.

Results of the "political alertness"

contest have been most encouraging. Thirty-six clubs, in fifteen states, were awarded citations for a perfect record; 39 clubs in 23 states accomplished four of the requirements; 56 clubs in 30 states three; and an additional 207 clubs in 47 states reported some participation.

The federation's convention at Fort Worth, Texas, took action to "continue the good work undertaken to interest individual members in active participation in local organization work in the political party of their individual choice. As the individual members use their influence widely in the selection of qualified candidates, they will be doing the best possible work toward the accomplishment of the federation's goals. The interest of individual members is needed especially in helping in the selection of candidates equipped to do good work in fields in which the federation is working."

From Hemp Rope to Public Leadership

Reminiscing in the *Bulletin* of the **Chicago City Club**, William E. Rodriguez, the club's newly elected president, discusses the organization's beginnings in 1903. "Tradition has it," says Mr. Rodriguez, "that the club's charter members, headed by George E. Cole, made a trip to Springfield and sat in the halls of our state legislature in opposing a bill granting to traction baron Charles T. Yerkes the use of the streets of Chicago, on terms extremely favorable to Yerkes. These gentlemen not only sat in the legislative gallery but they gently swung hempen ropes therefrom during the progress of the debates of the lawmakers. Strangely enough, our chosen representatives then in Springfield quickly got the idea, and the bills failed of passage.

"In this year of grace, however, we believe we are as well able to accomplish civic improvement through public leadership and the force of our stand on public questions, expressed in factual reports based on unbiased studies and given wide publicity by ourselves and the public press."

Will the Amateur Never Learn?

"There's one thing amateur politicians never learn," says Robert Cruise McManus, of the **New Jersey Constitution Foundation**, in the final edition of his news letter, "and that is to stay in the race until it's all over. They're forever quitting at the top of the stretch and wandering off the track, under the impression that they've just won a blue ribbon.

"Take this constitution business, for instance. For years, before the new constitution was ever written, there was an active organization known as the **New Jersey Committee for Constitutional Revision.** James Kerney, Jr., its last chairman, described it as a 'people's lobby.' That's what it was, a federation of thirteen statewide organizations ranging all the way from the CIO to the Taxpayers' Association.

"When the constitutional convention assembled at New Brunswick last summer, the people's lobby was there with bells on. Its member organizations had agreed in advance on a minimum program of constitutional reform. That program was put on the desk of every convention delegate. Beyond that, the people's lobby brought expert witnesses to the convention to explain the program. These witnesses weren't just representatives of the local citizenry, they were nationally known scholars, jurists and governmental experts.

"It was hardly surprising, therefore, that the constitution which finally emerged from the convention was pretty much the same document that the people's lobby had asked for. So naturally, the people's lobby pitched in to help roll up the huge 'yes' majority we got last fall.

"Then the people's lobby folded up. No fooling! It just went 'bloop'!

"The boys and girls quit on the home stretch under the impression that the race was over. It didn't occur to them that the whole business of reorganizing the state's executive department was still nothing but a couple of paragraphs in the new constitution. They seemed to feel that if you just put those paragraphs into the state house sausage machine and turned a crank, out would come the reorganizedest executive branch you ever laid eyes on. They never woke up to the fact that this was THE OPPORTUNITY OF ALL TIME to save the money of the overtaxed citizens of New Jersey.

"So there was no people's lobby at Trenton this year to see that the constitution job was done right. There was no minimum program. There were no eminent witnesses. Figuratively speaking, the reorganization program was written on the corner of a desk and inched through the legislature, bill by bill.

"From all I've been able to find out, the new executive branch will have a much more efficient layout than the one it replaced. But, to my knowledge, nobody has yet come forward to show where it will save the taxpayers one five-cent piece.

"So the people will have just as much fun as usual hollering about the tax bill. But if you ever hear one fellow say to another: 'We could have saved ourselves plenty if we'd been on the firing line when they were reorganizing the government,' get in touch with me right away. I promise to send you a mink coat, or a white horse, or anything else you need."

With the Civic Groups

Four hundred persons attended a rally sponsored by the **West New York, New Jersey, Citizens' Nonpartisan League,** to sponsor adoption of the council-manager plan. . . . Every citizen who doesn't vote forfeits 88 cents worth of service, says the *Seattle Municipal News*. "That's how much it cost King County for each ballot cast in the 1946 elections. . . . The league, C. A. Crosser, secretary, received hundreds of telephone calls during primary election day from those seeking information on candidates and issues. The office ran out of its reports on these matters during the day despite the fact that 25,000 had been published. . . .

Rotarians of **Yonkers, New York,** got the "lowdown" on city affairs in a recent discussion on "City Hall Conversation," conducted by Oxie Reichler, editor of the local *Herald Statesman*. The city manager and heads of departments described the workings of the city government and their problems. Rotarians in turn asked pertinent questions. . . .

In **Kansas City, Missouri,** six new "junior cities" were organized within the first two weeks of school by the **Community Service Division of the Welfare Department.** Others are in process of organization.

The **National League of Women Voters** plans thirteen regional conferences to launch work on its 1948-50 current agenda item—"Analysis of federal taxes and expenditures in order to understand and support such fiscal policies as will make for a stable economy." One will be held in Boston November 18 and 19; one in Chicago, November 4-5; another in St. Paul, November 30-December 1.

Things are looking up in **Charleston County, South Carolina.** Following adoption of the manager plan in September, a 100 per cent slate of outstanding citizens—businessmen, educators, a police commissioner, etc.—was elected to the county council under the new charter, with the support of various civic groups. The **League of Women Voters,** Mrs. Albert Simons, president, polled candidates on pertinent questions pertaining to practice under the council-manager plan. . .

The **League of Women Voters of Madison, Wisconsin,** under the leadership of Mrs. Fred A. Clarenbach, is beginning a "comparative and critical study of the constitution of Wisconsin with a view to determining whether it provides the type of government that is needed today." . . .

Discussion of issues on the ballot for November 2 have been published by the **California Taxpayers' Association** in its September *Tax Digest,* Jessie K. Grant, editor, with recommendations; and by the **Portland (Oregon) City Club,** Margaret Clarke, executive secretary, in its *City Club Bulletin.* . . . The **Civic Club of Allegheny County,** Hazelle B. Scott, assistant secretary, and the **Allegheny County League of Women Voters** have issued their joint *Voters' Directory* on presidential, congressional and state and local candidates. . . .

"Citizen interest in community progress is making rapid strides," reports Lee J. Ninde, editor of the *News Letter* of the **Fort Wayne Civic Association.** "The citizen is more willing to listen, cooperate and participate in community programs than at any time since pioneer days when neighborly cooperation was a necessity." The *News Letter* describes the work of the **New York State Citizens' Council,** one of whose objectives is responsible public opinion, and refers to plans for establishment of neighborhood councils in Chicago, Toledo, Cincinnati and elsewhere.

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New Publications

In a booklet just published, *Fairfield County and the Regional Plan* (eight pages, illustrated) the **Regional Plan Association,** Paul Windels, president, urges citizens to give increased attention to planning. "Your county," says the association, research and planning agency for the New Jersey-New York-Connecticut metropolitan area, "must continue to plan for its future growth if it is to maintain its character of generally good development and if it is to avoid the consequences of the type of development spreading out from the large cities of the region." Fairfield (Connecticut) is a "corridor" county, a "commuter" county and a "growing" county, says the booklet, pointing out that the amount of future influx of commuters to Fairfield County communities "will have an important bearing on community development."

Recent issues of *Talk It Over,* published by the **National Institute of Social Relations,** Frank L. Weil, president, have as their subjects: "Should the Poll Tax Be Abolished?" and "How Can Youth Work for a Better Community?" Its 48-page volume, *It Pays to Talk It Over* (40 cents with discounts on quantity orders) gives notes and suggestions on the theory and technique of group discussion. It has been prepared for program chairmen, discussion leaders, etc.

As a public service to its community, the **Columbia Community Council** of School District No. 1, comprising Clinton Heights, East Greenbush, Nassau, North Greenbush and Schodack, New York, has published a *1948 Directory* of the area. Listed are township officials, officials and faculty of schools, churches and church organizations, home bureaus, veterans and other organizations, and residents. Included is a description of the Columbia Community Council, John W. Herring, president, with its officers.

Community Education in Action.—A Report on Community Organization and Adult Education (59 pages), has been prepared by the **Committee on Community Organization of the American Association for Adult Education,** from which it may be secured at 25 cents.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Sweden Holds National Elections

Continues List System in Use for Forty Years

IN THE quadrennial election of the second chamber of the Swedish Riksdag (parliament), held September 20 by a list system of proportional representation, the Social Democratic party maintained the dominating political position which it has held for sixteen years. Its strength was slightly reduced, however, from 115 to 112 of the 230 seats in the second chamber.

"The tendency is toward two main parties," the *New York Times* quoted Premier Tage Erlander as saying just before final returns were in, evidently alluding to the fact that the Liberal, Agrarian and Conservative parties had organized a kind of electoral alliance led by Bertil Ohlin, Liberal leader, which obtained 110 seats[1] for the three parties, a gain of ten over the previous distribution.

The Communist party lost 46 per cent of its parliamentary power, obtaining eight[1] seats, a loss of seven. Although these eight votes if combined with those of the opposition bloc could overcome the Social Democratic vote, which is now slightly less than a majority, the unwillingness of any other party to ally itself with the Communists is expected to result in the Social Democrats having an effective majority.

The Liberal party was the only one to gain additional seats and its performance was spectacular, its parliamentary delegation being more than doubled. With its 57 seats that party is in a position to play a leading part in the opposition bloc.

An interesting feature of the election was the preponderance of opposition bloc votes in Stockholm, which was, however, balanced by gains of the Social Democrats outside the capital. A record 80 per cent of the voters cast ballots.

Preliminary election results, as reported in the *New York Times*, appear in the accompanying table.

A post-election news release from the American-Swedish News Exchange states that Prime Minister Erlander has declared that a union between his Social Democratic party and the Agrarian group is possible but that he is not willing to join with the Lib-

Swedish Parliamentary Elections, September 20, 1948

Party	*Votes Cast*	*Gain[a] or Loss*	*Seats Secured*	*Gain[a] or Loss*
Social Democratic	1,749,672 (46.5%)	—3.4%	112 (44.4%)	— 3
Liberal	846,336 (22.5%)	+9.5%	57 (24.8%)	+31
Agrarian	474,075 (12.6%)	—1.1%	30 (13.0%)	— 5
Conservative	448,308 (11.8%)	—4.2%	22[b] (9.6%)	—17
Communist	241,178 (6.6%)	—3.8%	9[b] (3.9%)	— 6

[a] The columns marked "Gain or Loss" indicate the change in the preceding column as compared with the results of the 1944 election. A positive entry indicates a gain over 1944, a negative entry a loss.

[b] According to a later report from the American-Swedish News Exchange, final tabulations in one constituency have given the Conservatives one additional seat at the expense of the Communists, making their totals respectively 23 and 8.

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[1] See footnote b of accompanying table.

erals and Conservatives, as has been suggested, in a coalition cabinet. "To join formally in one cabinet forces which strive at different directions . . . ," he commented, "would mean to paralyze the power of action which today is so necessary in order to pursue a clear and determined economic policy." Union of the Agrarians with the Social Democrats would give the latter 142 votes, an absolute majority in the Riksdag.

Sweden has used a list system of proportional representation since 1907. Unlike the list systems of some countries, the Swedish system permits the voter to rank the candidates of the party for which he votes according to his own order of preference. It does not, however, permit the voter to express an order of preferences among candidates of more than one party (which is a feature of the Hare system, the form of P. R. used in English-speaking countries.)

South African Minority Victory Analyzed

"Nobody can blame . . . any . . . third party for the fact that in South Africa the Smuts parties with 547,437 votes have been beaten by the Malan parties[1] with 442,338 votes," writes Miss Enid Lakeman, research secretary of the Proportional Representation Society of Great Britain, in the *Liberal News* of July 16. Pointing out that the result of the 1948 general election in the Union of South Africa is an example of the undemocratic potentialities of the single-member district system, commonly used in England and America, in that a minority was successful in wresting power from a majority, Miss Lakeman continues: "There was not one single 'split vote' in the whole Union. Only eleven constituencies had more than two candidates, and in each of these the winner was elected with a clear majority. . . . The Nationalists made a pact with the Afrikaner party [and Unionists with Labour] to avoid 'split votes.' Under P. R. this would have been unnecessary;[2] an Afrikaner candidate, for example, could have been allowed his chance to get a quota of votes; if he failed he would have done no harm to his side, for his supporters' votes could then be transferred to a Nationalist candidate. . . .

"In 76 small constituencies (total poll 5,000 to 7,500 each), the Malan parties with 208,908 votes won 44 seats and the Smuts parties with 266,996 votes only 32 seats. In 62 larger constituencies (total poll 8,000 to 10,500 each), the Malan parties with 244,270 votes won 34 seats, and the Smuts parties with 281,041 votes won only 28 seats. In both cases the minority has won more seats than the majority, and the large constituencies are nearly as bad as the small in this respect."

System at Fault

The article concludes that the minority victory is not to be attributed to any concentration of strength of the Malan followers in smaller constituencies, nor because of any splitting of the vote, but simply to the basic fact that the single-member district system results in many votes being cast for losing candidates and one party may unwillingly waste a much larger proportion of its votes on losing candidates than another party.

"Out of 1,066,054 votes cast," Miss Lakeman remarks, "388,342 votes (36 per cent) were cast for losing candidates and had no effect on the result. Under the same voting system in Britain, 44 per cent of the vote cast in the general election of 1945 failed to affect the result. We cannot have 'fair shares' in Parliament unless most of the votes cast are made effective. That can easily be done by 'P. R.' "

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[1] The parties are here grouped under the names of the individual leaders of the two contending alignments.

[2] Elsewhere the article points out that P. R., in addition to making such pre-election deals unnecessary, also would have prevented the minority group from obtaining a majority of the seats.

New President Will Preside at P. R. Session

Hon. Albert D. Cash, mayor of Cincinnati, has been elected president of the Proportional Representation League by its trustees. He succeeds Dr. A. R. Hatton, formerly of Northwestern University, president of the League from 1930 until his death.

Mayor Cash will preside at the League's annual meeting, Hotel Statler, Boston, Tuesday morning, November 23.

The session will be devoted to a discussion of the problems of educating the voter on the advantages and use of P. R. Speakers will include Oxie Reichler, editor of the Yonkers *Herald Statesman* and recently elected a member of the P. R. League's advisory council, who will talk on the role of the newspaper; Robert B. Service, Jr., treasurer of the Citizens' Plan "E" Association of Worcester, who will describe the work of his organization in preparation for Worcester's first P. R. election in 1949; Edward Crane, city councilman, Cambridge, Massachusetts, who will describe the work of the Cambridge Citizens Association on P. R. and Mrs. George Shively, of the Yonkers New Women's Group, on "Teas for Ten" as carried out in that city in this fall's campaign to retain P. R.

As in past years the P. R. League, now merged with the National Municipal League, will meet in conjunction with the National Conference on Government of that organization,[1] November 22-24.

CITY, STATE AND NATION

(Continued from page 552)

federal-state-local finance, and employer-employee relations in government. The Syracuse faculty offers research methods in public administration, administrative planning, comparative personnel administration, and administrative ideas and institutions in the United States.

Lynton K. Caldwell
Professor of Political Science
Syracuse University

Michigan Groups Cooperate on Government Workshop

The Institute of Local Government, the Michigan Municipal League and educators throughout Michigan cooperated with Michigan State College to sponsor the college's third consecutive Summer Workshop in State and Local Government, July 6-23. Average daily attendance was 85, from throughout the state. A total of 55 students took the course for credit. Panels, participated in by some 80 persons, were held in the mornings, with visits to state and county offices in the afternoons. Enrollment substantially exceeded that of prior years.

Chairman of the workshop was James W. Miller of the Department of History and Political Science, Michigan State College. The program, drawn up early in the year, was approved by Professors William Combs and Marshall Knappen. The enterprise was marked by interest, cooperative spirit and unselfish efforts of public officials both state and local. D. Hale Brake, state treasurer and chairman of the Institute of Local Government in Michigan, actively assisted, securing the services of state and county officials; John Huss, director of the Michigan Municipal League and his colleague, Professor John W. Lederle of the University of Michigan, cooperated in obtaining the services of city officials.

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[1] See also page 528, this issue.

Two Counties Vote on Manager Plan

Santa Clara, Anne Arundel Citizens Seek New Charters

THE Board of Freeholders of Santa Clara County, California, elected June 1, 1948, to draft a home rule charter, has completed a plan calling for an appointed chief executive officer after approximately three months of work. Its task was expedited through studies made in preceding years by grand juries and various citizens' organizations. The defeated charter of 1933 also provided some important guide posts. As reported in this department last month, the charter has been scheduled for submission to popular referendum in the November 2 election.

The charter establishes the office of county executive, under supervision of and appointed by the county board of supervisors. The executive will have supervision over sixteen administrative officials. They include treasurer, tax collector, controller, clerk, recorder, coroner, sheriff, engineer, registrar of voters, purchasing agent, county librarian, building inspector, and directors of public health, welfare, planning and personnel.

The board of supervisors appoints, in addition to the county executive, the planning commission, personnel board, board of education, welfare commission, county counsel, clerk to the board, health commission, law library trustees, and members of other boards and commissions not otherwise provided for. The voters of the county will continue to elect the assessor, justices of peace, district attorney and superintendent of schools.

The charter also provides for the merit system, the initiative, referendum and the recall. The board of supervisors consists of five members elected on a district basis for four-year staggered terms.

Anne Arundel Campaign

The campaign to secure a favorable vote on the manager charter for Anne Arundel County (Annapolis), Maryland, has been one of increasing intensity. This charter was to have gone into operation a year ago, but by petition its operation was stayed until a referendum could be held at the general election this month.[1]

Recently the South Anne Arundel Lions Club listened to a speech on the plan and then went on record in favor of the measure. It has also received the endorsement of the Annapolis and Anne Arundel County Chamber of Commerce after study of the plan by a seventeen-man committee appointed by the chamber's president.

Counties Consider Manager

The foreman of the Greenwood County, South Carolina, Grand Jury has declared that the jury has been studying the manager plan and he is personally in favor of it for Greenwood County. The real decision on the adoption of the plan, however, would rest with the legislative delegation of the county.

The manager plan already is in operation in the city of Greenwood. It is assumed that the county plan would be similar in many respects. Under the structure of South Carolina government, the legislative delegation in the state legislature determines matters of policy for the cities and counties, and the manager performs his administrative duties under its direction.

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[1] See the REVIEW, February 1948, page 111.

In Washoe County (Reno), Nevada, the Nevada Taxpayers' Association has interested the county commissioners in the manager form. The commissioners are currently engaged in studying the experience of manager government elsewhere.

Missouri County to Draft Home Rule Charter

Buchanan County (St. Joseph), Missouri, one of the four counties under the new Missouri constitution with the right to draft its own charter, has secured a sufficient number of signatures for appointment of a charter commission.[1] The four county judges now are required to name the fourteen persons who will constitute the charter commission, to consist of an even number of Democrats and Republicans.

Under the constitutional provisions, the judges have until November 20 to name the commission. It is believed that they will wait until after the November 2 general election in order to give themselves the maximum time possible to canvass all possible names and to avoid any political implications in the appointments that they make.

The commission will be allowed one year in which to draft a charter.

Durham Again Considers City-County Consolidation

The Durham, North Carolina, city council has again instructed the mayor of the city to appoint a committee of four, and to ask the Durham County commissioners to appoint a committee of three, to study the proposed consolidation of the city and county governments, reports *Popular Government.*

A similar study was undertaken as early as 1932 and again last February when the General Assembly authorized such action. The latter commission disbanded last spring, however, when it was advised that the legislative act under which it was working might be unconstitutional since it delegated wide powers for making recommendations to the commission.

The present resolution of the Durham city council provides for consultation between the commission and the attorney general before it presents its proposals to the General Assembly.

Wisconsin to Consider State-County Infirmary System

The Wisconsin Medical Society and the Wisconsin Association of County Judges have devised a state-county infirmary plan to provide care for the thousands of chronically ill and aged and infirm citizens of Wisconsin. The measure was introduced toward the close of the 1947 legislature, but it was too late for action to be taken on it. It will be resubmitted when the next legislature convenes. The rapid increase of the state's aged population is given as the need for such legislation at an early date.

County Officials Favor Four-Year Terms

At a recent convention of the Joint Association of County Officials in Wisconsin, the members attending the convention went on record in favor of four-year terms for state and county officials.

Kansas Bureau Weighs Savings in County Consolidation

A recent issue of *Your Government,* bulletin of the Bureau of Government Research, University of Kansas, devotes its entire space to the problem of county consolidation in Kansas. The major article is based on a master's thesis submitted at the University of Kansas.

The conclusion reached is that county

(Continued on page 568)

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[1] See the Review. May 1946, page 267.

Taxation and Finance . . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

New Jersey Commission Disapproves Bonus

Claims Sum Needed Would Lead to Unbalanced Budget

BEFORE it adjourned last spring, the New Jersey legislature, by concurrent resolution, directed the Commission on State Tax Policy to prepare legislation for submitting the question of a bonus for World War II veterans to the voters at the 1948 election. The further question of the method of financing the bonus was also to be submitted.

The commission, in its formal report filed in August, refused to do either, stating that it had been assigned a duty impossible of performance.

The resolution setting the commission's task had charged it with the incidental duty of drawing the proposals in such manner as to maintain a sound fiscal structure for the state. The advisory body found, however, that the amount of the bonus proposed—roundly $105,000,000—while not substantial when divided among the state's 550,000 eligible veterans, was so large as to lead to chronic unbalanced budgets. It forecast that, without the cost of a bonus, the state's general fund balance would be virtually exhausted by the end of the fiscal year 1948-49 and that, even if all highway fund balances were used, 1949-50 would end with a deficit unless new revenues were developed.

Only two revenue sources — an increase in the gasoline tax and a special tax on beer—had been before the legislature as means of financing the bonus, although a state lottery had also been proposed but was held by the commission to be untenable for legal and moral as well as fiscal reasons.

The commission held neither of these excises would meet the requirements of a general tax with dependable and adequate yield, and concluded that since the two major taxes available in the alternative—income and general sales taxes—were politically unavailable because of declared opposition by the governor and the two major politica parties, its only practical solution was to frame a question for submission whereby the voters could select the revenue measure themselves. This, they were advised by the attorney general they could not do inasmuch as a revenue measure to be submitted for approval would have to be already on the statute books.

Louisville Wage Tax Upheld by Court of Appeals

A tax of 1 per cent on wages and the net profits of businesses and corporations, levied by the city of Louisville, Kentucky, has recently been held constitutional by the Kentucky Court of Appeals.

A taxpayer had contended that the levy was an income tax, that the city lacked authority to impose an income tax, and that the measure was therefore unconstitutional.

The tax is levied as a privilege tax however, and the court so construed it holding it to be a license fee measured by income and not an income tax as such. The court pointed out that the state constitution did not impose limitations for measuring the license tax or limitations on what may be licensed.

Miami Enacts, Rescinds, Newspaper Tax

A new municipal transactions tax had a remarkably brief life recently with the city's daily newspapers the objective. According to an Associated Press dispatch, Miami, Florida, for about five hours on August 18, had a tax of 1 per cent on the gross receipts of daily newspapers. The tax ordinance was adopted early in the council's session by a vote of three to two but, as the session was ready to adjourn, one councilman changed his vote from "yes" to "no."

The measure's supporters described the tax as necessary to raise an estimated $250,000 for capital improvements in the 1948-49 budget, but the Miami *Herald*, in an editorial of August 5, 1948, had described it as "punative" for newspaper support of a recall election petition growing out of the discharge of the city manager by the council majority. The newspaper had promised a court test of the law.

Since the five-hour-old ordinance would not have become effective for 30 days, no taxes accrued under it.

Parking Meters to Finance Parking Lot

Wayne, Michigan, has enacted an ordinance pledging the revenues of its parking meters for the construction of a 600-car off-street parking lot in the business district, according to Village Manager Peter F. Roan. The lot, to be completed in the spring of 1949, will be the largest municipally-owned parking enterprise in the state.

As an alternative to revenue bond financing, the village had considered meeting the cost of the lot by special assessments against benefited business properties. Under the procedure adopted, both capital financing and maintenance expenses will be paid from the parking meter revenues. According to Mr. Roan, Ann Arbor is the only other city in Michigan which has thus far used revenue bond financing for off-street parking facilities.

Error Keeps Amendment Off Primary Ballot

The Minneapolis Charter Commission has proposed an amendment to the city's charter granting additional tax-levying powers to the Board of Education. It was scheduled for submission to the voters at the September 14 primary election. However, through error, the notice of election was not published four weeks prior to that date and it will be necessary to call a special election.

Pennsylvania Surveys New Local Taxes

With the local revenue situation in a state of ferment not approached since the early 1930s, as municipalities experiment with new "non-tax" revenue sources, it is notable that Pennsylvania—whose municipalities, acting under so-called "Act 481" of 1947, are at the forefront among experimenters—has undertaken a continuous study of what is going on within its borders. The surveys are being conducted by the Pennsylvania Bureau of Municipal Affairs, which late in September released two pertinent studies.

One study[1] examines some of the legal aspects of the rash of new local revenue ordinances. Prepared for the guidance of local officials and not intended to replace the study and opinions of the appropriate municipal law officers, this survey summarizes the major points of contention already decided or before the Pennsylvania courts in connection with tax measures enacted under authority of Act 481. It also considers some of the problems not yet before the courts.

Other aspects studied are the relationship of Act 481 and of the so-called

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[1] *Legal Problems Involving Act 481,* by Elizabeth Smedley. Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Department of Internal Affairs, Bureau of Municipal Affairs, Harrisburg, 1948.

Sterling Act, adopted in the late 1930s, and the authority for the Philadelphia wage tax.

Among the significant aspects of the act affirmed by the state courts are: that it is constitutional; that while taxes levied under it may not duplicate state taxes the fact that it taxes the same person, object or income is not necessarily a duplication; that the revenue from all taxes levied under the act may not exceed the maximum amount of property taxes which the unit might levy for general purposes; and that taxes levied under the act may not be unreasonable or excessive.

Not yet clearly indicated by the courts are questions arising when two or more overlapping units levy a similar tax, matters having to do with the mechanics of collection when two or more units attempt to centralize the collection procedure in one agency, and broad aspects of the relationship between the collection provisions of ordinances adopted under the act and collection procedure provided by general law.

That the legal and administrative aspects of wholesale experimentation with a broad group of new local tax measures are large is indicated by a second study[2] tabulating the tax measures enacted under Act 481 as of September 20, 1948. This shows that a total of 382 local units have enacted 503 different tax measures. Some 35 cities have enacted 50 measures, 127 boroughs have enacted 181 measures, 13 first class townships have passed 14 tax ordinances, and 207 school districts have adopte 258 measures.

Of the 503 tax measures enacted, 12 were severance and related privileg taxes and 119 were amusement taxes these two groups accounting for nearl half the total. Income taxes ranke third with 78 measures, per capita taxe fourth with 72 measures, and taxe on mechanical devices fifth with 5 measures.

There were 19 mercantile taxes an 10 taxes on deed transfers. There were four measures each taxing personal property and occupations, three each taxing signs and billboards, trailers and manufacturers, two each taxing scrap metal dealers, fuel pumps and employers, and one each taxing used car dealers, auto dealers both used and new, ashes and cinders, business privileges, parking space and taxicabs.

The largest number of units making use of Act 481 was in Allegheny County, where Pittsburgh and two other cities, fourteen boroughs, five townships, and twenty school districts had enacted taxes of one kind or another. Cambria County, however, with 37 units, and Westmoreland County, with 34 units, were close contenders.

The largest single anticipated yield under the measure was $1,500,000 expected from a 10 per cent admission tax in Pittsburgh. Johnstown, in Cambria County, expects to get $500,000 from a 1 per cent income tax, while Sharon, in Mercer, expects to raise $350,000 from an income tax of 7 mills. In most instances, however, the expected yields are modest, although of substantial benefit to the small units which make up the bulk of the municipalities using the act.

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[2] *Taxes Levied Under Act 481 as of September 20, 1948.* Bureau of Municipal Affairs, Harrisburg, 1948.

Books in Review

Politics in the Empire State. By Warren Moscow. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1948. 250 pp. $3.

Mr. Moscow as a political reporter covered Albany for seven years for the *New York Times* and, before that, covered the New York city hall for other papers. Here he reports in orderly factual fashion on the current condition and practices of the state government, including the regime of Governor Dewey.

Aside from taking some of the polish off Governor Dewey's repute, he brings us no disclosures or sensations, no lifting of the lid. He deals frankly with the realities of the state's politics and, as might be expected of a competent man at his post, there is probably little that has escaped him. Happily he shows little of the cynicism about characters and motives which newspaper men so often affect; he even admires on occasion!

New York is quite possibly the best governed state in the union. The scale of its operations—90,000 mental patients, for instance—and the intensity of its problems have made it a pioneer in administrative techniques and it is served by a long array of departmental experts who bother not at all with politics. Its governors have not only been well intentioned but capable and earnest. Its legislature has long been free of scandals and its cities under home rule are independent and progressive. There are pressure groups, of course, but, if there be corruption, even Mr. Moscow, with plenty of time and skill, on the scene for seven years, is unaware of it.

As a candid portrait of the men and the facts of political life in the Empire State in the last twenty years, the volume is sound and superbly well informed. New Yorkers will read it with satisfaction to round out their knowledge of their state, and people in Pennsylvania, for instance, will look on the picture with envy.

RICHARD S. CHILDS

The Politics of Equality; New Zealand's Adventures in Democracy. By Leslie Lipson. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1948. xiii, 520 pp. $6.

The author, now a professor of political science at Swarthmore College, spent eight years as director of the School of Public Administration in the University of New Zealand and was several times a consultant to governmental agencies.

In this serious work he describes the early history of government in New Zealand and its second period, the period of pioneer social experimentation which began in 1890. It is significant that he finds it unnecessary to describe the numerous interventions of the government into local economics—minimum wage laws, compulsory arbitration in labor disputes, old-age pensions, government insurance and socialized medicine, for these things, and woman suffrage, too, came into being in New Zealand earlier than elsewhere, but the rest of the world has so largely caught up with its leader that the techniques which New Zealand has to exhibit in such fields are no longer advanced models. New Zealand was first but is no longer unique.

The narrative of New Zealand politics is lucid and often parallels our own story of abuses and reforms. There was abuse of patronage to protect the "ins" from dislodgements, and civil service reform. There was disorderly growth of bureaus, and efforts to regroup and streamline administration. There were amateurs galore in technical posts, legislative interferences in administrative detail and all the things that tend to keep quality of government mediocre.

Over 20 per cent of the working population is on the government payroll and it is organized and throws its weight politically.

The tussle between special interests and the general interest is intense and unceasing; demagoguery affronts groups of high purpose. But politics is rather simple; there are, as in England, only two layers of government, and 95 per cent of the eligible voters turn out to vote. The plurality elections have brought periods of difficulty when there were three or four parties on the scene. It all sounds familiar!

Professor Lipson starts on the interesting quest indicated by the title to see if politics are different in a community where all men are really quite equal economically with no pinnacles of wealth or power. In so far as this equality of wealth is imposed by government, it restricts liberty; a moneymaking genius would meet his comeuppance in the steep income taxes—another New Zealand invention.

The character of the national economy which is mainly agrarian does not lead to massive organizations of employees or aggregations of capital. So perhaps there is less pressure from privilege seekers.

But if the stakes be less, it appears from the narrative that the political drama is just as intense as here. That is my interpretation of the facts, for the author does not answer for us his main query as to whether politics in this equalitarian state is any different from politics elsewhere among the democracies.

He does find a difference in the social scene—in this two-dimensional plane the scene lacks diversity and cultural animation, the people seem unstimulated by security, novelty shocks them, originality is discouraged, genius in the arts and sciences has just never appeared. There are no further bold social programs in sight, no dreams of new enchantments ahead; no leaders with further visions beyond those that were achieved decades ago. Protecting people against pits of poverty is a negative program of prevention and repair, and freedom from fear is fine, of course, as far as it goes.

It is disappointing to have to infer that completion of such programs has not released the energies of those 1,600,000 people for inspiriting leadership of the world in further social pioneering!

R. S. C.

A Little Democracy Is A Dangerous Thing. By Charles W. Ferguson. New York, Association Press, 1948. 124 pp. $1.50.

A highly enthusiastic preachment on what a wonderful thing it would be if there were many times as many discussion circles, overhauling public questions, as there actually are. That, as the author sees it, would be democracy as distinguished from the "little democracy" we have.

The merits of such a situation are repeatedly pictured as sure to lead toward world government; the author would apparently be disappointed if the discussion groups wasted energy on any other subject or failed to force the hands of eminent men like Trygvie Lie, Secretary Marshall and the scholars of the American Association for the United Nations who deplore that crusade as a pipe dream.

Mr. Ferguson seems unaware of the vast number of issues which public opinion is supposed to influence—Walter Lippmann started counting them once—in contrast to the trivial number on which mass convictions can be accumulated in a given year. The League of Women Voters could testify how few programs per year can be put across in a chain of their experienced discussion groups.

Granted that more discussion groups,

especially in social strata that don't have them, would be a good thing, they are no solution, and we shall go on with efforts to improve and simplify representative government.

Fernando Wood of New York. By Samuel Augustus Pleasants. New York, Columbia University Press, 1948. 216 pp. $3.

A well documented biography of a mayor and politician of easy standards in New York City in the era just before Tweed. Interesting chiefly as a reflection of local politics in that period.

Planning the Modern Municipal Report. By The Mead Corporation, New York 17, 1948. 40 pp. Free

This pamphlet is an enlightened oblique advertisement for Mead's fine papers but it is so well done that it earns review here nevertheless. It advises highly dramatized pictorial municipal reports and exhibits in copious illustrations an array of the best, selected from a collection of over 500. An important and amply studied contribution to the efforts made by the International City Managers' Association and others to improve the style and attention value of municipal reports intended for citizens! And no one will mind the four unobtrusive pages at the back which list Mead's papers.

American Farmers' and Rural Organizations. By David Edgar Lindstrom, edited by Herbert McNee Hamlin. Champaign, Illinois, The Garrard Press, 1948. xii, 457 pp. $4.75.

This book has been prepared as a first course in colleges but can be used with high school classes as well. It discusses the field of farmers' and rural organizations, historical backgrounds, present-day farmers' organizations, comparative structures, functions and processes, and national policies, rural values and human welfare. Selected readings and questions are listed at the end of each chapter. While prepared mainly for students, the book should prove useful to leaders of rural groups and in adult education.

The Government of Canada. By Robert MacGregor Dawson. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1948. x, 662 pp. $5.50.

A competent critical description of the dominion government (omitting provincial and local), its structure, history and working, including the activities of the political parties.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Directories

Census Publications 1947—Catalog and Subject Guide—with a Special Appendix of Publications of the 1945 Census of Agriculture. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1948. 229 pp.

United States Government Manual—1948. Washington 25, D. C., The National Archives, Division of the Federal Register. 722 pp. $1. (Apply to Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C.)

Government Textbooks

Introduction to American Government. (Ninth Edition.) By Frederic A. Ogg and P. Orman Ray. New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1948. ix, 1135 pp. $5.

Labor

Causes of Industrial Peace under Collective Bargaining. (Case Studies 1.) By Clark Kerr and Roger Randall. Washington, D. C., National Planning Association, 1948. 78 pp. $1.

Metropolitan Areas

The Problem of Government in the San Francisco Bay Region. By John C. Bollens. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1948. 162 pp. $2 paper bound; $3 cloth bound.

Parking

Parking Survey—Downtown Toledo. Summary of Findings. A Preliminary Report by the Toledo-Lucas County Plan Commissions in Cooperation with the Ohio Department of Highways and the Public Roads Administration, Federal Works Agency. Toledo, Commission of Publicity and Efficiency, 1948. 21 pp.

Pensions

Retirement Planning for Small Municipalities. Personnel Aspects, Objectives, Technical Problems, Insured Method of Coverage, The Statewide Plan, Typical Provisions, Question of Social Security Coverage, Suggested Policy and Procedure. By A. A. Weinberg. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1948. 12 pp. 50 cents.

Planning

Concerning Town Planning. By Le Corbusier, Translated by Clive Entwistle from the French **Propos D'Urbanisme.** New Haven, Yale University Press, 1948. 127 pp. $2.75.

Local Planning and Zoning. A Manual of Powers and Procedures for Citizens and Governmental Officials. Albany, New York Department of Commerce, Bureau of Planning, 1948. 82 pp.

Mapping for Planning. A Procedural Guide for the Classification and Mapping of Land Uses and Related Technical Studies. By E. B. Wilkens. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service. 1948. 25 pp. $1.50.

Population

Estimates of the Population of Voting Age by States: 1948. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1948. 6 pp.

Public Libraries

Standards and Planning for Public Libraries. Chicago, American Library Association, 1948. 12 pp.

Recreation

Recreation. An Analysis of Its Administration and Program of Activities and Facilities Required. Cincinnati, City Planning Commission, 1947. 186 pp. illus. $1.

Wages

The Guaranteed Annual Wage. By Alexander Calder and James L. Knipe. Washington, D. C., National Planning Association, 1948. 38 pp. 50 cents.

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP

(Continued from page 561)

government costs the taxpayers in small counties from two to four times as much as it does in the largest counties. The author admits that the savings expected through consolidation are impossible to prove absolutely. In fact, he states that this is one of the factors which has retarded the progress of the consolidation movement.

The author of the original thesis took three groups of counties in various parts of the state and compared them with nearby large counties. In the condensed article, however, only one group of four counties is selected for comparison with a nearby county, roughly equal in population to the combined population of the four.

Statistical tables reveal that the greatest savings would be made in the salaries of county officers. Other savings would be made in the assessment of property and auditing. Total estimated savings of approximately $60,000 would be more than 20 per cent of the total cost of county government in the area.

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The Boston Conference

THE contradictory and charming city of Boston, place of extraordinary extremes where they say their politicians are more Curley than crooked, was the scene of the National Conference on Government in November.

It was the third time the conference had been held there, the others having been in 1902 and 1924. Physically, Boston looked pretty much the same as it did the other times, which was an asset in the minds of many who were delighted by the graceful way the city carried its age and historical significance.

But in spirit there was a difference. Back in 1924, Mayor Curley had addressed the conference. This time he wasn't invited (he's pretty busy, anyway, mending fences in the hope of preventing the people from adopting what in Massachusetts they call "Plan E," which provides the council-manager plan and proportional representation; and any spoils policitian knows how bad that combination is—for him).

The spirit is different in that the citizenry has already revolted sufficiently to hammer through the last legislature a bill giving them the right, at long last, to decide for themselves what form of government they shall have; a right denied Bostonians when it was extended to other cities some years ago.

Back in 1924 Boston was suffering acutely from suburbanitis, the symptoms of which are the decay of the hemmed in central cities as good citizens move to outlying areas. Today this condition is infinitely worse, about as bad as can be found.

These and other factors made Boston an ideal place for a conference which came to grips with some of the toughest problems of practical citizenship.

How to turn the rascals out of city hall; how to put local government on a business basis and make it more human than before; how to find money for decent local services without bankrupting the taxpayers; how to reconcile the mother city and her obstreperous children of suburbia; how to get rid of double talk and double dealing in politics; how to make politics safe for democracy and every citizen a leader in making his city the kind of home town he would really like it to be—these are some of the problems tackled at the conference, with vigor, determination and right good will.

Of course, they're not solved. There's still the job to do in Boston and every other city and town and state throughout the land. But the conference gave encouragement, charts and marching orders to more civic soldiers than anybody counted. And we know they'll be passing on the ammunition to thousands of others for months and years to come.

Politicians in Retreat

IN THE 1938 *Municipal Year Book,* the first in which municipal charters having nonpartisan council elections were counted, 863—or 51 per cent—of 1686 cities over 5000 in population reported nonpartisan versus 823 partisan.

In 1948, of 1956 cities, 1128—57 per cent—reported nonpartisan versus 828 partisan.

In that period use of the council-manager plan (82 per cent nonpartisan) nearly trebled to account for almost all the swing, since it must be remembered that commonly each adoption added to one list also reduces the other. Of the 78 (18 per cent) council-manager cities with partisan elections in 1948, 25 were in Pennsylvania.

Nonpartisan elections prevail in every one of the seven population classes, the highest ratio being 73.9 per cent in the 23 cities of 250,000 -500,000. Geographically, they are less common in the east; all but unheard of in Pennsylvania and universal in California.

Not many of the nonpartisan elections mask a partisan reality. The device accomplishes its intention in most cities and fails to disperse both national party blocs only in metropolitan areas for reasons inherent in mere size of the electoral units; when electorates get too big they bcome hard to canvass effectively by individual or voluntary committee improvisations and the trained organized standing armies of the national parties retain great power, as in Boston.

With a majority of our cities nonpartisan, it becomes harder for local politicians to call the idea a novelty and prate piously of the imaginary virtues of the two-party system in municipal affairs. The two-party system is actually a stale one-party system in all jurisdictions except those few that happen to be closely balanced. The "battles" between the two city committees usually are one-sided and meaningless.

The processes of selection are obscure even with direct primaries and, in endless cases, nomination is equivalent to election, leaving the successful nominees deep in debt to the ticket-makers. Depriving the ticket-makers of the magic label "Republican" and "Democratic" has often disclosed that they really have trivial personal followings, and voters, relieved of any implication of apostasy to their traditional labels, proceed to follow the merits within and across party lines with easy freedom.

But even in medium and small cities with nonpartisan ballots the old commandments stand: the ballot must be short and the elective offices must all be important lest the voter come up against a discovery that he has in some contests no guidance on the ballot to accept and no opinion of his own to express!

Where Are the Leaders?

Successful people challenged as having greater obligation to take responsibility for brand of politics in home town.

By CHARLES EDISON*

IT HAS always been an uphill fight for freedom, for the dignity of the individual, for the right of men to rule themselves against those who would enslave and degrade their fellow men.

The cause for which the National Conference on Government is being held is essentially the same cause for which men and women founded this city of Boston and later fought for their right to govern it themselves. No man with eyes to see can doubt that this cause is in gravest peril today, just 328 years after the Pilgrims landed on the edge of Massachusetts Bay.

The obvious danger comes from overseas, from lands which have submitted to a modern tyranny more nearly absolute than any against which our forefathers fought here or in the home lands whence they came. It is, moreover, a tyranny which in various forms in the last generation has beguiled and bemused many good people with false fronts, smooth promises and misappropriated labels like "democracy," "humanity," and "peace."

But it is not the menace of any foreign grown "ism" or autocracy about which I would warn you. The greater enemy is something much more insidious, much more dangerous, much nearer home. It is our own civic and political sins, potentially deadly sins of omission and commission, which we must overcome if we are to carry the great promise of historic America safely through this generation of trouble.

It is not in the American tradition or temper to be afraid of any foreign power or combination of powers, however formidable. In the early days of the republic we sometimes fought against apparently unbeatable odds. We did so without fear of the outcome because we were confident of the rightness of our cause and the certainty of our destiny.

Now we are the richest, most powerful people on earth, with the most spectacular record of success behind us, and perhaps the best strategic location on the face of the globe. Yet we are sore afraid and our fear leads us to such fits and starts in the conduct of foreign affairs and such doubts about our internal strength that peoples less fortunately situated wonder what can be the matter with us.

A basic trouble is with our conscience, our civic conscience if you will, which alone could seriously disturb a great people at the peak of its material strength.

Why is our civic conscience troubled? We have only to look about us to see how far short we are in so many ways of living up to the requirements of the democracy which we profess and which we commend to other people. On November 2 the ballot boxes were opened and ballots were counted for a man to occupy the most powerful and most important public office in the world—the presidency of the United States. It is estimated that there are at least 90,000,000 persons in this country who are entitled to vote. Only 47,000,000 of them voted. At least 43,000,000 did *not*. Think of it, 43,000,000 people did not trouble to exercise their constitutional right to share in this election.

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Why Apathy

Why did so many people stay away from the polls? Why did the experts tell us for weeks before election that there was a great boredom in the land?

There are at least two reasons which we'd better look at and ponder and do something about. The first is political double talk. The second is the political double standard.

We complain about the double talk of the politicians behind the iron curtain in Eastern Europe. Honestly, it doesn't have much of an edge on the double talk which has become the accepted jargon of the typical American party platform.

Even more distressing is double talking or mumble talking by many candidates themselves. So inveterate has become the habit of using words to hide rather than to convey meaning that voters often can't believe their ears when a candidate talks to them straight from the shoulder in words of single purpose. Moreover, unambiguous language of the candidate is frequently belied by the platform, the party record or even the candidate's own past performance.

So people have learned to take their campaigns and their candidates with a shrug and many grains of salt. And the easy way for about half the people is to say, "It's all spinach," and have none of it.

Political Double Standard

Even more depressing to our democratic morale is the political double standard. This is best illustrated by the vast gap between the lofty sentiments commonly expressed on nation-wide hookups and the brutally earthy talk of the political club house in the third ward. The difference might not be so disturbing if it weren't for the fact that the two kinds of talk frequently come simultaneously from the two sides of the same mouths. Where is the candidate for any major office who has failed to seek the support of characters whom no self-respecting citizen would think of admitting to his own home. The sad truth is that both parties are infested with plunderbunds known as local political machines and petty tyrants known as bosses. Everyone knows it and wonders how the candidate can be as good as he sounds if he must curry favor with such creatures.

Still more disturbing to the equilibrium of the voter is the spectacle of the esteemed candidate for governor or president appealing for votes not only for himself but also "for the whole ticket," including persons notoriously corrupt, incompetent, antagonistic to the stated objectives of the candidate, contemptuous of the public, and altogether unfit for any public responsibility. I am sorry to say I know of few candidates, whether for the presidency or for lesser offices, who have not been guilty of asking their fellow citizens to vote for persons whom no honest man or woman could recommend for the most menial private employment. But I believe that a candidate for high office, to be worthy of being elected, must have the courage and honesty to denounce and pursue with equal vigor villainy in his own party as well as the other party.

The recent campaign was not very different from other national and state elections in recent years in the amount of double talking or the prevalence of the double standard. If these things depressed or confused a few more people than sometimes, it was probably because of the growing sense that the old shoddy politics as usual simply will not do in the present crisis of democracy.

These things, I think, account for part of the 43,000,000 Americans who stayed away from the polls in the recent election. They also forced many of those who did vote to move to the polls on reluctant feet, with heavy hearts, with confusion in their minds and guilt on their consciences. No wonder as a people, in our dealings with other peoples, great and small, we show signs of the split personality of one at war with himself.

If we are to move forward once again with confidence toward the goal long ago set for us, we must give up the luxury of the political double life. We must give up the luxury of excusing ourselves for practices utterly incompatible with our long range objectives. We must give up the luxury of personal inaction in the face of national sins. We must take vigorous and determined action to cast out of our public life no less than seven deadly sins. These are not precisely the seven deadly sins of the early theologians but the identity or similarity of some of them will be recognized.

The Deadly Sins

First, is *indifference*, apathy, "I don't care," "I'm not interested in politics." In Germany "I'm not interested in politics" found himself in the concentration camp. "I'm not interested in politics" is looking for a free ride from his fellow citizens. I doubt if we can carry 43,000,000 free riders in American democracy.

Second, is like unto indifference. It is *laziness* or, in theological language, *sloth*. It is often the more honest word for "I don't care." The conniver, the political self-seeker, the demagogue, the tyrant, may grow fat but he does not attain his ends by laziness. Many a civic crusade has failed simply because the good citizens could not bring themselves to be as industrious in their own interest as the political connivers were in theirs.

Third, we have *cowardice*. We have the cowardice of the little man who will not vote in a party primary because he is afraid to have his party affiliations known. We have the cowardice of nice well mannered people who will not denounce villainy and corruption, or the sometimes more corrosive evils of incompetence and inadequacy, because they don't want to be considered unpleasant, they don't want to be known as reformers.

And we have the cowardice of the apparently powerful, of men in high places, in business, labor, industry, finance, the professions, yes, even in institutions of education and religion dedicated to enlightening the mind and freeing the spirit of man. How many times have you heard one of these say, "I feel as strongly as you do but, of course, in my position I can't be quoted" or "I know that the gang in city hall is ruining the reputation and jeopardizing the prosperity of the city but, of course, I don't dare say anything about it because you know what they would do to us."

Now, let's think about these unfortunate inheritors of the American Revolution, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. They may pretend to be free but I submit that no man is free in this or any other land who cannot speak freely and throw his weight solidly for what he thinks is right for his city, his state and his country.

Fourth is *greed,* short-sighted selfishness which leads men to seek little personal gains through politics: exemption from the just exactions and regulations imposed for the common good or legislation to promote a private privilege rather than a public purpose. Sometimes big stakes are played, but more often the favor or the benefit sought may seem a little thing, a parking ticket fixed, an inspection done lightly. However little, it immediately puts the seeker or the recipient in the power, if not altogether in the class, of those engaged full time in the business of perverting democratic government to their strictly private ends.

Fifth, we have *perverted* or *misdirected loyalty.* I believe we all should seek to ally ourselves with one or another of the recognized political parties. But some of us, I think, attach ourselves too closely to the party of our choice or to a particular figure in that party. Many a vicious political machine has been kept in power by the votes of the best people in the city simply because they had neither the imagination nor the sense of higher duty to denounce and combat villainy wherever it appears, even in their own party, perhaps among members of their own club, social set, or business circle.

'Politics a Dirty Business'

Sixth, there is *false pride.* It expresses itself in many smart aleck cracks: "I never talk politics," "Politics is a dirty business," "I didn't raise my boy to be a politician," "I teach children, I haven't time for politics." In the name of all that's American, how can anyone feel superior to politics? We achieved our independence by politics, we freed the slaves by politics, we have extended the benefits of modern knowledge of health, education, human welfare by politics. We are taxed by politics. Our business may expand or wither by politics. No state in history has ever existed without politics and if any of us are really too good for politics, we are either too good for this world or we'd better do something about our politics.

Last comes *cynicism,* close kin to false pride and perverted loyalty.

"Oh, you can't do anything about it," "It's always been that way and always will be." All I can say to the cynic who really believes that is that there is no hope for him or for any society in which there are many of his kind.

What must we do to be saved? The answer is tough but simple. We must be politically honest with ourselves as we would be personally honest with our friends. We must look to the roots of democracy in our home towns, large and small. The tree of liberty can be no more healthy than the soil from which it grows. Men and women do not start their public careers in the Assembly of the United Nations or the senate or presidency of the United States, and work down to mayor, town councilman and party district leader. The American political ladder goes just the other way. So the essential ethics, folkways and motivations of American politics derive from the home town, not from some rarified atmosphere floating over the capitol dome in Washington.

Laws Won't Save

I have always been puzzled by people who thought that salvation was to be had simply by passing or unpassing a law in Congress or getting an order from the president. But I have often been shocked at the identity of some of the people who act as if they thought that. Believe it or not, the worst offenders in this regard are where you would least expect to find them—in the seats of the mighty in business, industry and finance.

They are people who invariably denounce "federal centralization," "Washington bureaucracy" and the like, but whose behavior tends constantly to promote those very things. How? By studiously ignoring local affairs, for one thing. By failing to provide leadership, encouragement and the personal or corporate funds needed to support strong citizen organizations and voluntary and public services at the local level. By concentrating their own and others' attention on Washington, as a source of favors desired or of evils decried, so that local issues and the possibilities of effective self-help in the home town and home state are lost sight of.

Such conduct is like building a heavy superstructure without solid foundations. We simply cannot have good, responsible government in Washington, manned by good people, unless we pay first attention to politics and government in the home town. There is no use whatever in spending millions of dollars on national campaigns for the presidency if we are unwilling to spend enough money on local civic effort to keep the wellsprings of our system pure.

Civic Revivals

Where are the leaders for the grass roots civic revival which I verily believe we must have if the next generation is to enjoy the boon of freedom that we inherited? Fortunately they are already working among us. Let me call the roll of a few of the cities where honest and intelligent citizens have declared their independence and are fighting to win or preserve it.

Eight years ago the natural leadership of Kansas City lost its fear and declared its independence of a foul political machine.

Last year, after enduring the plundering of political machines—of both parties, mind you—Chicago turned desperately to a courageous and honest businessman to help that lusty city turn away from a disgraceful political past.

Philadelphia is being shaken today by a political scandal of huge proportions. The people of good will in one of the cities which helps to give us our rich historical heritage will be, let us hope, fashioning a new cradle of liberty.

Out on the west coast the people of Portland, Oregon, recently overwhelmingly elected a capable woman on a clearcut good government platform. She wasn't elected just because she's a woman or for any other fanciful reason. She has great experience and she has a program. She pledges that she will clean up vicious influences and that she will seek an efficient form of government for her city.

Dignified, quiet old Richmond cleaned up a distressing situation last year—a situation caused only by citizen indifference and neglect. For many years only 3 per cent of the voters bothered to vote in municipal elections. That 3 per cent was about the same as the number of people on the city payroll. What an inbred situation. But the citizens did awaken to their peril and, led by fine, effective businessmen (the kind who in too many cities are afraid to stick out their necks) overwhelmingly adopted a modern, workable system of government that should minimize the baneful effects of partisanship, prevent millions of waste over the years and, most important of all, revive people's faith in the ideal of self-government.

In October 700 prominent people attended a birthday party in Cincinnati to mark the 70th birthday of a fellow citizen, Murray Seasongood, a man whose entire adult life won him the highest of all titles, "The Good Citizen." Although many national honors have come to him, in politics he concentrated on the task of awakening his own city, and by its example, giving people like him in other cities the courage to fight against evil. Murray Seasongood did not know the meaning of fear when he, with a few others, faced a vicious, predatory, vengeful, dangerous political machine 25 years ago.

What Seasongood and Charles P. Taft and Henry Bentley and others did for their own city of Cincinnati has, by its inspiration and example, helped scores of other cities to follow the road to good government and responsible citizenship.

Why, even in Boston where good people speak longingly of Plan E, they refer also to "the Cincinnati Plan." And well they might. In Boston or any other big city, what it takes to win back our heedlessly sacrificed birthright of freedom is a group of fine men and women who are not afraid.

These people have shown the straight, sure road to the ultimate promise of American life. It is for each and every one of us to follow in the footsteps of the courageous civic fighters of these and hundreds of other communities. It is a tough road, but if they have travelled it so can we and all other Americans worthy of their birthright. The road is not unmarked. Directions and help are available to any one who asks for them.

If you meet someone who is looking for directions, put him in touch with the National Municipal League, show him some League literature, including the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, and try to get him for the good of his civic soul to become a member of the League. This is not advertising. It is proselytizing, pure and simple, and therefore a major obligation of your citizenship.

We all need the mental and moral reinforcement which we can get only through association and regular communication with others enlisted in the same cause. When I find a better, more satisfying, source of help for the civic battle, I'll join it and let you know about it right away.

The Good Citizen

Here is just one example of the kind of help I am always getting from the REVIEW. In the September number there was a reprint from the *Seattle Municipal News*, weekly publication of the Seattle Municipal League, one of the most effective organizations for all out local citizenship in the country, called "The Nine Promises of a Good Citizen." These nine promises are practical, yet perfectly pitched to the high level of civic responsibility which the times require of us:

1. I will vote at all elections. I will inform myself on candidates and issues and will use my greatest influence to see that honest and capable officials are elected. I will accept public office when I can serve my community or my country thereby.

2. I will serve on a jury when asked.

3. I will respect and obey the laws. I will assist public officials in preventing crime and the courts in giving evidence.

4. I will pay my taxes understandingly (if not cheerfully).

5. I will work for peace but will dutifully accept my responsibilities in time of war and will respect the flag.

6. In thought, expression and action, at home, at school and in all my contacts, I will avoid any group prejudice, based on class, race or religion.

7. I will support our system of free public education by doing everything I can to improve the schools in my own community.

8. I will try to make my community a better place in which to live.

9. I will practice and teach the principles of good citizenship right in my own home.

Anyone who lives up to these nine promises will have no time in his day nor room in his heart for any of the seven deadly civic sins. And if we all begin living up to them there will be a speedy end to double talk and the double standard in politics.

However, I want to add two more promises, both implicit in the list of nine, but both worth more explicit statement.

The first: "I will join a political party and work to make it both an honest expression of my political convictions and a force for good government. I will never put party above

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city or country nor condone evil in the name of party regularity."

The second: "Party is not enough, so I will join and work with fellow townsmen in nonpartisan effort for those principles of good government and clean politics upon which all honest citizens, regardless of party, should unite. I will pay my full share of the cost of effective nonpartisan citizen organization." If you live in Boston, this might be translated in part: "I will join the Plan E for Boston Committee and work for a modern charter and a truly representative government for Boston." And if you are a woman, you might add, "I will also be active in the League of Women Voters."

This does not exhaust the possibilities, of course, but no matter who or where you are, we invite you to perpetual fellowship in the National Municipal League. This will keep you in constant touch with the great civic revival which is already under way.

This revival has been a generation in the making and it has been steadily gathering momentum since the war. We must see that it becomes an irresistible tide. There are hundreds of its leaders who are already at work. There are many thousands more potential ones. It is our job to interest and enroll them. Every American citizen is a potential leader of some consequence in his home town or neighborhood. Some leadership, some exertion of influence on one's fellows is one of the obligations of citizenship. The right to the secret ballot does not include the right to be secretive about one's fundamental convictions on right and wrong in either public or private affairs.

The obligation of civic leadership rests most heavily on those whose attainments have made them leaders in other walks of life. It is impossible to conduct any important undertaking—business, cultural, religious or social—in a water tight compartment isolated from contact with or concern for government and politics. Good government, clean politics and democratic liberty are necessary to the satisfactory pursuit of any important enterprise or activity. We may think we needn't be bothered, but unless others bother for us we'll learn better, when it is too late.

So no man is a responsible leader in business or finance or law or industry or labor or education or religion or even in the arts who does not assume heavy responsibility for the tone and character of politics and government in his home town. When this rule is universally followed there will not be the slightest doubt about the future of our country and our way of life, and the safety of both of them in this world.

A Job for Every Teacher

No new courses needed to make better citizens, educator says; we must bring out civic values in those now taught.

By **CHARLES C. BUELL***

FOR YEARS past school authorities have sincerely and, at times, flamboyantly proclaimed that making better citizens out of our boys and girls is the primary obligation of American educators. No one, I am sure, will quarrel with this worthy ambition.

Furthermore, if these conscientious authorities actually play as good a game as they talk, no sacred cows will be distressed if we ask them how they are coming along. After all, the American educator is, in a sense, a public servant, and the American people themselves have recently evidenced approval of the old saw, "I'm from Missouri." Let us, therefore, take a brief, critical and unbiased look at the field of civic education, the making of better citizens, particularly in our elementary and secondary schools.

Immediately following World War I came the great Americanization movement. Prodded into action by popular sentiment, whole school systems not only gave their enthusiastic support to inoculating newer immigrants with the advantages and glamour of American citizenship, but they also went on happily and industriously to give the same needle to the native born. "Citizenship" became the watchword and the slogan of the 1920s, a period which witnessed the inception, development and, in some instances, the passing of many an educational experiment designed primarily to extoll citizenship.

Much that was good came out of these so-called movements, but the process lacked direction, the picture lacked design. While there was enthusiasm aplenty, educators seemed to think that the problem of making better citizens of our boys and girls was a rather simple one. One only needed, they thought, a new plan, a new technique of teaching, or a new theory, plus, of course, a 100 per cent bullish point of view in regard to the future of the U. S. A.

It is interesting to speculate as to what happened to the word "democracy" in this period. The term was used often enough, but did our youngsters get the impression that it was a very meaningful word? I am afraid not.

It took a great depression, disturbing events abroad and the dramatic advent of the New Deal before democracy supplanted citizenship in the center ring. When government, our own democratic government, began to play a vital part in the lives of all of us, it was quite natural that the general public should evidence a keen interest in this comparatively new state of affairs.

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This article is made up of excerpts from Mr. Buell's address at the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, Boston, November 22, 1948.

To satisfy this healthy curiosity, books on the principles of democracy, on education for democracy and on democracy past, present and future, tumbled from the presses in a never ending stream. Pamphlets by the hundred flooded the mails, educational journals produced supplements, and there were meetings, conventions and conferences everywhere.

It was not long before school administrators and trustees, school boards and local politicians, began to prick up their ears. Most important of all, parents and the general public began to beat paths to the doors of our nation's teachers, particularly social science teachers. Being citizens of a democracy, these people proceeded to exercise their inalienable right to express their various conceptions of democracy—social, political and economic.

When free use of the first amendment had relieved their pent-up emotions, however, invariably there came this question: What are you teachers going to do about it? The answer was obvious. We rediscovered democracy, or rather we found out what an important role democracy might play in the teaching of the social sciences at all age levels. A brief examination of how we teachers used this discovery is well worth the time.

The 1930s, although they apparently offered limitless opportunities, were, for teachers, hard and often trying years. Jobs were scarce; salaries were being cut. It must also be remembered that the New Deal had brought into sharp focus a number of controversial issues which widened perceptibly the gap between devotees of democracy past and disciples of democracy to come. Unhappily almost every teacher in the country had to think twice before he broached a timely topic upon which opinions differed sharply. A few teachers lost their jobs because they had the courage to present two sides of a question or, in some instances, the other side. These are excuses, good excuses to be sure, but let us see if they justify some of the things we teachers actually did prior to World War II.

A few of us closed the door, put up the shutters, climbed into bed, pulled the covers over our heads, and prayed fervently that we might dream of the good old days when a teacher might hang his hat on someone else's textbook and get away with it until the age of retirement. A few cloistered beings continued to teach the moral of the cherry tree and the principles of *laissez-faire* with the slavish zeal and fanatical prejudice of a ward heeler.

What We've Done

Some enthusiastic souls advocated scrapping the old curriculum and erecting in its place a brand new shiny edifice based entirely upon the social sciences.

Some of us dressed our windows gaudily with large and expensive assembly programs, with well advertised and well chaperoned expeditions to various points of interest and with amateurish attempts at vocational guidance which seldom went beyond inviting parents and local celebrities to recite their trials and triumphs plus, of course, a prompted plug for democracy.

A few of us had the temerity to experiment with new courses, new techniques and new methods of teaching. We all rode our own little hobbies and rode them hard, occasionally looking over our shoulders apprehensively to see if some new idea was threatening our security, more often keeping a wary eye alert for obstacles and brickbats. It was another frantic period during which we strove sincerely but not always intelligently to satisfy the ever-growing demand for a fuller comprehension of our democratic way of life. Much that was good evolved from our helter-skelter efforts. Teachers stepped down from the impregnable security of their lecture platforms into the give and take atmosphere of round table discussion, and found the experience to be worthwhile and refreshing. Student participation, by no means an innovation, came into its own. Activity programs mushroomed over night.

Even school administrators, formerly content with personnel and product, began to stir uneasily and to wonder if some of the answers might not be found outside their ivory towers. Wheels revolved, considerable mud was churned and considerable progress was made. Our intentions and immediate results were good, but our execution still lacked purpose and cohesion.

World War II and the uncertainties of recent years have provided all teachers with even greater opportunities and responsibilities. This fact is evident to all of us. We are confronted with more and more students eager to learn; enrollments in contemporary affairs and problems of democracy courses are growing by leaps and bounds; world history courses are enjoying greater popularity; junior town meeting groups are springing up in communities all over the country. There is no doubt about the fact that students today are far more interested in what goes on, both at home and abroad, than they have been in the past.

This is all to the good, but is it enough? Will an increased interest in contemporary affairs, a greater knowledge of domestic and foreign problems and a somewhat improved technique in approaching these problems necessarily produce better citizens? This interest, knowledge and improved know-how will be very helpful, but do you not know many well informed and clever people who fail completely to qualify as good citizens? Of course you do.

What Is Good Citizenship?

We educators must first make up our minds what we mean by good citizenship, and then we must let our conclusions be widely known. Second, we must sincerely and thoughtfully come to grips with the more difficult problem of how we may best achieve this goal.

These two statements may sound elementary but the truth of the matter is this: Far too many of our educational authorities have not had the intellectual fortitude to determine what civic education includes and involves. In even fewer instances have they had the gumption to put into wholesale practice the conclusions which a few of them may have reached. Consequently, we teachers have wishfully supposed that almost anything we teach in the schools, if done in an acceptable fashion, will

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produce better citizens. This supposition simply is not true.

Civic education is a field the surface of which has been but barely scratched. It is not a separate field to be explored and taught by a group of specialists. It is a field in which every teacher must have some skill and utilize that skill. Civic education, as defined by a man who has devoted the best years of his life to its advancement, "includes and involves those teachings, that type of teaching method, those student activities, those administrative and supervisory procedures—which the school may utilize purposively to make for better living together in the democratic way; or [synonymously] to develop better civic behaviors."[1]

Concern for Civic Education

This definition, and I know no better one, implies that civic education must become the concern of every school administrator and every teacher, in every subject and in every grade. Furthermore, these administrators and teachers must give their best thought to the four approaches to civic education mentioned in the definition. (Let there be no mistake about it, the job will be difficult and time consuming.)

They must select for emphasis those materials in the various subjects which lend themselves most readily to a better appreciation and understanding of desirable civic behaviors. They must recommend those teaching methods which are most adaptable to the materials being used. They must devise and set up student activity programs which will permit pupils to practice democracy. Finally, and this is terribly important, they must be sure that their own administrative procedures in the front office as well as in the classroom square effectively with "better living together in the democratic way."

All this is easy to say and extremely hard to do. Most educators will accept the goal of civic education as expressed in the definition but, when it comes to the four approaches, many a bushy administrative eyebrow will rise, many a long pedagogical nose will twitch.

To inaugurate a full blown program of civic education such as envisaged will take time, patience and imagination. Innumerable problems must be solved; many barriers must be hurdled. These problems fall naturally into two groups, those involving personnel and those primarily associated with teaching. Let us select one or two outstanding illustrations in the personnel category just to show the magnitude of the task which will face school authorities when it comes to assembling a group which will want to emphasize desirable civic behaviors and is capable of so doing.

What part, for example, would the football coach play in a civic education program? The football coach, whether teachers like it or not, is able to exert a tremendous influence on the lives of the youngsters who play on his teams. I wish you could read the letters received by Dick Harlow, former Harvard coach, from his pupils who were serving in the armed services. Unfortunately, few men of

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[1] *For Us the Living,* by John J. Mahoney, Harper and Brothers, New York, page 39.

Harlow's caliber enter the coaching profession, particularly at the secondary school level. On the contrary, and I speak with considerable first hand knowledge on this subject, too many coaches are anything but pedigreed purveyors of all that is sweetness and light in the field of civic education. More often they know nothing except the sport they teach, not always that, and are more interested in their own advancement than in their players or in civic behaviors.

This unfortunate state of affairs is not caused entirely by the hysterical worship of the winner which is so typical of our dyed in the wool fan. Our physical education colleges and so-called coaching schools must share the blame. They have been sadly remiss in training their students in the art of producing better citizens.

Nor are our school administrators blameless. They have often appointed to key athletic posts men to whom we would most reluctantly expose our own children. Much can be done for the cause of civic education by the athletic coach, much remains to be done in preparing and selecting him for the job.

Another personnel problem can be traced directly to our schools of education. It was pointed out recently that an examination of the titles of theses being prepared for the doctorate in education in schools all over the country indicated that only one and a half per cent of the seven hundred odd titles listed could, by the wildest stretch of the imagination, be connected with the field of civic education.

The recipients of these doctorates are the embryo school administrators of the future. Will any of them be sufficiently sensitive to the particular school environment into which they may be catapulted to adopt administrative procedures which will square with the democratic way of life as practiced by the community in question? Will they even know what procedures have been successfully tried? One need not elaborate on this point.

But let us turn now to those problems which are intimately connected with the classroom, to those teachings, those teaching methods and those activity programs which can be used purposively to develop better civic behaviors. Here, as has already been indicated, considerable spade work has been done by individuals all over the country since as far back as the 1920s. The results of their labors and experiments are well worth mature consideration and careful study.

Material Available

It is to be sincerely regretted that these products of first rate scholarship, based quite often on wide teaching experience, are not generally known to all teachers throughout the country. There are three reasons for this: (1) not all their products are easy to procure; (2) they consist in many instances of materials primarily designed for teacher use or materials which demand considerable time on the part of the teacher before they may be used in the classroom; (3) the average overworked teacher simply has not got the time to do the many things he or she should do in order to keep abreast of present day trends.

One could write a volume on this

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subject alone. However, in Cambridge, Massachusetts, there has started this fall an educational project which may possibly aid tremendously in solving the teaching problems sketched above; it may even have a profound effect upon the purely personnel problems which have also been described.

This undertaking is entitled "A Project in Civic Education" and is under the direction of John J. Mahoney, professor of education emeritus, Boston University, and former director of the Harvard-Boston University Courses for Teachers, and Henry W. Holmes, former dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Education and professor emeritus. Professor Mahoney and Dean Holmes have collected a full time staff of seven, a secretary and six teachers, who, with the help of other teachers and numerous consultants, expect to produce in the next three years "materials for teaching, grades one through twelve, in public and private schools throughout the United States, these materials to be chosen and arranged so as to be useful in developing civic intelligence and in stimulating devotion to the democratic way of life."

Education Group Plans

Please note the expression "materials useful for teaching." They mean materials which can be placed directly in the hands of the students as well as materials which can be used by the teachers. They mean materials which can be used in every subject and every grade, thereby relieving the pressure upon the overworked classroom leader.

This civic education group does not propose to introduce a new subject or a new course, thus adding to the confusion and overcrowding of the school program. It is their conviction that all school authorities and teachers can find occasion to emphasize civic attitudes and understandings; that no subject taught in the schools, no school activity, is barren of opportunity for civic learning. They intend to show teachers where and how they can bring out the civic values of courses already being taught, and to place materials in their hands for so doing.

The Educational Research Corporation has approved the project, accepted the responsibility for all expenditures, and provided adequate quarters in its building in Cambridge. Sufficient funds were obtained to warrant the launching of the project this fall. Work has commenced.

This may sound like old stuff, and some complacent souls will shrug their shoulders. It isn't old stuff; it is entirely new in two respects. In the first place, the materials aim to keep constantly before the minds of pupils and teachers a carefully selected list of political, social and economic civic objectives—appreciation of the rights, privileges and protections which political democracy ensures, better political leadership, intergroup understanding, respect and good will, economic democracy (needed understandings and attitudes), to mention a few.

In the second place, these materials aim to make civic education the business of every school administrator and every teacher in every

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Inside Story of Kansas City

Famed city manager tells steps by which bossism's blight was cured and citizen fear of political tyranny ended.

By L. P. COOKINGHAM*

THE history of the government of Kansas City prior to 1940 is well known. It has taken a long time, however, to live down the reputation the city acquired over a period of almost 50 years.

The council-manager plan of government was adopted in Kansas City in 1925 and became effective the following year. It was supported by a large group of citizens desiring the type of administration they anticipated under the council-manager plan as well as by the dominant political organization. This organization saw an opportunity to align itself with the forces for good government and, at the same time, to continue its power. It saw a chance to capture the city council at the first election and operate the city on the basis of the old spoils system regardless of the charter's principles.

At the first election the political organization did take over. It elected five out of nine members of the council and immediately appointed a city manager acceptable to it. At first the administration was hailed by the citizens as an improvement over the old form of government. It was at least able to accomplish its programs in much shorter time and, during its years in office, provided the city with many worthwhile improvements. Of course, these improvements were made by favored contractors at heavy cost to the taxpayers.

At the same time many segments of the population did not fare so well and as years went on the administration became bold and despotic. A dictator ruled the town and sapped its vitality.

During the fourteen years of council-manager government under the domination of the machine, Kansas City was known as the one dark spot among manager cities.

The situation became so critical by 1939 that the administration was forced to take some measures to improve itself because of the weight of public sentiment against it. The city manager who had held office for thirteen years was forced by the council to resign. The mayor took matters in his own hands and began improvements which removed more than a thousand surplus employees from the payroll. He realized that if his administration was to be saved from financial bankruptcy and complete rejection by the voters strong steps must be taken.

The mayor realized also that an experienced manager should be selected who could take the crumbling remains of a once-powerful, politi-

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*Mr. Cookingham, former president of the International City Managers' Association, was manager of Clawson, Plymouth and Saginaw, Michigan, before taking his present position as manager of Kansas City, Missouri, in 1940. This article, prepared as his address before the 1948 National Conference on Government, Boston, November 23, was read by Jerome Joffee, Kansas City utilities and legislative counsel, because of Mr. Cookingham's illness.

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cally-dominated city administration and restore it to a point where there would be some degree of confidence placed in it by the citizens who were then on the march.

When his efforts to secure an experienced city manager were rejected by the council he resigned as mayor. This act caused rapid disintegration of the administration and by early 1940 reform forces became strong enough to upset the administration. After fourteen years of misrule the citizens' movement elected eight of the nine members of a council pledged to adherence to the principle and spirit of the charter.

Accepting a Challenge

Shortly after the new council was elected, and after a series of interviews, I was tendered the position of city manager. Because of the past history of Kansas City I did not expect to find an easy task laid out for me. The challenge offered, however, far overshadowed any other inducements to undertake the job. The council was composed of high type business and professional men who were thoroughly indoctrinated with a desire to provide the kind of government proposed by the charter. The charter appeared to be a good one. There was no reason why an outstanding job could not be accomplished.

It would take entirely too much time to tell all that we found upon taking office in Kansas City. The payrolls were overloaded, a $20,000,000 current deficit confronted us, hundreds of the employees were not suited for the work they were attempting to do, and an antagonistic attitude toward the new government prevailed throughout the city service.

In the first six months department heads removed hundreds of the old employees from the payrolls. Many of them had either been involved in vote fraud cases or in various other unsavory practices, or were entirely unqualified for their jobs.

One of the most encouraging signs of success of the new administration was the public's attitude toward the change. The new philosophy of government seemed to take hold immediately, and there was a wholehearted acceptance of the new administration. Although there is not now and has not been, except just previous to the election in 1940, a strong well organized citizens' movement, the voters rally to the citizens ticket at each city election.

The factor which has contributed most to the continuation of the citizens administration in office is the favorable attitude of our nationally famous newspaper, the *Kansas City Star,* toward the city administration. The *Star* is just as ready to criticize the council or city administration for any weaknesses which develop as it is to praise for improvements made. It would not be possible to maintain citizen interest or the continuity of our administration without the strong and vigorous support of this great publication.

Briefly, our objectives were establishment of the merit system on a firm basis, elimination of all favoritism, establishment of business methods, and a government conducted strictly in accordance with the provisions of the charter.

Some members of the council at

first seemed to feel we were progressing too rapidly towards these objectives and that this would not be accepted by the people because they had been so indoctrinated in the other way of doing the municipal job.

Jobs for the Faithful

Hundreds of people who had fought long and faithfully for a new administration decided they wanted all the jobs in the city hall, and they wanted them without taking competitive examinations or following the principles established by the charter's merit provisions.

The charter provided for establishment of eligible lists, but did not require that appointments be made from the top of the list. This meant, of course, the passing grade could be put as low as necessary to get favorites on the eligible register, and then the appointing authority, through his own choice or because of pressures from the outside, could select anybody who had passed the examination.

In order to discontinue this practice, an administrative regulation was issued which required the appointing authority to take one of the top three on the eligible register. Some of the forces behind the good government movement did not like this regulation and vigorously opposed the manager's imposition of such a restriction. The rule was followed rigidly, however, and eligible lists were established for as many positions as it was possible to conduct examinations for in the first year.

In purchasing and in awarding contracts we adhered strictly to the provisions of the charter. Contracts and bids were awarded to the lowest and best bidders. In many cases the stalwarts of the old administration were successful bidders. Of course, there was no way to refuse to contract with the lowest and best bidder and contracts and orders were placed accordingly, regardless of whether the contractor was for or against the administration.

Several members of the city council and leaders of the citizens' movement were skeptical about the outcome of the next city election because the administration had played no favorites in the award of contracts, the purchasing of material or the appointment of personnel. Where then would the support come from to reelect the city council? In the election of 1942, however, the first after the clean-up election of 1940, the citizens' administration was returned to office with a higher percentage of the total vote than previously.

Furthermore, two charter amendments submitted at that election were adopted by substantial majorities. One strengthened financial procedures, which had been sadly misused by the former administration, and the other provided a "Little Hatch Act," which prohibited city employees in the classified service from engaging in political activity, prohibited the solicitation of campaign funds from city employees and prohibited them from making campaign contributions.

Other improvements installed immediately were a new accounting system, modern budget practices and a complete mechanical tax billing and tax accounting system. The $20,000,000 deficit was liquidated by pay-

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ment of the legal claims, by refunding bonds for which no sinking fund had been set aside and by other means.

The physical plant of the city had been almost completely neglected. The prison farm was not a fit place to keep those unfortunate persons confined for ordinance violations. The administration immediately rehabilitated the buildings and organized a work program for the inmates, which has resulted in an income to the city of more than $40,000 per year and has helped reestablish many of the inmates to a more useful life.

More than a million dollars has been spent in rehabilitating hospitals and improving services to the indigent sick of the city.

One of the most outstanding accomplishments was made in the water department which, prior to the change in administration, had employed 882 people. Personnel was immediately reduced to 400 and the department is now operating with 360 employees. Similar improvements were made throughout all departments, resulting in savings of upward of a million dollars per year in operating costs.

Because of the rise in the economic level since 1940 it is difficult to make direct comparisons between the cost of operating the city government prior to 1940 and since then. In my opinion, however, we are now operating the city at a cost of $2,000,000 per year less than would have been the cost had the plan of operation prior to 1940 continued.

The job of selling the municipal program to the people was not an easy one. The mayor and council and members of the administrative staff made hundreds of speeches throughout the city during the first year, and have continued this program to bring the government as close to the people as possible. We have never wavered from our theory that all the people, regardless of race, color, creed, geographical area, political affiliation or otherwise, are entitled to the same service. We do our best to see that they get it.

Informing the Public

Each year the city has prepared and circulated a comprehensive annual report of activities. Press and radio reporters attend all meetings of the city council and the administrative staff, securing background information needed to report intelligently the activities of the city government. The radio is used extensively in reporting to the people.

In doing the job of day-to-day administration we have kept our sights on the human aspects of government. We realize local government is the closest to the people. We have tried to instill in every city employee the philosophy of good municipal service. Employees know they are servants of the people and they are required to render efficient and courteous service.

Immediately upon taking office we installed a bureau of information and service on the first floor of city hall and manned it with a person able to handle any type of complaint concerning city government. The complaint is passed on to the proper department for the necessary action, and followed up to see that the service is rendered. The citizen is advised by mail of the action taken.

The organized recreation program has been greatly expanded. There was practically no such program in 1940. The appropriation that year was less than $20,000. Now $250,000 per year is spent on this activity for both juveniles and adults on a year-round basis.

During the summer a city-wide musical program of band and orchestra concerts is held. These programs are taken to the several districts of the city where they can be enjoyed by as many people as possible. It is not uncommon to have six or eight thousand people at one concert. We have tried to provide as much fun as possible for the people living in congested communities. Square dancing instruction is given to those who wish it, with about 25 square dance parties held each week. This is proving to be one of the most popular of the city's activities.

Reaching All the People

In 1943 the Community Service Division of the Welfare Department was organized. Its primary purpose is to interpret the city program to the several communities within the city and to bring to the attention of the city government the problems and needs of each community.

The community service activity was first conceived as a means of combating juvenile delinquency which was increasing at a rapid rate during the war years. It was concluded that the problem could not be adequately handled by the police and the social agencies—it was more of a problem of the neighborhood and the home. The approach, therefore, was through an agency which could get down to the grass roots of the community and bring the problem to the attention of those who were closest to it.

We well understood how remote from the average person the city administration seemed to be. It appeared to him to be a big, complex organization collecting his taxes and regulating his life and habits sometimes more than he wants them regulated. Formerly his contact was through his precinct worker who could take care of most of his wants, even though this method of passing out service and favors was costly to the taxpayer. Under the new setup there were no precinct workers, especially those representing the administration then in office.

The city government wanted to serve its people well and was anxious for every citizen to maintain an interest in and be a part of the city government. The city was divided into eleven little cities of about 40,000 population each, and a community service worker assigned to each such district. The areas covered by each "community" followed generally the areas embraced in the high school districts.

The first step in establishing the community organization was to call together as many people as possible and to discuss with them the question of community organization, explaining the objectives to be accomplished. At the meeting a community council was formed and a president and officers elected. The community service worker was then assigned permanently to the council and the program began to function.

As previously stated, the original

idea of the program was to combat juvenile delinquency. Other needs were soon discovered. Community workers began to receive requests for service, improvements, information about the city government and many other items of civic concern. The workers transmitted the requests to various departments which rendered the desired service. Now every section of the city is served by community groups and widespread interest prevails in the city program with a high ratio of direct contact of citizens with the government.

One of the most useful functions of the community organization was the assistance rendered in developing the master plan of the city. As plans were in process of preparation, members of the planning staff went to each community and neighborhood with their suggestions and enlisted the advice and counsel of the citizens. Here was an example of planning by the people rather than by the experts. Many good suggestions were received and incorporated in the master plan. After completion of the plan practically all the community councils were represented at the general hearings in order that they could be sure their ideas were incorporated in it.

Much to my surprise the several communities were relatively modest in their wants. They did not ask for more than they were able to pay for nor did they compete too greatly between each other for the major projects which were to have city-wide use.

The city government has many occasions to get in touch with the community councils on problems involving their section of the city. For instance, it is proposed to re-route a bus line, abandon a street car line and substitute buses, acquire a playground site, construct a major public improvement. The community councils are notified of the proposal by the community service worker, the plan is explained, the matter discussed and the ideas of the citizens received. The information is transmitted to the city council or representatives of the community councils appear at public hearings and express the views of their members to the council. This procedure has expedited many projects and has prevented much misunderstanding of council action and policy.

This is the way Kansas City has maintained two-way contact with its citizens. This is the way the city government has been brought closer to every citizen of the community. This is democracy in action.

The council-manager plan of government, with a legislative body sympathetic to it and a skilled administrative staff, can accomplish the objectives of nonpartisan, business-like government with greater ease and with less confusion than any other form of city government. This is axiomatic as, under that form of government, backed by a sound merit system and sufficient authority delegated to the chief administrative officer, all the tools of good administration can be placed in the hands of competent personnel who will use them in an efficient, business-like manner for the best interests of all the people. In no other form of city government is such a transformation so simple of accomplishment.

This briefly is the story of Kansas

(Continued on page 596)

Opening Up Greater London

New towns, neighborhoods, ring roads, green belts part of scheme to end metropolis' problems of congestion.

By **JAQUELINE TYRWHITT***

THE TWO plans for the county of London and for Greater London, published in 1943 and 1944, have become historic documents. They represent a crystallization of planning theory. They bring together, in authoritative form, all the symbols that have become stereotyped cliches and figure in every planning scheme in almost every country, whether the plan is to remodel a huge metropolitan area or to build a new village.

The London plans enunciate in simple and dramatic form the most generally accepted lines of solution for the problems of the amorphous metropolitan area of the twentieth century. The general plan does not stand or fall by the exact implementation of any one of its parts. It represents, in outline, the application of a group of planning concepts to a particular area.

The plans are "advisory," that is, Sir Patrick Abercrombie was employed to prepare them for the consideration of the many local authorities that comprise Greater London, of which the London County Council is the largest.

In general, the method of approach and the means of solution have been accepted by these local authorities and many parts are now being re-worked in detail with a view to their becoming a reality. Probably no part of the plan will be carried out exactly as indicated by Sir Patrick, but there is no doubt that it has determined the general pattern of the area's development for the next twenty years.

The two plans do not contain any new or radical philosophy or planning patterns. Decentralization, new towns, green belts, ring roads, have all formed part of the planner's jargon since the days of Ebenezer Howard and become known to Londoners through the building of Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City.

The neighborhood unit has likewise been discussed by planners for ten years or so and the theory has been given particular publicity in London by the emphatic reports of welfare workers, horrified by the social and economic consequences of the huge one-class housing estates which sprang up around London in the interwar years. Then, in the late 30s a prominent commissioner of police came out with a book advocating the planning of city "precincts" to be secluded from through

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*Miss Tyrwhitt, director of the Association for Planning and Regional Reconstruction in London, is in the United States lecturing and teaching classes in planning at the New School for Social Research. She is associate member of the Town Planning Institute and the Institute of Landscape Architects and collaborated in the publication of *Ground Plan of Britain, Adopting Wartime Sites to Post-war Uses, Maps for the National Plan* and *Planning Prospect* (in press).

This article is Miss Tyrwhitt's address before the 1948 National Conference on Government, Boston, November 24.

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traffic on the grounds of safety to human life.

Londoners, and the English people as a whole, have therefore been reasonably well prepared for the main features of Abercrombie's plans. The effect of war and bombing has given added urgency and weight to these concepts and the plans have been received with enthusiastic approval from the technical press and from the public at large.

Why Scheme Is Popular

Although the war created a condition particularly favorable to public interest in the replanning of London, there is no doubt that the popularity of the scheme as a whole is due to the simplicity of its concepts and the fact that each of its main features has already received some popular sanction. These are:

Neighborhoods. Greater individuality, by some physical separation, is to be given to the many small towns and villages that have grown together and become merged in the conurbation of Greater London. This has had general popular approval though it has created tension in the local council chambers.

These communities, ranging up to 250,000 in population, are to be subdivided into neighborhood units of 5,000-10,000 persons, each with schools and shops and community center and planned at population densities ranging from 75 to 136 persons per acre. This sounds well and is considered an excellent way of re-building the heavily bombed East End of London.

This plan has created great interest among social workers, school teachers and architects but no particular enthusiasm among the public at large, which has found the theory difficult to visualize in practice. In particular the general statement that over half a million people would have to leave the area of the London County Council has created academic satisfaction but individual nervousness. The fact that this area has been steadily losing population for a number of years and that nearly one and a half million people voluntarily moved out between the two wars has not been sufficiently well known.

Lewis Mumford's criticism of the London plan for its timidity was well founded. Almost certainly more than the 618,000 persons to be decentralized by the Abercrombie plan for the county of London could be expected to move out of their own accord were suitable houses available though, equally certainly, under prewar circumstances this voluntary movement could be expected to remain within the general range of the middle income groups.

Ring Roads. A series of concentric ring roads are provided to sort out London's traffic. These are simple to grasp and similar to the many by-pass roads built between the wars. Traffic engineers and some planners might show by diagrams and statistics that the ring road is seldom an effective solution, particularly for London, but their voice has not yet penetrated beyond technical groups and their solutions are less dramatically simple.

Green Belt. The green belt for London was officially accepted by the London County Council before the war—but under legislation then current encroachment was only checked, not stopped. Abercrombie's plan extends the area from a ring of narrow park-like strips to a metropolitan green belt five miles deep, extending all round the built-up area and enfolding the more recent outer-suburban developments and a number of small towns and villages. In all of these further growth is to be stopped. Only outside this zone can new development take place, and only in the form of new towns or planned additions to existing towns. London and its green belt thus becomes enclosed in a circle of 40 to 45 miles in diameter.

Green Belt Important

This metropolitan green belt is probably the most important part of the whole plan and the most difficult feature to enforce. Almost every town and village in the zone has considered itself "ripe for development" and land has exchanged hands at prices based on that expectation.

The passing of the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act has meant that land can in future be bought and sold only at its "present use value," i.e., on the assumption that it will continue to be used for the same general purpose. However, a clause permits payment of compensation to owners who have bought land at an enhanced value in reasonable expectation of developing it, and a large number of these claims are coming in from the London green belt area.

Also the London County Council itself finds it more expeditious to build housing estates—public housing—on vacant peripheral land than on inner sites that must first be cleared.

The plan will remain and will be adhered to—in principle—but encroachments have already been made and more will come. This does not destroy the plan or even defy it. The acceptance of the principle has meant that every violation has had to be fought out in the open with public opinion definitely ranged on the side of the plan.

New Towns. Outside the green belt lies a band of "outer country" in which the plan shows many small towns, some of which are "selected for development" and the sites of ten new towns, almost all based on an existing village or small town. This outer country belt varies in width because of the shape of the somewhat arbitrarily determined Greater London area but all the sites selected for development by Abercrombie lie between 20 and 30 miles from the main core of London.

This pattern again has received popular approval in principle. It is in the line of general development. All the places chosen as sites of new towns had already received the attention of building speculators. The novelty was to suggest that, instead of an over-all speculative development of houses for sale to the middle income group, there should be a planned development, in specific areas, of towns providing a balance of houses for a wide range of income groups.

Establishment of new towns required new legislation and an independent committee was appointed by the government "to consider the general questions of the establishment, development, organization and administration that will arise in the promotion of new towns in furtherance of a policy of planned decentralization from congested urban areas; and in accordance therewith to suggest guiding principles on which such towns should be established and developed as self-contained and balanced communities for work and living."

This committee, composed of about a dozen men and women representing a variety of interests, started to work in 1945 under the chairmanship of Lord Reith and produced three reports within a year—all of which are excellent reading.

The New Towns Act followed almost immediately and empowered the government to approve sites for new towns, after due inquiry, and to set up independent corporations to control the planning and development of each new town until it should become reasonably well established. The corporation will then be dissolved and the management and control of the town pass to an elected urban district council no different from any other of the hundreds of urban district councils up and down the country.

Sites of seven new towns around London have now been approved and seven corporations appointed. These are not all exactly on the sites suggested in the Greater London Plan but they are not greatly dissimilar. Paper work has begun on all seven, but site work only on a few. This is because of the holdup on all reconstruction projects caused by the "national emergency." In other words, the terms of the American loan and the Marshall Plan make it necessary for all available men and materials to be concentrated upon development of export trade. Only "essential" housing, related to "essential" industries, can go forward.

The new towns around London do not meet this requirement as, in most cases, a prior (or contemporary) movement of industry is necessary. London, however, is not the only source of new towns. Sites have been approved near Birmingham, Manchester and Glasgow. Some of these, and others planned in the northeast of England to re-house miners nearer to rapidly developing mining areas, are not held up in the same way.

Apart from the first rather spectacular outcry at Stevenage, the "designation" of the new towns sites has gone ahead reasonably smoothly. Stevenage is a small town of 5,000 people in the main line of development, around which several speculative development schemes were already under discussion. The expansion of its population tenfold, and the certainty that the newcomers would not all be in the middle income bracket, disconcerted both the local inhabitants and the local landowners, especially as the project was rather tactlessly bounced on them.

There is no doubt whatever that the local inhabitants stand to gain by the planned development of their town rather than by its unplanned development, which was otherwise inevitable. It also became clear, after the 1947 act, that, as the landowners would in any case not be able to sell their land to speculative builders at fancy prices, they stood to gain by having their land purchased at an arbitrated price by a corporation on which they were represented, and then developed in a manner to insure its maintaining a stable value.

These aspects become clearer as the new towns procedure develops, but the publicity given to the Stevenage case, and the lack of tact with which it was handled, has given a widespread but erroneous impression that new towns could be and are being foisted upon righteous country dwellers.

The new pattern for London is thus a pattern of limited and guided decentralization; an acceptance of existing trends and a loosening and aerating of a great metropolis. It does not solve the major problem of our generation, the future of great cities, but it should gradually make an existing amorphous and unlovely sprawl into a more convenient and pleasant series of urban communities.

A JOB FOR EVERY TEACHER

(Continued from page 585)

grade and every subject. Furthermore, those lethargic citizens who believe implicitly in a policy of muddling through should realize that we have entering our schools this year, and for the next few years at least, the largest group of boys and girls in the history of our country. No sequence of history courses, no program of school activities, no series of ceremonies will of themselves make these youngsters capable of better living together in the democratic way. It must be an all out effort by all educators, such as we have never had before, if our schools are to play their part in educating for democracy.

Professor Mahoney and Dean Holmes are on the right trail. Their Civic Education Project deserves real cooperation and support, not a faint patter of gloved hands but honest to goodness plugging by all parents and citizens interested in having our youngsters appreciate and understand the way of life which is ours today.

STORY OF KANSAS CITY

(Continued from page 591)

City in the last eight years. The people are satisfied with it, I believe, because four times since the original cleanup election they have elected at least seven of the nine members of the council, pledged to continue the program of strict charter government.

No citizen has had sanctions applied against him, nor had any reason to fear any action on the part of any officer or employee of the city government. Citizens are living with a city government which is intensively interested in serving them well and guaranteeing them the privilege of living in a community where the human elements of governmental administration are always in the forefront. I have never seen a government so conscious of the desires and needs of its constituents as is the government of Kansas City. Yes, Kansas City still marches on!

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

State Referenda Show Wide Variety

Ten Cities, Four Counties Adopt Council-Manager Plan

RANGING from bases of legislative representation to the number of men on train crews, and from birth control to succession after death, constitutional amendments and other propositions on numerous and varied subjects were passed upon by votes in many states on November 2. Certain amendments in several states are dealt with as separate items in this department; various others are mentioned here.

A few amendments dealt with requirements for voting and office-holding. Arkansas authorized the legislature to regulate registration for voting; Mississippi rejected a proposal to require voters to be of "good moral character," in the opinion of election commissions.

Several states voted on the closed or union shop issue. Massachusetts and New Mexico defeated proposals to ban the closed shop, but in Arizona, where a 1946 closed shop amendment is under court attack, the voters approved a law to prohibit compulsion to join a labor union or to strike, and providing for injunctive relief against illegal acts and for damages. Massachusetts also defeated a requirement that union officials be elected by secret ballot at least annually and a prohibition against strikes not voted by a majority of the union's membership.

Many proposals concerned the sale of liquor. The 68-year-old prohibition amendment in Kansas was repealed, leaving the question of liquor control in the hands of the legislature. Voters in the state of Washington permitted sale of liquor by the drink in hotels and places with restaurant facilities but a similar proposal was reported lost in Oregon. In California, Colorado and North and South Dakota various local option and sales proposals were defeated—North Dakota rejecting a proposal to legalize municipal liquor stores and its neighbor to the south rejecting an initiative measure to divorce liquor from food, and refusing by referendum to require that all whiskey sold in the state be at least three years old.

Bonuses for World War II veterans were approved in South Dakota, Louisiana, Iowa, Washington and apparently Minnesota, and in Indiana, if the legislature so provides. Missouri, Nebraska, Wisconsin and Oregon defeated bonus proposals, and North Dakota refused a levy for a veterans' rehabilitation fund.

Louisiana voted on 41 amendments to its already cumbersome constitution. Some of these were efforts by Governor Earl Long to add to the power of the state administration, especially as against the city of New Orleans; but they were not all successful. Final results will be reported next month.

New Mexico, besides defeating the closed shop ban, disapproved a proposed amendment to make the term for county officers four years with ineligibility for reelection until after another four years. However, the voters by a narrow margin adopted a similar amendment applying to the state executive officers. They also approved three other amendments: permitting three-fifths of the members of each house of the legislature to certify an emergency to the governor and to call a special session if the governor fails to do so; providing for the fixing of salaries of legislative employees by the legislature at the beginning of each session (the salaries now being limited by the constitution); and providing for succession to the governorship in case of death or disability of the governor or governor-elect.

California Defeats Senate Reapportionment

The proposed constitutional amendment in California, which would have placed the state senate more nearly on an equal representation basis, failed of adoption at the November 2 election.

Other proposed amendments reported to have been defeated include one for state-sponsored construction of 100,000 housing units; and one to increase legislators' salaries.

Texas Votes Districting Amendment, Seven Others

Eight proposed state constitutional amendments were approved by the people of Texas on November 2 by votes ranging as high as three to one.

Outstanding is the provision for redistricting of the state for purposes of representation in the legislature by a board of various officials, in case the legislature fails to follow the existing constitutional mandate to redistrict after each decennial federal census. The last such redistricting in Texas was in 1921.

The board is to be composed of the lieutenant governor, speaker of the house, attorney general, commissioner of the general land office and the comptroller of public accounts—all of whom are elective. If the board fails in this duty it can be mandamused by the Supreme Court of the state.

Another amendment provides that in case of the death of a governor-elect, the lieutenant governor-elect will become governor.

The legislature is authorized to provide for the retirement and subsequent compensation of state judges, and for their reassignment to active duty when needed.

Another amendment permits husband and wife to partition their community property, by written agreement, without prejudice to the rights of existing creditors.

Four other amendments are fiscal in character—authorizing county ad valorem taxes for road and flood control purposes, instead of the state ad valorem tax; exempting $3,000 taxable value of each residential homestead for all state purposes; permitting counties to provide workmen's compensation insurance for their employees; and substituting salaries for fees as to sheriffs, constables and deputies.

Michigan Constitutional Revision in Doubt

At the November 2 election the people of Michigan voted 302,250 to 164,241 for the holding of a convention for revision of the state constitution. Despite the favorable majority, however, the issue is still in doubt. It is the opinion of some state officials, including the governor, that to win the measure must have not only a majority of the votes cast on the measure but also a majority of all those voting in the election, in which case the proposal has failed. Assistant Attorney General Peter Bradt has issued a ruling, however, to the effect that only a simple majority of those voting on the issue is needed for adoption.

The Michigan Municipal League, at

its recent convention, concurred with its board of trustees in strongly urging constitutional revision, with special emphasis on home rule, equality of representation and improvement in governmental structure.

The people voted to increase salaries of state officials and legislators.

Maryland Voters Approve 7 Constitutional Amendments

In the recent general elections, Maryland voters approved all proposed constitutional amendments submitted to them by referendum. Probably the most significant is that providing annual sessions of the legislature. Under the old procedure the legislature met biennially in regular session for not more than 90 days. The amendment will provide that in the even-numbered years the legislature will meet also in regular session but with a limit of 30 days. It will meet in even-numbered years primarily for the purpose of enacting an annual budget. It will be permitted also to enact legislation "dealing with an acute emergency" and legislation "in the general public welfare."

Another constitutional amendment approved by the voters specifies that "a person who has served two consecutive popular elective terms of office as governor shall be ineligible to succeed himself as governor for the term immediately following the second of said two consecutive popular elective terms."

A third amendment adopted declares "no person who is a member of an organization that advocates the overthrow of the government of the United States or of the state of Maryland, through force or violence, shall be eligible to hold any office, be it elective or appointive, or any other position of profit or trust in the government of or in the administration of the business of this state or of any county, municipality, or other political subdivision of this state."

Three amendments relate primarily to Baltimore City. Most bitterly fought and passed by a narrow margin was the proposal which requires that a majority vote be secured in any territory to be annexed in the future to Baltimore. Another amendment permits Baltimore to acquire and use property to expand its off-street parking facilities. The third enables Baltimore City to acquire property "for development or redevelopment, including, but not limited to, the comprehensive renovation or rehabilitation thereof."

The final constitutional amendment removes a provision of the state constitution which, heretofore, has required that any bequest for religious purposes must have the specific consent of the state legislature. Hereafter, bequests for religious purposes may be made without specific review of each by the legislature.

Preliminary election returns indicate that all except the annexation provision were approved by substantial margins. The provision limiting the right of Baltimore City to annex surrounding territory was approved only as a result of an overwhelmingly favorable vote by the people of Baltimore County.

E.A.M.

Minnesota Constitutional Commission Reports

A complete revision of Minnesota's 90-year-old constitution by the Constitutional Commission of Minnesota was submitted to the members of the legislature October 1. The commission was established by the 1947 legislature to make a thorough study of the constitution and to recommend changes deemed to be in the public interest; it consists of eight senators, eight representatives, one member of the Supreme Court, one member of the executive branch and three citizen members appointed by the governor.

Proposals regarding the executive and judicial branches of the government have already been mentioned in the REVIEW this year (July, page 380, and September, page 434). As to the legislative branch, changes include provisions to extend the 90-day session limit, and for the calling of special sessions by the legislature as well as by the governor. If the legislature fails to reapportion the state legislative districts every ten years, it shall be done by a commission appointed by the governor; otherwise the senate shall be elected at large and the house on the basis of one representative from each county. Another change is a requirement that the apportionment of the senate shall not give more than one-eighth of the representation to one county; the house would be required to be on a population basis only, as is now specified. The senate would be permitted to introduce revenue measures as well as the house. The office of state auditor would be established, to be filled by the legislature and to make a post-audit of each department, office and agency of the state, and report to the legislature.

A generally new article on local government would supersede the existing article XI on counties and townships. It would restrict special legislation, strengthen home rule and local charter commissions, and permit city-county consolidation under home rule charters as well as by legislative action.

Amendments to the constitution would be proposed by two-thirds instead of a majority of the legislature, but could be approved on referendum by a majority of the people voting thereon, instead of a majority voting at the election as a whole. The question of calling a constitutional convention would be submitted to referendum every 20 years.

The revised constitution is expected to be placed before the legislature when it meets in January. Its fate is doubtful, as the voters on November 2 rejected a proposed constitutional amendment to enable the legislature to call a constitutional convention, to submit its work to the people, in two years. The present requirement of a popular vote on the calling of a convention means a four-year period must elapse until final approval by the people.

Texas Bar Association Studies Constitutional Revision

The State Bar Association of Texas has created a committee for initiating studies of organization and procedure for the ultimate preparation and submission of a new constitution for Texas. The association contemplates establishing a permanent section to be devoted to the science and art of state government, with particular attention to its constitutional framework.

Louisiana Civil Service Law Repealed

Not content with earlier measures it had adopted, greatly weakening the state's six-year-old civil service program (see the REVIEW, September 1948, page 415), the Louisiana legislature repealed the civil service law and, effective October 23, wiped out the civil service department except for such merit system as covers some 3,000 employees in state departments administering federal grants-in-aid programs. Upon signing the act Governor Earl K. Long is reported to have remarked that he intended to "see that my friends and political supporters get jobs."

Public Library Kansas City, Mo.

The repealer act, which required two-thirds of the senate and of the house, also gave the governor authority to appoint two of the three members of the New Orleans Civil Service Commission, in 1950 and 1951 respectively.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

The city of **Pittsburg, Kansas,** (population 17,571) voted to adopt the council-manager plan at the November 2 general election. The question was placed on the ballot as the result of petitions with 2,635 signatures, sponsored by a citizens' committee on municipal government and filed on October 13. The election of the city council (commission) will be next April.

Ashland, Kentucky, (29,537) gave a majority vote of 800 for the return of council-manager government, to go into effect January 1, 1950.

The village of **Rochester, Michigan,** (3,759) adopted a council-manager charter on November 8, 169 to 128.

The city of **Norway, Michigan,** (3,728) voted 905 to 612 on November 2 to adopt a council-manager charter that had been drafted by a charter commission. Elective officials, exclusive of justice of the peace, are reduced from twelve to five, the latter being the members of the council. Primary elections for councilmen will be held in February and a general election in April. The new council will take office April 11.

Scottsbluff, Nebraska, (12,057) adopted a manager plan charter, 2,343 to 1,172. It will become effective in April of next year.

Brewton, Alabama, (3,323) recently passed an ordinance providing the council-manager plan. The plan was first adopted by ordinance in January 1947 but rescinded in October of the same year.

Antioch, California, (5,106) voted to adopt the council-manager plan, at the November 2 election.

Corvallis, Oregon, (8,392) voted by approximately three to one on November 2 to adopt the manager plan.

Midland City, Oklahoma, adopted a council-manager charter 331 to 133 on November 19.

Ste. Agathe-des-Monts, Quebec, adopted the council-manager plan in March by a vote of 162 to 67. It became effective September 1.

Four counties—**Anne Arundel** and **Montgomery, Maryland,** and **Santa Clara** and **San Mateo, California,** adopted the county-manager plan. San Mateo County adopted a manager charter in 1933 but amended it in 1937 to provide for an elective manager. (See page 612.)

In **Springfield, Massachusetts,** a poll of the chamber of commerce membership showed 88 per cent as favoring a council-manager plan for that city; 7 per cent preferred the strong-mayor plan and 5 per cent endorsed the present charter. Of those supporting the manager plan, 83 per cent favored the Massachusetts Plan D; 15 per cent preferred Plan E (which includes proportional representation) and 2 per cent expressed no preference.

Newburgh, New York, on November 2 defeated, on referendum, 4,366 to 1,115, a local law that would have permitted removal of the city manager only after written charges and a public hearing.

Beacon, New York, defeated a proposed manager-P. R. charter, 2,583 to 1,581. (See page 610.)

At an election on November 23, **Asbury Park, New Jersey,** retained the manager plan by a majority of 768 out of 5,862.

Several Maryland municipalities have made significant progress in the past year toward the adoption of the manager plan of government. Approximately a year ago, the mayor of **Cumberland** appointed a charter commission as a result of a survey by the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Maryland. This fourteen-man commission recently approved the manager plan unanimously. It is now engaged in drafting a manager charter for submission to the legislature in its 1949 session.

The city council of **Takoma Park,** also, as a result of a survey by the Bureau of Public Administration, has gone on record in favor of the manager principle. It has directed its corporation counsel to draft a charter embracing the manager plan.

A third town surveyed by the Bureau of Public Administration, **Pocomoke City,** is also giving favorable consideration to the manager plan. Its councilmen have been interviewing some of the possible candidates for the position and probably will seek authorizing legislation in the coming session of the legislature.

Gate City, Virginia, defeated a proposed manager charter on November 2, 232 to 192.

Bay Harbor Islands, Florida, will vote December 14 on a charter amendment to establish the council-manager plan.

In **Augusta, Georgia,** a mayoralty election on December 10 will provide a contest between advocates and opponents of the council-manager plan.

After resisting six previous attempts to discard the council-manager plan installed in **Ashtabula, Ohio,** in 1916, the people destroyed it on November 2 by voting 4,855 to 3,518 to make the office of manager elective. A special election for the so-called city manager is to be called soon.

The city of **Alma, Michigan,** has adopted a new council-manager charter that is considered a notable improvement over the present one. It substantially enlarges the powers of the manager.

Buchanan, Michigan, voted 1,124 to 550 in favor of charter revision; the campaign was made on the basis of preparing a council-manager charter.

A council-manager proposal for **Green Bay, Wisconsin,** was defeated on November 2 by a vote of 13,550 to 6,704. It was opposed by the city's only newspaper and efforts of the League of Women Voters, the Junior Chamber of Commerce and other interested citizens to further the plan had little chance.

In **Merrill, Wisconsin,** the council, in response to a petition, has ordered a vote on the manager plan to be taken in April 1949.

Petitions have been filed in **Galena, Illinois,** calling for a special election on the question of adopting the council-manager plan.

A group of citizens in **Franklin Park, Illinois,** is conducting a campaign to elect a council next spring favorable to the manager plan.

As the result of a recent petition, a vote is expected in December in **Grinnell, Iowa,** on adopting the council-manager plan.

The attempt to restore the council-manager plan in **Mason City, Iowa,** was unsuccessful, the proposal being defeated 3,800 to 3,038 at the November 2 election; 3,811 people who voted on other matters abstained from voting on the manager question. The manager plan was abandoned in 1944 at a special election by a margin of 135 votes, with less than one-third of the voters going to the polls.

Beloit, Kansas, also defeated a manager proposal at the recent election, 1,049 to 684.

There is a movement in **Drumright,**

Oklahoma, for an election on the question of the manager plan.

Voters of **Texarkana, Texas,** on October 15 rejected, 1,718 to 861, a commission-manager charter drafted by a commission elected last December.

The people of **Arizona** on November 2 adopted a constitutional amendment exempting city managers from the requirement that state and municipal officers, elective or appointive, must be qualified electors of the area in which elected or appointed.

Phoenix, Arizona, on November 16 adopted by a vote of more than two to one a charter amendment strengthening the position of the city manager, and providing a council of seven members as against the present commission of five.

Modesto, California, voted 4,245 to 1,105 on November 2 in favor of the drafting of a council-manager charter by a board of fifteen freeholders selected by the city council.

In **Salem, Oregon,** the attempt to replace the council-manager plan by a commission plan was decisively defeated on November 2 by a vote of 8,023 to 4,151. **Oregon City, Oregon,** also rejected a proposal to weaken its manager government, 1,760 to 1,239.

A council-manager proposal for **Bremerton, Washington,** was defeated on November 2 by a margin of only 835 out of nearly 11,000 votes. It was advocated by a citizens committee and opposed by the city commission. The committee is encouraged inasmuch as defeat by a two to one vote was predicted. Voters of **Yakima, Washington,** defeated a manager proposal on the same day by a vote of 4,412 to 3,100.

New Jersey Commission Reports on Municipal Government

The New Jersey Commission on Municipal Government, appointed by the governor and legislature, with Bayard H. Faulkner as chairman, will present to the legislature in January an important proposed revision of the laws to facilitate adoption of modern forms of municipal government in that state.

The Walsh Act, enacted in Woodrow Wilson's time just before the council-manager movement began, led 22 New Jersey cities out of 52, 22 boroughs out of 253, and seven towns out of 23 to adopt the commission plan, with some of the unsatisfactory results characteristic of that faulty structure. Many other communities are governed under an accumulation of ancient statutes which have left their basic law in confusion and twenty different types of municipal government, exclusive of special charters, were identified by the report.

The proposed new law, fully drafted in the report, requires every municipality to hold a referendum vote before 1955 on the question of whether the municipal structure should be overhauled. If the vote is "yes," a charter commission of five is created locally to make recommendations looking toward a revised special charter to be approved by the legislature or the acceptance of one or another of three ready-made plans provided as options under the law. These options are strong mayor and council plan, council-manager plan avowedly following the *Model City Charter* of the National Municipal League, and a "small municipality plan" simplifying the existing borough and township governments to provide integration of old loose-jointed setups.

The council-manager chapter clears up a vexatious feature of the present law which has prevented widespread adoption of the plan in New Jersey—the requirement of four votes out of five in the council to remove a manager "for cause." This might be interpreted as involving opportunity for the manager to appeal to the courts and possibly retain his position in spite of strong council disapproval. The situation was not much improved by a recent amendment to permit summary removal by a majority during the first three years of a manager's tenure.

The law now proposed copies the *Model City Charter*, letting a majority of the council remove the manager on 30 days' notice with statement of the reasons for removal and an opportunity for the manager to be heard. This type of provision in various cities has given time for lively expressions of public opinion and sometimes a reversal of the vote to remove or even a recall of council members. Neither the National Municipal League nor the International City Managers' Association countenances protected tenure of any additional degree for city managers.

Municipalities which adopt one of the proposed options can, after a time, switch to another new plan but cannot revert to any of the old jumbles. This includes commission government which will no longer be available for new adoptions. However, an optional amendment is offered so that cities and boroughs now having commission government may alter it to vest certain administrative and financial powers in the mayor, who would be elected separately from the commissioners. The mayor would be responsible for budgeting, centralized purchase and municipal personnel system. He would also have veto power over ordinances which can only be overridden by four members of a five-member commission or three members of a three-member commission. In the latter case, the mayor would have to change his mind since the mayor is also a commissioner. The mayor would assign his colleagues to departments and might designate a deputy mayor to serve in his absence or disability.

The "small municipality" option for communities under 12,000 creates an elective mayor and two councilmen in places of less than 5,000 or four in places over 5,000 and no other local officials are to be elected. The mayor has no veto power but votes as a councilman and with council consent appoints all municipal officers and employees, including a scatteration of local officers now elective.

All the new optional forms provide for nonpartisan ballots and spring elections.

The optional forms may be adopted either by simple petition and referendum, or by referendum following recommendation by a local charter commission.

R.S.C.

Civil Service Assembly Holds 39th Convention

More than 550 delegates from the United States, Canada, Alaska, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands attended the 39th annual Conference on Public Personnel Administration, held in Ottawa, Canada, October 4-7, by the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada.

Among the specific topics discussed, in addition to reports on progress in 1948, were relations with universities, selecting and training supervisors, improving public management, the role of the commissioners in public relations, handling pay problems during inflation, positive recruitment methods, job performance standards, employee organizations and personnel research.

A resolution was adopted opposing the employment of Communists in the public service of the United States.

The new president of the assembly is George T. Jackson, director of organization and classification, Civil Service Commission of Canada.

Citizen Action . . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Election Aids for the Voter

Campaign Issues, Candidates Discussed by Citizen Groups

IF THE presidential election overshadowed state and local issues, it was not the fault of the many civic groups which strived to inform the voters on local candidates and issues.

The **League of Women Voters** is nonpartisan, supporting no parties or candidates, but it urges its members to enroll in the party of their choice and take an active part in politics. Many leagues send questionnaires to candidates and publish the returns without comment for the guidance of voters.

The **League of Women Voters of Westchester County, New York,** published its full-page "Westchester Voters' Guide" in the Yonkers *Herald Statesman,* which gave the space as a public service. Replies received from candidates for the national House of Representatives and the state senate and assembly as to their stand on major issues were set forth, with a table showing the votes of congressmen on foreign and domestic issues. A somewhat more complete guide was available at the league office for five cents.

Local branches of the **League of Women Voters of New York City** held a dozen or more candidates' meetings to listen to what candidates had to say on state and national issues, thus giving "league members, friends and the general public an opportunity to see, hear and compare aspirants for public office." Its *Active Voter* reported the records of incumbent congressmen during the past year on twenty significant measures. Thirteen local branches sent the nonpartisan platform of the league to all candidates in their districts.

The **League of Women Voters of Massachusetts** distributed a broadside, planographed from the *Christian Science Monitor* and titled "Bay State League of Women Voters Lists Vital Election Information."

The **Indiana** league published the results of its questionnaire to gubernatorial candidates. Its *Indiana Woman Voter* reported election activities of local branches: The **Culver** league cooperated with local officials in registration work. When the Freedom Train was in **Gary** the local league set up a tent for registration of voters and demonstrated the voting machine. It reported "178 new registrations and 46 transfers" and "217 demonstrations of the voting machine to groups of three to ten." The **Crown Point** league wrote to all 21-year-olds, saying in part: "Now you are 21. You are a member of the 'ruling class,' the one and only ruling class of this country." As a means of demonstrating voting machines, the **Lake County** league conducted a poll at the county fair on juvenile court standards.

Voter information published by the **League of Women Voters of Georgia** in its *Georgia Voter* took the form of questions and answers. Questions covered such matters as: For whom do I vote? How is the president elected? Who counts the electoral votes? Are write-ins counted? Who is in charge of elections, absentee ballots? etc.

The *Illinois Voter,* publication of the **League of Women Voters of Illinois,** also questioned candidates and published their replies. Maps portrayed the outlines of congressional and state senatorial election districts for the voters' guidance.

In **Cincinnati,** the league issued "The Who and What of Election Day," also publishing replies from candidates to questionnaires. Local bond issues and their purposes were described.

The *Voters Directory* of the **Citizens Union of the City of New York** contained biographical information on over 500 candidates running in New York City and surrounding counties. This is one of the organizations which, after weighing the evidence carefully, gives sorely needed advice to the many voters not in a position to determine the merits of local candidacies. Candidates are labelled "endorsed," "qualified," and "preferred," where "the evidence secured clearly justifies them." "No voter who consults this directory will have a reasonable excuse for voting blindly," says the union.

The **Detroit Citizens League** published its "Report to Members by Detroit Citizens League Committee on Candidates and Questions for General Election" via its *Civic Searchlight.* Discussed were the five constitutional amendments on the ballot and a proposal for general revision of the constitution. The league endorsed state and local candidates by the use of the words endorsed, qualified and preferred, and made strong recommendations on ballot questions.

A "Forum on November Ballot Proposals" was the contribution of the **Port Huron Citizens' League** to citizen education. Discussed were six constitutional amendment proposals and a referendum on calling a convention to amend the constitution. The same proposals, with recommendations, were discussed in the *Michigan Municipal Review* of the **Michigan Municipal League.**

The election number of the *Seattle Municipal News* grew considerably in size to accommodate the report of the **Seattle Municipal League** on candidates and issues. This organization, too, makes recommendations. "This is the toughest election in years," comments the *News.* "It is a stiff challenge to the intelligence and judgment of Seattle and King County voters to see whether or not they can make wise decisions on public policies and candidates. It is no time for the vacuum-minded voter."

The **New Orleans Bureau of Governmental Research** described 41 constitutional amendments on which Louisiana voters balloted in its October 14 bulletin, *State Problems.* Pro and con arguments were presented, with recommendations on most of them.

"Report on Candidates — Federal, State and County Offices" was issued by the **Citizens League of Cleveland** "as a public service." "We make no claim to being infallible," says *Greater Cleveland,* the league's weekly bulletin. "We do take pride in the fact that the league's recommendations are made with the utmost care and with a full sense of responsibility. . . . We are also proud of the fact that the league has conscientiously reviewed the abilities of all candidates regardless of political affiliations or race, creed and nationality considerations."

California and local ballot proposals were discussed, with recommendations, by the **Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce** and the **Property Owners Association of California.**

The **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research** polled San Francisco and state organizations as to their stands on state and local measures, reporting its findings in a recent *Bulletin.* Groups listed were the **Labor Council, Central Council of Civic Clubs, Building Owners and Managers Association, Civic League of Improvement Clubs, Real Estate Board, League of Women Voters, Down Town Association,** and the **Municipal Conference,** all local; statewide groups included the **State Chamber of Commerce, Cali-**

fornia Farm Bureau, and the **Commonwealth Club.**

Reports of committees which studied initiative and referendum measures on the November 2 ballot have been published by the **Portland City Club** in its *City Club Bulletin,* and submitted to members for their vote for and against. The *Bulletin* of October 29 gave short summaries of the reports with membership recommendations.

Citizen Forces Win County Home Rule

Led by the **Seattle Municipal League,** which devoted the full time of its research director Lorin Peterson to the campaign, civic forces in the state of Washington were victorious in securing adoption of a constitutional amendment providing home rule for counties.[1] Among the groups working on the amendment were the **League of Women Voters, Seattle Junior Chamber of Commerce,** and the **State Grange.**

While thousands, and even hundreds of thousands of dollars were spent on other initiative measures, reports C. A. Crosser, executive secretary of the league, only $4,000 was available for the home rule campaign. Part of this paid for a statement supporting the amendment published in the *Voters Handbook* prepared and circulated by the secretary of state among all registered voters. Some 30 influential county weeklies also carried advertisments.

Radio time was donated by local stations; the Seattle *Times* and *Post Intelligencer* devoted much space to the amendment and plugged for it editorially. Members of the league's Town Criers Committee and others made a hundred talks before civic groups; 100,000 placards and dodgers were distributed.

Strategy of the campaign was to push the general concept of county home rule. "Our only enemy," says Mr. Crosser, "was apathy." The league and the other groups involved now look forward to securing a home rule charter for King County.

Citizen Committees Study Zoning, Traffic

One of the techniques used by citizen groups in seeking solution of pressing problems is that of committees to make studies and recommendations.

Three October issues of the **Chicago City Club** *Bulletin* publish a report on the city council's proposed revision of the Chicago zoning ordinance which has been issued jointly by the club's city planning and housing committee and the committee on local government and administration and approved by the club's board of governors.

The report gives a brief history of zoning in general, commenting that "the stress has been on the damage done by lack of zoning rather than the good possible through intelligent zoning. . . . The present attitude, however, is towards the more enlightened viewpoint of creating an efficient, economical and beautiful city pattern that will be truly an enjoyable and wholesome place to live and work." The report recommends that the Chicago Comprehensive Plan, "should be expedited toward completion and endorsed by the city council before the final determination of a recommended comprehensive zoning revision."

Thirteen club committees and their chairmen have just been announced for 1948-1949.

A special committee working through the **Cincinnati City Charter Committee** has submitted to the city council several practical steps on traffic regulation and control. "Many of the suggestions are elementary," says the *Charter News Letter,* "and undoubtedly will have occurred to someone in the administration before now. The fact remains that to date nothing has been done about them."

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[1] See also page 616 this issue.

The **Massachusetts Civic League** reports in the *Lens,* its monthly publication, that seven staff committees—membership, legislative representation, finance, publicity, speakers, activities and office assistance—have been organized because of the necessity of supplementing the league's small paid staff with volunteer assistance. Other committees have been working and reporting on such matters as billboards, crime and correction, children's welfare, education, forms of government, housing, etc. Their annual reports appear in the September issue of *Lens.*

Conference Reports

Look to the Community, by the **New Jersey Citizens' Conference,** is a report on the second annual **New Jersey Institute on the Community,** which met at Rutgers University in September. Topics headlined are: New Jersey Citizens Seek Answer in the Community, Taking Stock of New Jersey with Findings of the Committee of Inquiry, and A Community Finds New Power. Discussion on the latter took the form of a town meeting in a mythical town of fifty thousand called Meridian which in three sessions discussed its problems, "talked things through," and finally organized a Citizens' Council "to unite the people of our community in an overall organization to study the problems both present and future of the city and to devise methods of meeting those problems with the objective of making Meridian the best possible place in which to live and work." Tools to Stand Us in Good Stead was the final conference topic.

Citizenship—Know It, Cherish It, Live It, published by the **United States Department of Justice** and the **National Education Association,** reports the **Third National Conference on Citizenship,** held in Washington, May 16-19. It carries excerpts from a number of the addresses delivered at the conference, and much of the text of America's Town Meeting on "How Should Democracy Deal with Groups Which Aim to Destroy Democracy," broadcast on May 18 from Constitution Hall in Washington. In addition to Moderator George V. Denny, Jr., speakers were U. S. Senator Robert A. Taft, former Judge Thurman W. Arnold, Editor Ralph McGill of the *Atlanta Constitution,* and Congressman Richard M. Nixon of California.

A workshop of the **Women's Forum of Worcester County, Massachusetts,** held October 5, studied possibilities for club program planning. Subjects and leaders covered six topics, among them schools, public recreation and local government. Under the latter topic the new Plan E charter for Worcester, to go into effect in 1950, was considered the most important issue.

William P. Lovett Memorial Fund

The committee appointed by the Detroit Citizens League to consider possible uses of the memorial fund for **William P. Lovett,** its executive secretary for many years who died a year ago, has recommended in its report to the board of directors that the fund be used "in the training of youth in the field of political science in the interests of better government." The committee suggests that the fund be administered through the Student Aid Foundation of Michigan, which will select the beneficiary "in accordance with the methods now employed by it in selecting beneficiaries of other funds made available to it from time to time for the education and training of youth in various fields."

Public Library
Kansas City, Mo.

Proportional Representation

Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Yonkers Repeals Use of P. R.

Opponents Now Threaten Council Manager Charter

WITH proportional representation repealed here on November 2 by a margin of 4,333, this city will go back to electing its common council by wards next November, terminating citywide council elections. P. R. was adopted ten years ago as part of a council-manager charter. The repeal vote was 31,133 to 26,800. Eight wards voted in favor of repeal; four voted to retain P. R.

There had been a record registration of 75,134, achieved through combined efforts of various groups, including especially the "Teas for Ten" effort of the New Women's Group. Of these 2,396 did not vote. Among those who did vote for president, there were 15,572 who did not vote either way on the P. R. repealer.

The campaign to retain P. R. was conducted by a Citizens Committee to Keep P. R., of which Miss Dorothea Genzlinger was chairman. This committee had the cooperation of the Yonkers Municipal League, the League of Women Voters and the New Women's Group.

A year ago—in the final council election under P. R.—examination of the ballots showed that the present citywide council of seven represents 97.2 per cent of the valid ballots cast, a percentage believed to be a record for representation in any municipal election under any form.

Immediate steps are being taken to seek to hold together the interest and participation of the 26,800 who voted against repeal in the hope that out of the disappointment will arise a long sought civic organization which can be vigilant against any deterioration in the municipal government and against any further assaults upon the council-manager charter.

The charter amendment calls for election of a common council of twelve by the plurality system on the voting machines, one from each ward. A ceremonial mayor will be elected from the city at large by majority vote. The councilmen will be paid $2,500 each; the mayor, $2,500. The vice mayor will be chosen by the council of twelve from among its membership.

Under the present plan councilmen are paid $2,200, the mayor $2,600. The mayor and vice mayor are elected by a complete recount of all P. R. ballots, with none but the elected seven councilmen as candidates. The highest man at the end of the count is mayor, the next highest vice mayor.

Under the new plan the mayor will fill vacancies by appointment; at present, vacancies are filled by a recount of the ballots of the person resigning or dying plus the exhausted ballots, thus giving the voters themselves the right to pick the successor to their own choice.

Yonkers used the ward election system until December 31, 1939, under the mayor-council form which gave way on that date to the council-manager charter with P. R.

Less than a week after the P. R. repeal was voted, William J. Wallin, chancellor of the State Board of Regents and a foremost foe of council-manager government and also of P. R., advised the common council that the ward plan (which he advocated before election) was freighted with dangers, principally of log-rolling. He recommended that the mayor's position be revised by immediate charter amendment, strengthening the mayor's power and increasing his salary, also giving him an independent secretarial staff—beyond the control of the common council. He wants the mayor to get a veto power over council actions. He favors a $6,000 salary for the mayor. He would make the vice mayor the presiding officer in the council.

This was regarded as an opening assault on the council-manager charter itself. The common council gave the proposal short shrift, filing Mr. Wallin's letter. Republican and Democratic city chairmen indicated Mr. Wallin's proposal is premature.

OXIE REICHLER, *Editor*
Yonkers *Herald Statesman*

Beacon, New York, Defeats Proposed Manager-P. R. Charter

Despite an active campaign headed by the Taxpayers' and Rentpayers' Association, a proposed new charter for Beacon, New York, providing the council-manager plan with proportional representation for election of the council, lost by a vote of 2,583 to 1,581.

The Taxpayers' Association began its campaign for a new charter as long ago as April 1947, when it appointed a committee to investigate the council-manager plan. After securing information from various sources, including the National Municipal League and the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, and making a study of the matter, the committee made its report in April 1948, favoring council-manager government with P. R. The association supported the report almost unanimously.

George H. Hallett, Jr., secretary of the New York Citizens Union, drafted the charter amendment, which was circulated as a petition and presented to the city council in July. Over twice the number of signatures needed was secured.

During the fall the association conducted its campaign, distributing literature, doing house-to-house canvassing and telephoning and arranging a number of meetings with out-of-town speakers. Some of these included Richard S. Childs, chairman of the council of the N. M. League; Mrs. Edith P. Welty, Yonkers councilwoman; and Oxie Reichler, editor of the Yonkers *Herald Statesman.*

The leaders of both political parties and the local newspaper conducted a vigorous campaign against the charter, however, attacking P. R. especially with the consequent defeat of the proposal.

It is expected that at the association's forthcoming annual meeting the matter will again be discussed. The group feels that it will want to continue the fight since, with the experience gained in the recent campaign and the growing dissatisfaction with both political parties, chances are good for victory next time.

WALTER N. MUNSON
Beacon Taxpayers' and
Rentpayers' Association

New York Citizens Union Cites Evidence for P. R.

In a newspaper release analyzing the November 2 elections in New York City, the New York Citizens Union has pointed out that the results make a strong case for a return to P. R. for the city's council. The statement, signed by Mr. Hallett of this department as the union's secretary, is as follows:

"Since New York voters have adopted ordinary plurality election by state senate districts in substitution for proportional representation in elections of the city council, this year's election of the New York City members of the state senate may give us some idea of what we are in for in the city elections next year.

"Only two candidates, Senators Mitchell and Halpern, were elected to the state senate delegation of 25 members from this city without Democratic endorsement this year. Two other Republicans, Senators Fino and Scanlan, were elected with bipartisan endorsement from the Bronx, but each of them received more votes on the Democratic line than the Republican and so were apparently returned only by sufferance of the Democratic plurality.

"In the congressional elections, from districts in many cases identical with the senate districts, the picture was nearly the same. Republican Congressmen Coudert, Javits and Latham and American Labor Congressman Marcantonio were the only opposition candidates elected in the city's 24 congressional districts.

"Remembering that last year not a single person was elected in any district in the city without Democratic support, it seems evident that next year we are likely to get a near-monopoly of the city council such as we used to have in the old board of aldermen but have never had in the five elections under P. R.

"In the borough of Queens the election illustrated the fact that the district system may give a minority of the voters a majority of the seats. In that borough the Democratic party cast fewer votes than the Republican for state senate but elected three senators out of four. The same thing exactly happened in the election of Queens congressmen. Last time, with the aid of the Dewey vote for governor, the Republicans were temporarily over-represented in Queens, capturing all four Queens seats both in the state senate and in Congress.

"A similar sweep was scored this time by the Democrats in Brooklyn. With only a little more than three-fifths of the votes they captured all nine of the Brooklyn senators and all nine of the borough's congressmen.

"P. R. makes any such distortions impossible. In all five of the P. R. elections here one or more minorities secured representation in every one of the four large boroughs. And no party ever captured more seats than a rival party with more votes under P. R., as happened this year in Queens.

"P. R. was voted out here last year because it gave representation to certain radical minorities, even though only in proportion to the votes cast for their candidates. The re-election of Congressman Marcantonio shows that the district system is no guarantee against the representation of such minorities and that they may even monopolize the representation of a district where a large majority voted against them. The unofficial totals reported for the 18th congressional district were as follows: Marcantonio (A.L.P.) 35,937; Ellis (Rep.) 31,482; Morrissey (Dem.) 31,184. Congressman Marcantonio was re-elected by only a little more than a third of the voters of his district because the other two-thirds were about evenly divided between his two rivals.

"The preferential vote feature of P. R. by itself would have prevented this miscarriage of justice, for it would have permitted the Morrissey voters to help Mr. Ellis as their second choice when it became evident that their first choice could not win. A full-fledged P. R. system in a larger district would doubtless have given representation to the American Labor party which elected Marcantonio, but would have given more seats to the Republicans and Democrats in proportion to their votes. No one would have had to be misrepresented by a person he voted against.

County and Township . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Four Counties Adopt Manager Charters

Two Each in Maryland and California Make Total 16

AT THE November 2 election four counties adopted the manager plan: Montgomery and Anne Arundel Counties, Maryland, and Santa Clara and San Mateo Counties in California. Two of them—Montgomery and Santa Clara—adopted new charters prepared by charter commissions. Anne Arundel's charter was a legislative act. San Mateo, which originally adopted the county manager plan in 1933, but amended its charter in 1937 to elect the manager, voted to restore a true manager setup.

Montgomery County

Advocates of good government, home rule and the manager plan won a decisive victory on November 2, after a series of defeats, when Montgomery County, Maryland, voted 17,318 to 13,652 in favor of a home rule manager plan charter. The county thus becomes the first in Maryland to secure home rule under a constitutional amendment that has been part of the state constitution for a third of a century and, with Anne Arundel County (see note below), the first in the state to adopt the manager plan.

Adoption of the new charter, which is the result of ten years of study, education and defeat, clears the way for securing a modern, efficient, businesslike organization for the county.

It was in 1938 that the county commissioners voted to have the Brookings Institution make a study of Montgomery County government. A proposed manager plan charter, which grew out of this study, was defeated by a narrow vote in 1944.[1] In 1946, however, a new charter board was elected by an overwhelming margin. Its work, which now will go into effect in 1949, provides for a county council of seven members, elected one each from five districts and two at large, to serve four-year terms.

The council will act as a legislative body during the month of May of each year. Its powers will not extend to incorporated towns and special taxing districts in the county. Its laws are subject to referendum except those authorizing the borrowing of money up to one-fourth of one per cent of the assessable tax basis of the county. The council may veto by August 15 any bill passed during the legislative month of May.

The council appoints the county manager, who must be a man of proven ability in this field. The maximum salary is $12,000 a year. Under the manager the charter establishes the departments of finance and public works. He will be responsible for the preparation of an expense budget and a capital budget, which must be enacted by June 30 of each year. The manager, himself or through an assistant, is responsible for all centralized purchasing. He purchases for the school system to the extent requested by the county board of education.

Under the new charter the office of county attorney is under supervision of the county council, which may create additional departments. A merit system is established to be administered by a county personnel board. Four positions are abolished: county treasurer, clerk to the county commissioners, attorney to the county commissioners and the police commissioner.

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[1] See the REVIEW, December 1944, page 583.

An endless array of obstacles has been placed in the path of the new charter by the opposition. Latest action was a court test to prevent the charter from being submitted at the 1948 general election. Opponents won a partial victory when the Circuit Court of Montgomery County declared that the budget provision of the charter was in violation of the constitution, ruling that, since budget-making was a "legislative" process, the charter provision which specified that the budget should be considered and adopted after the legislative month had to be deleted.

The Maryland Court of Appeals, highest court in the state, reversed the Circuit Court, however, and ordered that the charter be placed on the ballot in exactly the form in which it was drafted and submitted by the charter committee. It ruled that the lower court erred in ordering the deletion since no Maryland court has such jurisdiction. However, it affirmed the jurisdiction of the courts to consider the proposed charter even though it was not as yet enacted law.

Regarding the question of whether the budget process was "legislative" in nature, the court drew on historical precedents to demonstrate that the power to levy taxes and appropriate moneys always had belonged to local governments. It emphasized that the restrictive clause of article XI-A of the constitution, limiting "legislative" acts of a county council to one month, was intended to limit the county only in the acts previously performed by the state legislature. Levying county taxes and making county appropriations were functions always exercised by the counties.

An interpretation of article XI-A which would place limitations on these functions, said the court, would do violence to the very title "home rule amendment." The major purpose of the article was to transfer the power of local legislation from the state legislature to counties and not to limit the county council in powers long exercised.

The charter becomes effective on the 30th day after adoption. Special elections for the first county council will be held on January 6.

Anne Arundel's Vote

By a narrow vote of 5,411 to 5,016, the electorate of Anne Arundel County, Maryland, approved the manager plan of government. This plan was to have gone into effect in June 1947 as a result of the passage of a state law, but, under the provisions of the constitution which permit a referendum vote on such measures, petitions were circulated and signed which stopped application of the law until a referendum could be held.[1]

The manager plan became an issue in the 1946 elections to the state legislature. The successful candidates for the legislature called on a group of citizens to study the administration of the county government and recommend necessary changes. As a result of this inquiry, the manager plan was recommended.

The committee that prepared the plan has entered into agreement with the county commissioners whereby the committee will be allowed to screen all applicants for position of manager. The commissioners will appoint one of those approved by the committee.

Under the new law, the manager has indefinite tenure and can be removed by the commissioners only on 30 days' notice after a public hearing at which the manager is permitted to answer charges. The manager has general supervision over administration of the county, but his jurisdiction will not extend to the board of license commissioners and the police department.

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[1] See the REVIEW, June 1947, page 349; February 1948, page 111.

Many persons in the county believe that adoption of the manager plan is the first step toward a home rule charter for Anne Arundel County.

Santa Clara's New Charter

Santa Clara County, until now the largest in California without home rule, on November 2 adopted a locally drafted charter by a vote of 38,185 to 32,981. It was prepared by a board of freeholders elected June first, and now will be submitted to the state legislature for final approval. The charter provides for a county executive (manager) to be appointed by the board of supervisors.

Under the general laws of the state, the voters of Santa Clara County have been electing thirteen local administrative officers in addition to the board of supervisors of five members. Under the new charter they will elect only three officers plus the board of supervisors—assessor, district attorney and superintendent of schools. The justices of peace also will continue to be elected.

The board of supervisors will continue to appoint the planning commission, welfare commission, and board of education. In addition, the supervisors will appoint a clerk to the board, county counsel, health commission and a personnel board to replace the civil service commission.

Elective officers who will be appointed by the county executive include the treasurer, tax collector, county clerk, recorder, coroner and sheriff. Officers previously appointed by the board of supervisors but to be appointed by the county executive under the new charter include the director of welfare, sealer of weights and measures, building inspector, purchasing agent, county librarian and agriculture committee.

The superintendent of hospitals and the health officer, formerly appointed by the board of supervisors, will be brought under the jurisdiction of the newly created director of public health who will be appointed by the county executive.

The elective constables will be replaced by constables appointed by the sheriff, and the engineer, to be appointed by the county executive, will assume the duties of road commissioner as well as those of the abolished elective office of surveyor. The elective office of public administrator is abolished and his functions transferred to the coroner.

The elective auditor and the appointive finance officer are abolished with transfer of their functions to the newly created office of comptroller under supervision of the county executive. The function of post-audit, formerly conducted through the grand jury, becomes the responsibility of the county board which is directed to employ a certified public accountant to conduct an annual audit.

The county executive will appoint a director of planning to replace the secretary-director appointed by the planning commission, and a director of personnel to replace the executive secretary appointed by the civil service commission.

Finally, there is established under the county executive the office of registrar of voters.

The board of supervisors remains unchanged organizationally under the new charter. Three votes of the five-member board are sufficient to hire the county executive, and the same number of votes may remove him. The executive may request that the reasons for his removal be given in writing. The county board is authorized "to consolidate appointive county offices whenever the respective duties thereof are not inconsistent, and to consolidate, segregate, transfer or reassign the powers, duties or functions of any appointive county office, agency, institution or administrative unit or any division or subdivision thereof, and to combine, transfer, redistribute, adjust or abolish any employment in the county service required or justified by reason of such change."

The board of supervisors is prohibited from interfering in administrative affairs by the provision, "Except for the purpose of inquiry and information, neither the board of supervisors nor any member thereof shall deal with any administrative officer or employee appointed by or under the county executive except through him, and neither the board of supervisors nor any member thereof shall give orders to the subordinates of the county executive either publicly or privately."

The county executive is to be chosen "solely on the basis of his executive and administrative qualifications with special reference to his actual experience in, or his knowledge of, accepted practice in respect to the duties of his office." The charter furthermore specifies that he need not be a resident of California at the time of his appointment. He will supervise all county officers appointed by him and coordinate the work of other county agencies. He will prepare the budget and supervise its execution, advise the board of supervisors and perform other general executive functions of the county.

The charter specifies that no compensation by fees shall be permitted to any officers and employees of the county or its townships. The entire charter will become effective next July 1.

San Mateo Changes Again

San Mateo County will once again operate under the county manager plan by an amendment adopted at the November 2 election. The county adopted a manager charter in 1933, but in 1937 it passed an amendment providing for election of the county executive. The present elected executive will complete his term which expires in January 1951.

Birmingham-Jefferson County Consolidation Fails

According to conclusive reports, the amendment which would have provided consolidation of Jefferson County, Alabama, and its cities, including Birmingham, has failed of passage by a vote of more than two to one.

There was a concentrated campaign against this amendment during the last few weeks of the campaign, and no organized campaign whatever for it. More than a year ago, before the legislature proposed the amendment, there was an active campaign in its favor, with citizen groups, newspapers and other supporters being outspoken in its favor. The opponents of the measure held their fire at that time.

Committee Opposes

Within the last two months, a committee was formed in Jefferson County, with adequate funds, to oppose the amendment. The association of county governing officials in the state adopted a resolution opposing the amendment, the State Farm Bureau printed a front-page editorial in its journal against the amendment, the organ of the State League of Municipalities came out with a strong editorial against the amendment, and a mail campaign, directed to every boxholder in the state, was conducted. Probably the chief sources of financial support for the campaign were the owners of industrial property located within Jefferson County but outside the city limits of Birmingham, on which the taxes would have been subject to considerable increase had the consolidation plan been adopted.

The legislative delegation from Jefferson County has apparently committed itself to a bill in the next legislature providing for the expansion of the municipal boundaries of Birmingham. This expansion will not, however, take in the most important segments of the industrial properties now lying just outside the city limits, nor even, perhaps, all of the satellite municipalities.

York Willbern, *Assistant Director*
Bureau of Public Administration
University of Alabama

Washington County Home Rule Wins; Consolidation Defeated

The voters of the state of Washington, in the recent general election, approved a constitutional amendment providing home rule for counties. Under the amendment, 10 per cent of the voters of any county may initiate a charter movement by signing a petition or the county commissioners may take the lead by calling for a charter election. If a favorable vote is secured from the electorate on the question of whether a charter shall be drafted, the voters elect a board of freeholders of 15 to 25 members.

If the charter movement is initiated by the county board, the vote on whether a charter shall be drafted and the actual election of the freeholders may take place separately at either special or general elections but, if the movement is initiated by the petition method, both matters must be submitted simultaneously at a general election only.

The charter drafted by the freeholders must be submitted to the voters for final approval. If approved, it must be placed in operation within six months.

The freeholders are given great latitude in the drafting of a charter. They may "provide for such county officers as may be deemed necessary." Presumably, they may combine or eliminate offices, specify the qualifications necessary, establish a merit system, provide for the manager plan, establish budget control, and make other changes. They are specifically prohibited, however, from altering the present method of electing the judiciary, the prosecutor or the county superintendent of schools.

The campaign for the home rule amendment was directed by a forty-six member state-wide committee for county home rule.[1] It had the support of the Municipal League of Seattle, Seattle Junior Chamber of Commerce, Washington State Grange, League of Women Voters, and many other organizations. The *Voters' Pamphlet* published by the Secretary of State contained an argument in favor of the home rule amendment but none against it since none had been presented.

Another constitutional amendment, permitting city-county consolidation in counties of 300,000 or more, applying at the present time only to King County and Seattle, was defeated by a narrow margin.

The voters approved an amendment removing the constitutional provision limiting a county officer to two successive terms.

Texas Voters Pass Amendments Regarding Counties

At the November 2 election the voters of Texas approved two constitutional amendments which improve county government. The first authorizes counties to provide workmen's compensation insurance for county employees. This will give public employees the same kind of protection now enjoyed by employees in private enterprise.

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[1] See also page 607 this issue.

The other amendment provides that all sheriffs, deputy sheriffs, county law enforcement officers, including sheriffs who also perform the duties of assessor and collector of taxes, and their deputies, constables, deputy constables and precinct law enforcement officers, must be paid on a salary rather than a fee basis.

This supplements the amendment adopted in 1935 which provided that all county and district officers in counties having a population of 20,000 or more must be compensated on a salary basis only. The 1935 amendment empowered the commissioners' courts in smaller counties to decide whether their officers should be paid by fees or salaries.

County Manager Plan Advocated

At a recent meeting of the New Mexico County Officials' Association, a county commissioner advocated adoption of the manager plan for New Mexico counties. He declared that commissioners should be the only elective officials in a county. They should be the governing and policy-making body and they should appoint the manager. He stated that the objectives of his proposal were: (1) reduction in expenses; (2) elimination of patronage; (3) tenure and security for employees; and (4) a general increase in efficiency of administration. The board of county commissioners, through the manager, would have authority over all departments of county government whereas, under the present system in New Mexico, their authority is limited to maintenance of the court house and construction and improvement of county roads.

The mayor of East Paterson, New Jersey, campaigning for a seat on the board of freeholders of Bergen County, has included in his proposals the adoption of the county manager form of government. He has stated flatly that any business as large as that of Bergen County needs efficient administration and that he favors adoption of the manager form to achieve this end. He cited the example of Teaneck as a New Jersey community with a successful manager plan government.

County Consolidation Developments

In Texas and Nevada progress has been made recently in the consolidation of county activities. In Texas, the Jefferson County commissioners' court recently went on record as unanimously favoring creation of a county-wide health unit which would replace the separate departments now maintained in the various cities of the county. In Nevada, the Legislative Counsel Bureau is studying the feasibility of consolidation of counties. It will report its findings to the state legislature.

Local Government Issues News Letter

The town (township) of Northampton, New York, is following the policy of keeping its citizens and taxpayers fully informed on local matters by the issuance of a periodic news letter. It discusses questions, suggestions and comments which have been addressed to town officials. Official action of the town board is shown and the agenda of the matters to be taken up at the next town board meeting is included.

Electors Speak on Fiscal Matters

Veto 44% of Bond Issues, Ratify State Proposals

STATE and local voters on November 2 threw a monkey wrench into many a municipal improvement program by refusing to ratify bond proposals, but gave their sanction to an amazing variety of state propositions of more than nominal importance. When complete returns are in and an orderly classification of the day's results is possible the general election of 1948 appears likely to enter the history books as startling in more ways than one.

On bond issue proposals, the preliminary post-election canvass of *The Daily Bond Buyer,* with 90 per cent of the returns in, estimated that about 44 per cent of the principal amount of the bonds submitted had been turned down. Issues aggregating roundly $612,000,000 were approved, $479,000,000 were defeated, and results were not known on issues aggregating $112,000,000. Part of the large "defeated" total was accounted for by $152,000,000 Minnesota bonus proposal, which was first reported defeated, then in doubt, but more recently has been reported as carrying, although final results are still not known.

At the state level, approvals included $100,000,000 Washington bonus bonds, $85,000,000 Iowa bonus bonds, $120,000,000 Louisiana bonds—half for a bonus and half for bridges and causeways, $10,000,000 Louisiana highway bonds, $50,000,000 West Virginia road bonds, and $30,000,000 South Dakota bonus bonds.

In the defeated column were $100,000,000 California housing bonds, $50,000,000 New Jersey building bonds, $38,000,000 Oregon bonus bonds (the law would have excluded pre-Pearl Harbor personnel, including most of the state National Guard), $15,000,000 New Jersey transit bonds, and $10,000,000 Oregon reforestation bonds.

Municipal Bonds

At the local government level results were mixed. Baltimore voters approved $45,200,000 bonds for a variety of purposes; San Francisco voters rejected $32,550,000 issues for various purposes, including $8,600,000 needed to complete a new airport, but approved $49,890,000 new school bonds. Cleveland voters have approved $20,800,000 out of $45,600,000 issues submitted. In St. Louis, $31,000,000 bonds, including $16,000,000 for slum clearance, were defeated.

Voters of Long Beach, California, approved $14,900,000 school district bonds, while Cincinnati school district ratified a $12,500,000 issue. Berkeley, California, school district voters gave the green light on $7,966,000.

Among other local bond proposals of $10,000,000 and over, Los Angeles approved $10,000,000 sewer bonds, while Hamilton County (Cincinnati), Ohio, voters turned down various issues aggregating $12,000,000.

Old Age Pensions

More spectacular were the results on various state propositions. Great interest and a considerable measure of apprehension as to the future course of state finances resulted from Oregon voters' approval of an old age pension proposal which hikes monthly benefits, widens eligibility and was claimed by its opponents to involve a state expenditure of $9,000,000 per month. It becomes effective "immediately",

Public Library Kansas City, Mo.

but ambiguities and conflicts in the amendment are expected to result in litigation.

Like interest revolved around a somewhat similar measure in California, which appeared to be winning by a narrow margin. This bill not only widened and increased old age benefit payments, but wrote the name of one of its backers into the law as the first director of the new system.

Neither of these laws contained any provision for its financing, and both become effective during the course of the current fiscal year, so that badly unbalanced budgets are in prospect if expenditures are anything like the sums feared by the more vocal opponents.

While two west coast states were writing up their annual bills for old age benefits, Colorado voters rejected a proposal to raise monthly payments. Colorado old age benefit payments have for some time ranked highest among the 48 states.

Among other states voting on proposals affecting their revenues or expenditures, Colorado legalized pari-mutuel betting on racing. Washington approved the sale of liquor by the drink, but Oregon refused to do so. South Dakota voters defeated a proposal to separate sales of food and liquor. And Kansas, long noted for its dry status, approved repeal of its 67-year old prohibition amendments and gave the legislature authority to sanction the sale of liquor.

In Texas, voters abolished ad valorem property taxes for state general purposes beginning January 1, 1951, but, since the state has widely used the device of dedicating its general fund levy in specific areas to service on seawall and similar water-damage control bonds, it was necessary to authorize a continuation of the levy in areas where the tax has been pledged for remission to local units for bond service.

"Easy Money" Dwindles States Find

Civic virtue, which has been thought in some quarters to blanche a trifle at the lucrative combine between some of the states and the anxious gentry who follow the ponies, may be pardoned a somewhat grimmer expression as the tote board take is tallied up this year. To put the case bluntly, the race tracks aren't holding up their end of the bargain in this inflation year 1948. Somehow or other, the sporting citizens willing to back their opinion with a two-dollar ticket are getting scarcer, and that in a period when prices and turnover continue to mount.

According to the Federation of Tax Administrators, readers of extremely catholic taste, *The Blood Horse*, weekly publication of horse breeders, has found that during the first six months of 1948 eighteen of 21 major U. S. racetracks showed a decline in pari-mutuel totals as compared with 1947. Hardest hit was Havre de Grace, in Maryland, where betting declined 29 per cent. At Garden City, New Jersey, the decline was 22 per cent, at Pimlico, Maryland, 17.5 per cent, at Suffolk Downs, Massachusetts, 17 per cent, at Sportsman Park, Illinois, 14 per cent, at Belmont, New York, 13.5 per cent, at Santa Anita, California, 12 per cent, at Jamaica, New York, 9.5 per cent, and at Hialeah, Florida, 7 per cent.

Some of the tracks were making a more favorable showing at their summer or fall meetings, but through June only three tracks showed increases over 1947. Sunshine Park, Florida, saw betting increase 4.5 per cent; Bay Meadows, California, experienced a 7 per cent rise; and Lincoln Downs, Rhode Island, rang up a 28 per cent increase.

The decline in racetrack revenues continues the downward trend shown by comparison of 1947 figures with those of 1946 (see the REVIEW, February, page 114).

You Can't Take It With You

Governmental agencies are not usually regarded as objects of affection—nobody loves the tax collector—but the recent disclosure that two small cities in Ohio and Pennsylvania had been named beneficiaries in the wills of wealthy citizens brings to light the fact that such disposition of estates is not altogether unknown.

The two recent beneficiaries were Perryopolis, Pennsylvania, which received $10,000,000, and Lithopolis, Ohio, which benefited to the extent of $2,500,000. The Pennsylvania community, with a population of about 1,300, may expend half its bequest outright but must hold the rest in trust to maintain the improvements. The Lithopolis bequest will be used in part to maintain a memorial building in this town of 300, and in part to establish scholarships of $300 each for every graduate of the local high school.

Spurred by the recent disclosure of benevolence, the American Municipal Association has queried 28 selected large cities and discovered that no less than nineteen of them have permanent trusts or have received large gifts for civic betterment purposes. Five of the cities—Boston, Kansas City (Missouri), Minneapolis, Rochester and Seattle—received bequests within the last two years, the largest donation—Boston's—being for $1,000,000.

According to the AMA, the largest city trust or foundation in the United States is the New York Community Trust, whose assets exceed $17,000,000. The Chicago Community Trust has assets exceeding $13,000,000. The first fund of this kind is said to have been set up in Cleveland in 1914.

What is Good Financial Reporting?

Financial reporting by local government units serves a multitude of uses, and many local units doing a good job of reporting to their own inhabitants fail to capitalize on their efforts when they tell their story to outsiders —as when they sell bonds. With the municipal bond market becoming more competitive and bond buyers more discriminating, such failure can be costly.

A good example of a nice job of specialized reporting is that of Marion County (Salem), Oregon, School District offering $1,500,000 bonds. This district regularly prepares comprehensive annual financial reports, which include detailed operating statements, balance sheets, and relevant data on bonded debt, assessed valuations, tax rates, tax levies, collections, etc. When its bonds were approved by the voters, it was thus in a position to provide data on annual operations for a period of years for outsiders interested. Its regular reports were impressive evidence of business-like fiscal management.

When the district offered its bonds, it prepared a special report for prospective bidders with details on bonds offered, up-to-date financial data to supplement annual reports, and pictures and graphs showing overcrowded classroom conditions and the necessity for the building program. The expected happy results were spoiled by the state voters' approval of the old-age pension amendment, which scared off all bids on Oregon offerings, but when things calm down the district will capitalize on its foresight.

Books in Review

Surging Cities. By Theodore T. McCrosky, Charles A. Blessing and J. Ross McKeever. Boston, Greater Boston Development Committee, Inc., 1948. 287 pp. $2.25 paperbound; $3 clothbound.

The publication of this attractive volume was made possible by a grant from the Edward A. Filene Good Will Fund, Inc. It was designed by its authors primarily for use as "a supplemental civics textbook for secondary school students" in the far flung urban area centering on the city of Boston.

General content and style of presentation of the book have been reviewed by a committee of teachers from the Boston high schools and by Dr. John J. Mahoney, that dynamic professor of education from Boston University, who wrote the foreword.

With what degree of enthusiasm it will be received by the boys and girls of the Boston area, this gray haired reviewer is not qualified to judge. He himself has found it a fascinating volume, filled with pertinent facts concerning the evolution of cities and their current problems, which are not always easy to come by when one needs them in a hurry. The text is clear and readable, and the hundreds of photographs, maps and sketches have in the main been so well selected that they add greatly to an understanding of the basic problems discussed.

The book is divided into two major parts. The first presents a birdseye view of the development of cities in general and of the techniques which have been utilized, or are emerging for use, in the urban planning field. The second deals with the problem of replanning Boston and its environs.

Of the eleven chapters in Part I, three are of almost unique interest to all students of planning, whether they function on the professional level or simply as citizens. The first chapter, "The Evolution of Cities," deals with the location and structure of selected ancient, medieval and modern cities; the second traces the growth of the urban areas centering on New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago and Los Angeles; Chapter VII selects for scrutiny four cities—Peiping, Paris, Washington and London—which had been planned at the outset, or which have been replanned and rebuilt at one or more periods in their history. The sound scholarship and far ranging professional experience of the senior author are evident in these chapters. The well designed sketches, and the photographs taken from vantage points on the ground or in the air, add greatly to their value.

The chapters dealing with specific current problems, or with the emerging techniques for planning, necessarily ignore the highly controversial aspects of the subject matter. Those professional planners who are at the moment locked in battle on one or another of these topics will no doubt be irked by the over-simplified and balanced treatment at which the authors have aimed. On the other hand, since most of us are still in the primary grades from the standpoint of education for planning, we can profit by a reading of this venture into the field of secondary education.

Planners, geographers and educators, as well as citizens who take their responsibilities seriously, will find this book hard to lay down, once they have it in their hands.

Philip H. Cornick
Institute of Public Administration

The Development of Local Government (Revised). By William A. Robson. London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1948. 376 pp. 18s.

Most of this book was published in

1931 and 1934; this edition adds material to bring it down to date, particularly in relation to the wholesale removals of important functions from cities of Great Britain by the current Labour government. These losses include trunk roads, civil air fields, hospitals, public assistance, passenger transport, gas (probably) and electricity and, the author says, "I told you so!"

For the earlier editions lamented the resolute clinging of municipalities to boundaries and functions that had become obsolete as units for such services engineering-wise, and rejection of logical schemes for regional organization of such services. Having resisted regionalism, the cities and boroughs now get the more drastic remedy of nationalism and remote control!

Progression to modern and logical units of services in utilities, drainage, etc., has been further barred by the difficulty and expense of getting attention to private bills in Parliament and the smug uncooperative attitude of various central controls. There is no general grant of powers to cities such as would enable the cities to do anything novel and many cities are victims of a tangle of obsolete special legislation.

Similarly the author attributes to the absence of home rule powers the failure of provincial British cities to do for their citizens the cultural and aesthetic things seen on the continent. Ancient boundaries do get altered but not often enough to provide for logical transfers of function from inadequate units of government to larger areas. Altogether a dispiriting picture!

Broadening the powers of the town clerk, who is relied upon to coordinate department heads whom he does not appoint or control, is mildly suggested. The author's attitude toward the American city manager idea is bewilderingly set forth as follows:

"A certain amount of misunderstanding has arisen in recent times owing to suggestions being made that the city manager idea should be introduced into this country, or that the town clerk should be superseded by a city manager, or something of that kind. The friends of efficient local administration would be well advised to leave out of the discussion all reference to the city manager idea, which originated in America under entirely different circumstances. The city manager scheme is not merely a method of administration: it involves constitutional changes in the very framework of municipal government. It is an alternative to other forms of city government—not merely of internal administration—which now exist, or have existed, in the United States. Without a comprehension of the alternative methods of city government, the city manager plan cannot be understood, and since the alternative methods do not exist in this country, it is only misleading to speak of introducing the city manager plan into England. . . .

"In the United States of America, the great majority of city managers are engineers by profession, although when in office they devote themselves to questions of general administration. Engineers, however, have been selected for the job more on account of the popular belief in America that engineering comes next to godliness, that a man who can wrestle successfully with masses of steel and iron can overcome any problem, that the engineering approach is aggressive (in the best sense) and scientific (in the worst sense) and non-political, rather than from any careful analysis of the qualities actually demanded by the work.

"The weakness of the technical engineer in the more general departments of public affairs is precisely his tendency to ignore the human elements in the situation, his frequent inability to discuss, negotiate, temporize and come to terms with people who are often satisfied with mere verbal alterations which seem to him pedantic. He sometimes tends in short, to treat people like mineral products, just as the doctor in public life tends to treat them like patients requiring treatment. On the other hand, the engineer is accustomed to think continually of the functional results of his work, and for the most part his 'attack' is a positive and constructive one. The lawyer is accustomed to negotiation, to clarifying and analyzing the real grounds of difference, to recognizing that other people have other points of view and may feel strongly if their interests are threatened. He is also often useful in discovering an acceptable formula, a compromise, a modus vivendi."

The author is wide of the mark in assuming that most U. S. city managers are engineers and, of course, he is also mistaken in other ways about the council-manager plan. It is apparent, however, that he is better informed on the British situation.

British cities need such a liberating movement for home rule as we have seen in some of our states and the hardships and stupidities of their rusted environment are duplicated in those of our states where cities are still hampered by lack of liberty.

R.S.C.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Directories

Handbook for South Dakota Municipal Officials. By Earl H. Stensland. Vermillion, University of South Dakota, Governmental Research Bureau and League of South Dakota Municipalities, 1948. 112 pp. $2.50.

Education

Illiteracy in the United States: October 1947. Washington, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1948. 8 pp.

Report of the Temporary Commission on the Need for a State University. Albany, New York, the Commission, 1948. 56 pp. (Apply State Education Department, Bureau of Publications, Albany 1.)

Federal Government

Materials for the Study of Federal Government. By Dorothy C. Tomkins. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1948. ix, 338 pp.

Fire Protection

Out-of-City Fire Protection Service. Policies and Practices in 132 Major Cities. Washington 6, D. C., United States Conference of Mayors, 1948. 21 pp.

Protection of High Value Areas. A Fire Protection Program of Interest to Merchants, Manufacturers, Building Owners. Washington, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States and National Fire Waste Council, 1948. 21 pp.

Reduced Fire Insurance Costs for Public Buildings in New Jersey. Report of Progress. Trenton, New Jersey State League of Municipalities, 1948. 12 pp.

Licensing

Licensing of Coin-operated Mechanical Amusement Devices; Licensing of Coin-operated Mechanical Musical Devices; Licensing of Merchandise and Service Vending Machines. Washington 6, D. C., United States Conference of Mayors, 1948. 11, 10 and 11 pp. respectively.

Skill Game—Ordinances in Washington Cities. Seattle 5, Association of Washington Cities and University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research, 1948. 15 pp.

Municipalities

Advantages of City vs. Village Government—Under the Michigan City Home Rule Act. (Revised.) Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, 1948. 26 pp. $1.

Urban Society. By Noel P. Gist and L. A. Halbert. (Third Edition.) New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1948. xiv, 570 pp. $3.75.

Personnel

Effective Civil Service. A Guide to the Administration of the Merit System in New York Municipalities. (Revised.) Albany 1, New York State Department of Civil Service, 1948. 37 pp.

State Employment in 1948. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1948. 12 pp.

Planning

Central Business District Greater Winnipeg; Residential Areas Greater Winnipeg. Prepared Jointly by Metropolitan Planning Committee and Winnipeg Town Planning Commission. Winnipeg, the Commission, 1948. 71 and 60 pp. respectively.

New Haven's Program for Public Improvements. New Haven, Capital Budget Programming Committee, 1948. 16 pp.

Jerusalem City Plan. Preservation and Development During the British Mandate 1918-1948. By Henry Kendall, Foreword by General Sir Alan Gordon Cunningham. London, His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1948. xi, 122 pp. 250 illus. $5.50. (Apply British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20.)

Public Safety

Program Kits on Traffic Safety Promotion: November—Pedestrian Safety; December—Holiday Hazards. Chicago 6, National Safety Council, 1948. Variously paged.

Recreation

Undergraduate Recreation Curricula in 35 Colleges and Universities—A Summary. New York 10, National Recreation Association, 1948. 25 pp. $1.

Refuse Collection

Garbage and Refuse Collection and Disposal. By Ruth E. Pike. Boulder, Colorado Municipal League, 1948. 12 pp.

Salaries

Salaries of Village Officials in Michigan. Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, 1948. 20 pp. 50 cents.

Taxation and Finance

Compendium of State Government Finances in 1947. By Bureau of the Census. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1948. iv, 57 pp. 20 cents.

Expenditures for Federal Grants-in-Aid and Shared Revenues: Selected Fiscal Years 1902 through 1949. (Parts I, II, and III.) Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Budget, Fiscal Division, 1948. 15 pp.

Financial Statistics of Local Governments in Oklahoma—For the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1943. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Tax Commission, Division of Research and Statistics, 1948, iii, 125 pp.

Pennsylvania's Legislature Can Erase This Tax Question. A Comparative Study of Business Taxes and Industrial Trends in Pennsylvania and Other States. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce, Research Bureau, 1948. iv, 28 pp.

Report of the Tax Revision Commission of the State of Tennessee. Nashville, the commission, 1948. 84 pp.

Summary of City Government Finances in 1947. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1948. 11 pp.

Ammunition

The publications listed below are indispensable tools for citizen groups seeking better government:

Campaign Pamphlets

Story of the Council-Manager Plan, 45 pages (1948)	$ .20
County Manager Plan, 24 pages (1945)	.20
Forms of Municipal Government—How Have They Worked? 20 pages (1947)	.25
Facts About the Council-Manager Plan, 8 pages (1948)	.05
City Employees and the Manager Plan, 4 pages (1948)	.05
Labor Unions and the Council-Manager Plan, 8 pages (1948)	.05
P. R., 12 pages (1948)	.05

Model Laws

Model Accrual Budget Law, 40 pages (1946)	.75
Model Bond Law, 20 pages (1929)	.50
Model City Charter, 173 pages (1947)	1.50
Model Election Administration System, 42 pages (1930)	.75
Model Liquor Control Law, 34 pages (1934)	.75
Model Real Property Tax Collection Law, 16 pages (1935)	.35
Model Registration System, by Joseph P. Harris, 73 pages (1939)	1.00
Model State Civil Service Law, 23 pages (1946)	.50
Model State Constitution, 72 pages (1948)	1.00

Other Pamphlets and Books

American County—Patchwork of Boards, 24 pages (1946)	.35
Best Practice Under the Manager Plan, 8 pages (1948)	.15
Citizen Organization for Political Activity: The Cincinnati Plan, 48 pages (1944)	.50
City Growing Pains, 116 pages (1941)	.50
Government of Metropolitan Areas, 403 pages (1930)	3.50
Guide for Charter Commissions, 34 pages (1947)	.50
Manager Plan Abandonments, by Arthur W. Bromage, 46 pages (1940)	.25
Modernizing State Constitutions, 21 pages (1948)	.25
Proportional Representation—Illustrative Election, 8 pages (1939)	.10
Proportional Representation—Key to Democracy, by George H. Hallett, Jr., 177 pages (1940)	.25
Reorganization of State Governments in the United States, by A. E. Buck, 299 pages (1938)	1.00
Short Ballot, by Richard S. Childs, 30 pages (1930)	.15

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